

SELECT INSCRIPTIONS

SELECT INSCRIPTIONS

BEARING ON

INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

VOLUME I

From the Sixth Century B.C. to the Sixth Century A.D.

EDITED BY

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D.

(Premchand Roychand Scholar)

Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture,
Calcutta University; Author of *The Successors of the Sātavāhanas*,
A Grammar of the Prakrit Language, etc., etc.

12835



Mehar Chand Lachhman Das
Sanskrit and Hindi Book-Sellers
Jain Street Salamitha Lahore

PUBLISHED BY THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

1942

CELESTIAL
12835
Date 27-12-82
Call No. R 417.1/2

Printed in India.

Published by the University of Calcutta and Printed by J. C. Sarkhel
at the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

Plates printed by Bhupendralal Banerjee, at the
Calcutta University Press, 48, Hazra Road, Calcutta.

Makara-chakra 2. D.D. 18. 8. 82

TO
THE HON'BLE
DR. SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

॥ सिद्धम् ॥

विक्रमाङ्कप्रकाशाय गौडाम्बरविवस्वते ।
कोविदकुलरत्नानां पालकायामितौजसे ॥
हिन्दुरायसुरत्ताणगुप्तकिरीटचारवे ।
श्रीलश्यामाप्रसादाय पुण्याशुतोषजन्मने ॥

प्राच्यविद्योदधेरिन्दोरुज्ज्वलज्ञानकर्मणः ।
सुरेः श्रीहेमचन्द्रस्य स्वल्पज्ञेनान्तवासिना ॥

ढाकेति विषयस्थिते फरीदपुरमण्डले ।
जातेन भिषजः कवेर्यज्ञेश्वरस्य सत्पितुः ॥
मातुश्च कुसुमाद्यायाः कुमार्यास्तनुजन्मना ।
दीनेशाह्नेन दीनेन कृतिरियं समर्प्यते ॥

॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

PREFATORY NOTE

Inscriptions in Sanskrit and Prakrit constitute an important branch of Indian literature. No study of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit can be complete without a knowledge of the enormous mass of literary material, both in prose and verse, embodied in inscriptions. In epigraphic records, references are quite abundant to various aspects of Indian life and thought. Their study is therefore not only indispensable to the student of political history, but also to all who are interested in India's contribution to the civilization of the world. Students of the history of Indian philosophy, literature, law, society, geography, etc., have all got to supplement their knowledge by a study of epigraphic literature. Attention may, by way of illustration, be invited to (1) the mention of Śaṃkarācārya in a Cambodian record and (2) of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi in a Deccan epigraph of 634 A.D., (3) the reference to a Māheśvara sect in a Mathurā inscription of 380 A. D., (4) to the system of trial by ordeal in a Viṣṇukunḍin record and (5) to the Brāhmaṇa ancestry of the Kadambas who later on ranked as Kshatriyas, (6) the help derived from epigraphy regarding the identification of Śrāvasti, etc., etc.

There are many epigraphs which are excellent pieces of *kāvya* and can stand comparison with the best products of the celebrated masters of classical Sanskrit and Prakrit. Their superiority to extant literary tradition as sources of political and institutional history has been demonstrated by scholars since the days of Colebrooke and happily needs no

further emphasis. Unlike a large number of literary works, most of the inscriptions can be assigned to a definite date or epoch. Unlike most literary works, again, the epigraphic records can be more easily grouped geographically and are thus the best test for the regional classification of the *rītis* of poetical composition as expounded by rhetoricians and also of a similar grouping of the Prakrit dialects preferred by grammarians. A considerable number of epigraphs were composed by poets attached to the courts of kings, and there is no doubt that the merits of their published works secured royal favour for them. But in the majority of cases all other works of the poets are lost and their claim for a glorious place in the history of Indian literature is eloquently advanced only by particular epigraphic *kāvya*s that have survived. The cause of this fortunate survival is that the royal *praśastis* were usually engraved on stone or metal and not on easily perishable materials such as palm and birch leaves, etc., as was the case with literary works. Harishena, Śāba-Vīrasena, Vāsula, Keśava, Vatsabhaṭṭi, Kubja and numerous unnamed authors, whose works have been quoted in the following pages, were poets who claim recognition; but the only specimens of their composition survive in inscriptions.

The importance of epigraphic studies needs no elaboration. It is therefore in the fitness of things that some of the Indian Universities have prescribed a large number of inscriptions in the original for students preparing for the degree examinations in various subjects. It is to be hoped that the time will come sooner or later—sooner rather than later—when educationists who have the welfare of the country in their heart will seriously consider as to whether some of the records, e.g., those of Aśoka rendered into Sanskrit, may

be prescribed even for the students of H. E. Schools and Chatushpāthīs. Unfortunately, however, the epigraphic literature has so far created no great enthusiasm amongst certain sections of scholars interested in the study of Indian classics. It has been my aspiration since my student days to compile a *Corpus* of inscriptions and place it in the hands of Sanskritists, not well-acquainted with this vast field of literature. An opportunity soon presented itself.

In July 1937, I was appointed a Lecturer in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture of the Calcutta University, and epigraphy was one of the subjects that I was asked to teach. It is wellknown that the Calcutta University has unique arrangements for the post-graduate teaching of Indian history and culture in all their various aspects. Naturally therefore it has prescribed a number of inscriptions for the M.A. examination particularly in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Ancient Indian History and Culture. These records are brought out in a number of different publications, most of which are beyond the means and reach of students. Since, however, an inscription has to be studied from several points of view—historical, philological, geographical and the like, it is absolutely necessary for its proper appreciation that a copy of each record shall be in the hands of every student attending the lectures. Thus I felt the necessity of a handy volume containing the text of inscriptions prescribed for the M. A. examination of the Calcutta University, together with certain other records whose study is essential for a knowledge of the Indian epigraphic literature in all its phases. I approached the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, President of the Council of Post-graduate Teaching in Arts, Calcutta University, who readily encouraged the idea and asked me to proceed with the compilation

of a Selection as quickly as possible. A plan of the work was drawn in consultation with Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Carmichael Professor and Head of the Departments of History and Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, and I set myself seriously to the work about the beginning of 1939. A Selection containing the text in Devanāgarī script of many important inscriptions including those prescribed by some of the Indian Universities, dating from the sixth century B.C. down to the age of the Great Mughals, was then completed by me. The University of Calcutta decided to publish the work in two volumes and appointed Pandit Kshitish Chandra Sastri, M.A., Pañcharītha, Senior Professor of Sanskrit, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, to prepare a neat copy for the press and also to help me in the laborious task of proof-correction. The press began its work about the beginning of 1941 and the printing of Volume I of the work containing the records down to the age of the Imperial Guptas was completed by the middle of 1942. The work of printing was greatly facilitated by the kind interest taken by Mr. J. Chakravorti, Registrar, Calcutta University.

Volume I of the *Select Inscriptions* covers the period beginning with the Akhaemenian occupation of north-western India in the sixth century B. C. and ending with the fall of the Imperial Guptas in the sixth century A.D. To prepare a comprehensive volume dealing with all the important inscriptions that have been discovered down to the present day is a task which requires several years for its successful completion and cannot be lightly undertaken in the India of to-day. I have therefore thought of a modest scheme. But in order to make the work illustrative of the well-marked epochs and localities of which notice has to be

taken by a serious student of the subject of Indian epigraphy, the Selection has been made out of the most interesting records, especially those of important ruling families which have left their mark on the history and development of Indian civilization. Special stress has been laid on such dynasties of all-India importance as the Maurya and the Gupta. To illustrate important points of historical interest as well as to indicate the nature of the draft of royal charters in different periods and localities, a large number of inscriptions belonging to dynasties and individuals of minor importance has also been included. Some of the records selected belong to countries outside the geographical limits of India proper. A few records of the Akhaemenian emperors of Persia have been incorporated as they refer to the relations of India with ancient Iran. From very early times—in some cases from the fourth century B.C. at the latest, but in others from about the beginning of the Christian era—Ceylon, Indo-China and the Islands of the Southern Sea were studded with settlements founded by enterprising princes and merchants of India. Naturally therefore some records discovered in those parts of the world have been included just to point to that glorious chapter of ancient Indian history concerning the colonial enterprise of the Indians of old. Similarly, some documents discovered in Central Asia, another tract of land greatly influenced by the activities and culture of the ancient Indians, have been incorporated.

To provide space for as many important records as possible, the plan in the following pages has been principally to publish, for the present, the text of inscriptions without English translation and introductory discussions. Nevertheless, to make the work useful to students indications

have been given as to the find-spot and age of a particular record as well as its linguistic, palaeographic and metrical peculiarities. References to previous writings on a record have also been supplied. As regards the Prakrit records, absence of English translation will, it is hoped, not stand in the way of their proper appreciation as a word-for-word Sanskrit *chbhāyā* including explanatory notes has been provided. As regards the Sanskrit inscriptions, an attempt has been made to explain technical expressions and to indicate various points of interest in the foot-notes. No pains have been spared to make the volume useful to the class of young learners for whom it is intended, namely, students who are preparing for the degree examinations of Indian Universities. Needless to say that a fair knowledge of Sanskrit is indispensable to a student who is desirous of studying the volume. If the present work succeed in removing a long-felt want, the author will consider his labour amply repaid.

The book has been prepared and printed within a comparatively short period of time. The author had moreover to work under considerable inconvenience caused by domestic worries and the abnormal situation now prevailing in Eastern India as a result of the recent developments in international situation. Under these circumstances, the author has not been able to avoid errors and misprints for which he craves the indulgence of readers. Many of the errors have been noticed in the *Addenda et Corrigenda* appended to the volume. Any suggestion for the betterment of the work would be most welcome and will be carefully considered when the author may get an opportunity of revising it for a future edition.

The author does not find words to express his feeling of gratitude for the kind encouragement received from the Hon'ble Dr. S. P. Mookerjee, but for whose sympathy the book would have never been prepared and published. To Prof. H. C. Raychaudhuri, the author is indebted for many valuable suggestions and help of other kinds. Thanks are also due to Pandit Kshitish Chandra Sastri for some interesting comments and for his assistance in the preparation of the Sanskrit *chhāyā* of most of the Prakrit records and in correcting some of the proof-sheets. Mr. Sudhakar Chatterjee, M. A., B.L., a Research Scholar in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Calcutta University, has prepared the Indexes and has thus laid the author under a debt of gratitude. The author further thanks the authorities of the Calcutta Oriental Press Ltd., especially Mr. J. C. Sarkhel and his staff, for the kindness and consideration shown to him. The Archaeological Survey of India has kindly supplied blocks on loan for Plates Nos. VIII, XVI-XX, XXVII, XLVIII, and the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna, that for Plate No. XXVIII. The Archaeological Survey of Ceylon has supplied photographic prints for Plates Nos. XLI-II, and the Archaeological Survey of India (Western Circle) the estampages for Plates Nos. XXXIV-V. Photographic prints from the estampages were prepared at the Asutosh Museum of Indian Arts, Calcutta University. Plates Nos. I-III, IX, XI-IV, XLIX-LI are from old blocks in the Calcutta University Press. Blocks for Plates Nos. XV, XXXVIII-IX have been prepared from Plates in works published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society and that for Plate No. XLIII from a publication of the Cambridge University Press. Blocks for the remaining Plates have been prepared from publica-

tions of the Archaeological Survey of India. Thanks of the author and the publishers of the *Select Inscriptions* are due to the authorities of all the above bodies.

ग्रन्थस्य यत् प्रचरतोऽस्य विनाशमेति
लेख्याद्बहुश्रुतमुखाधिगमक्रमेण ।
यद्वा मया कुकृतमिहाकृतं वा
कार्यं तदन्न विदुषा परिहृत्य रागम् ॥

*Department of Ancient Indian
History and Culture,
Calcutta University.
25th August, 1942.*

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

A NOTE ON THE TYPOGRAPHIC SCHEME

The text of inscriptions has been given in Devanāgarī script and, with the exception of a few minor points of difference, the system of transcription followed is practically the same as that of the *Epigraphia Indica*. Hyphen marks, which of course do not occur in the original, have been freely inserted to separate words in composition as far as it is desirable to divide them. Number of lines in the writing of the original has been indicated by English numerical figures on the left hand side of the transcript and that of verses by thick English numerals put at the end of them on the right hand side. When such number of verses is found in the original, it has been printed in Devanāgarī numerals at the proper place. Verses have been printed in stanza form, so that they may be easily distinguished from the prose lines at a glance. Ordinary brackets are used, though rarely, to suggest a correction (usually with a query) or to indicate the reading apparently intended by the scribe. Square brackets without query are used to indicate the fact that the *aksharas* or signs are damaged but not undecipherable. An asterisk attached to *aksharas* or signs in square brackets indicates that the *aksharas* and signs are completely damaged and undecipherable and that the restoration suggested, though in some cases very probable, is not always quite beyond doubt. *Aksharas* which are carelessly left out by the scribe or engraver and are wanting in the original are usually restored by scholars in square brackets with an asterisk. To avoid a confusion between the restoration of a completely damaged *akshara* and that of

another which is wanting in the original, the latter has been put in ordinary brackets with an asterisk. Through inadvertence, punctuation marks have however been put in square brackets with asterisk even though they are not in the original. Excepting the prevalent system followed in regard to punctuation marks, the difference between an *akshara* with asterisk in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that in the former case the *akshara* was engraved but is now lost, while in the latter it was not engraved in the original at all. Similarly, the difference between an *akshara* with a query in square brackets and another in ordinary brackets is that the former indicates a possible or suggested reading of a doubtful or lost *akshara*, while the latter is only to suggest a substitute for the *akshara* printed in the transcript.

Illustration : —

- 8¹ अस्मद्वंशागमि-²राजभिरन्यैश्च [साम]³ान्यं भूमिदान(य?)⁴मवेत्य(।*)-⁵
9 स्मदायो(ऽ*)नुमन्तव्यः [।*]⁶ अपि चात्र व्यास²-गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति ।

1 The number indicates that the following *aksharas* belong to line 8 of the original.

2 The hyphen mark is not to be found in the original.

3 साम of the word सामान्यं is damaged but decipherable.

4 The query indicates that the reading दाय is also possible or that दाय may be suggested instead of दान of the transcript.

5 The ā-sign of त्या in l. 8 was left out apparently owing to inadvertence. The original has नके in l. 11 and र was similarly left out. The *avagraha* or sign of elided *a*, though usually not found in the original as in l. 9, has always been supplied in the transcript.

6 The punctuation mark is not found in the original.

१० षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि [स्वर्गे मोदति*]^१ भूमिदः [१*]

आक्षेपा

I I ²चानुमत्ता(न्ता)³ च तान्येव न(र*)के वसेत् ॥ 1⁴

The scheme of transliteration into Roman script also follows that of the *Epigraphia Indica*.

Vowels: अ=a; आ=ā (not á used in earlier publications, nor â which is sometimes also used to indicate length as a result of *sandhi*); इ=i; ई=ī (not í or î); उ=u; ऊ=ū (not ú or û); ऋ=ri; (not r̄ generally used in foreign publications); ॠ=rī (not r̄ī); ऌ=li (not l̄ generally used in foreign publications); ॡ=lī (not l̄ī); ए=e (not ē, as the necessity of distinguishing the vowel from the short e used in Dravidian script has not been felt); ऐ=ai; ओ=o (not ō used when it is to be distinguished from the short o); औ=au.

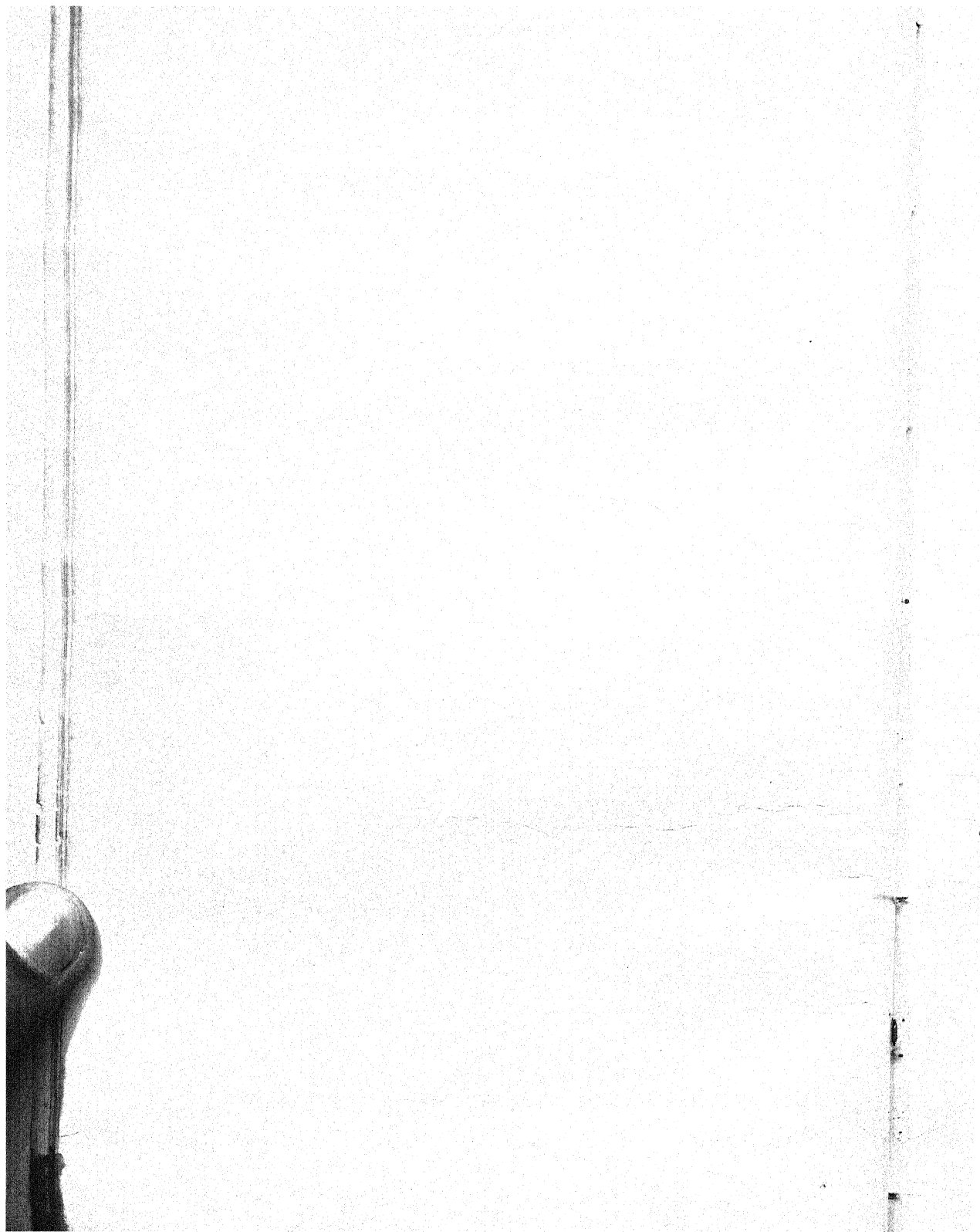
Consonants: क=k; ख=kh; ग=g; घ=gh; ङ=n; च=ch (not *c* generally used in foreign publications); छ=chh (not *ch*); ज=j; झ=jh; ञ=ñ; ट=t; ठ=th; ड=d; ढ=dh; ण=n; त=t; थ=th; द=d; ध=dh; न=n; प=p; फ=ph; ब=b; भ=bh; म=m; य=y; र=r; ल=l; व=v (not *w* which is sometimes rather carelessly used); श=ś (not *ç* sometimes used in foreign publications, nor *sh* which is sometimes rather carelessly used); ष=sh (not *ṣ* generally used in foreign publications); स=s; ह=h; ङ़=r; ढ़=rh; ळ=l; ँ=m; ॠ=h; ॡ=(*upadhmānīya*)=h; ॢ=(*jibvāmūliya*)=h.

1 The passage स्वर्गे मोदति is completely lost and is restored with the help of other records. There is no guarantee that the reading is not मोदते or क्रीडति.

2 Note that the line has been begun not from the beginning of l. 11, but from after the space indicated by the previous word of the third *pāda* of the verse.

3 ता of the original is apparently a scribal mistake for न्ता.

4 The number indicates that the *śloka* in *anushtubh* is verse No. 1 of the inscription.



CONTENTS

BOOK I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE AKHAEMENIAN AND THE MAURYA PERIODS

CHAPTER I

Inscriptions of the Akhaemenians

| | SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--------|--|------|
| No. 1— | Bisutūn (Behistūn) Column [No. 1] Inscription of Dārayava ^h us (=Darius, c. 522-486 B.C.) ... | 3 |
| No. 2— | Persepolis Inscription [e] of Dārayava ^h us (=Darius) ... | 6 |
| No. 3— | Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet Inscription of Dārayava ^h us (=Darius) ... | 8 |
| No. 4— | Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription [a] of Dārayava ^h us (=Darius) | 9 |
| No. 5— | Persepolis Inscription [h] of Kshayārshā (=Xerxes, c. 486-65 B.C.) ... | 11 |

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAURYS

A—ROCK EDICTS OF AŚOKA (C. 273-32 B.C.)

| | | |
|---------|--|----|
| No. 6— | First Rock Edict: Girnār Version ... | 16 |
| No. 7— | Second Rock Edict: Girnār Version ... | 18 |
| No. 8— | Third Rock Edict: Girnār Version ... | 19 |
| No. 9— | Fourth Rock Edict: Girnār Version ... | 21 |
| No. 10— | Fifth Rock Edict: Mānsehrā Version ... | 23 |
| No. 11— | Sixth Rock Edict: Girnār Version ... | 25 |
| No. 12— | Seventh Rock Edict: Shāhbāzgarhī Version ... | 27 |
| No. 13— | Eighth Rock Edict: Girnār Version ... | 28 |
| No. 14— | Ninth Rock Edict: Mānsehrā Version ... | 29 |
| No. 15— | Tenth Rock Edict: Girnār Version ... | 31 |
| No. 16— | Eleventh Rock Edict: Kalsī Version ... | 32 |

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| No. 17—Twelfth Rock Edict: Shāhbāzgarhī Version ... | 33 |
| No. 18—Thirteenth Rock Edict: Shāhbāzgarhī Version ... | 35 |
| No. 19—Fourteenth Rock Edict: Girnār Version ... | 40 |

B—SEPARATE KALINGA EDICTS OF AŚOKA

| | |
|--|----|
| No. 20—First Separate Rock Edict: Dhauli Version ... | 41 |
| No. 21—Second Separate Rock Edict: Jaugaḍa Version ... | 46 |

C—MINOR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

| | |
|--|----|
| No. 22—Minor Rock Edict: Rūpnāth Version ... | 49 |
| No. 23—Minor Rock Edict: Yerraguḍi Version ... | 52 |

D—PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA

| | |
|---|----|
| No. 24—First Pillar Edict: Delhī-Toprā Version ... | 55 |
| No. 25—Second Pillar Edict: Delhī-Toprā Version ... | 56 |
| No. 26—Third Pillar Edict: Delhī-Toprā Version ... | 58 |
| No. 27—Fourth Pillar Edict: Delhī-Toprā Version ... | 59 |
| No. 28—Fifth Pillar Edict: Rāmpurvā Version ... | 62 |
| No. 29—Sixth Pillar Edict: Rāmpurvā Version ... | 64 |
| No. 30—Seventh Pillar Edict: Delhī Toprā ... | 65 |

E—MINOR PILLAR EDICTS OF AŚOKA

| | |
|--|----|
| No. 31—Rummindei Pillar Inscription ... | 70 |
| No. 32—Nigālī Sāgar Pillar Inscription ... | 71 |
| No. 33—Queen's Pillar Edict: Allahābād Pillar ... | 72 |
| No. 34—Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict: Allahābād Pillar ... | 73 |
| No. 35—Sāñchī Pillar Edict ... | 74 |
| No. 36—Sārnāth Pillar Edict ... | 75 |

F—STONE-SLAB EDICT OF AŚOKA

| | |
|-------------------------------|----|
| No. 37—Bairāt Inscription ... | 77 |
|-------------------------------|----|

G—CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

| | |
|---|----|
| Nos. 38-40—Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions ... | 78 |
|---|----|

H—OTHER MAURYA INSCRIPTIONS

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Nos. 41-43—Nāgārjunī Hill Cave Inscriptions of Daśaratha (c. 220 B.C.) | 79 |
| No. 44—Taxila Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription of a Maurya king | 81 |

CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

| | |
|---|----|
| No. 45 [✓] —Mahāsthān Fragmentary Stone Plaque Inscription ... | 82 |
| No. 46—Piprāhīwā Buddhist Vase Inscription | 84 |
| No. 47—Sohgaurā Copper-plate Inscription | 85 |
| No. 48—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Sophutes (= Saubhūti) | 86 |

BOOK II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE POST MAURYA PERIOD DOWN TO THE
GUPTA AGE

CHAPTER I

NORTHERN INDIA

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF INDIGENOUS DYNASTIES AND CONNECTED
RECORDS

(i) CENTRAL AND WESTERN INDIA

| | |
|---|----|
| No. 1—Barhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription of the time of the Śuṅgas | 89 |
| ✓ No. 2—Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra—Regnal Year 14 | 90 |
| No. 3—Ghosūṇḍī Stone Inscription of King Sarvatāta | 91 |
| Nos. 4-6—Baḍvā Stone Pillar (Yūpa) Inscriptions of the Maukharis—Kṛita (= Vikrama) Year 295 (= 238 A.D.) ... | 92 |

(ii) MADHYADEŚA AND EASTERN INDIA

| | |
|---|----|
| No. 7—Parkham Image Inscription | 94 |
| No. 8—Pāṭnā Image Inscriptions | 95 |
| No. 9—Ayodhyā Stone Inscription of Dhanadeva | 96 |
| No. 10—Pabhosā Cave Inscription of the time of Ūdāka—Regnal Year 10 | 97 |

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDO-GREEKS

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| No. 11—Inscription on Some Coins of Demetrios (c. 190-160 B.C.) | 99 |
| No. 12—Inscription on Some oblong Copper Coins of Pantaleon (c. 160-155 B.C.) | 100 |
| ✓ No. 13—Inscription on Some Coins of Eukratides (c. 175-155 B.C.) | 101 |
| No. 14—Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.)—Regnal Year 5 | 102 |
| No. 15—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.) | 104 |
| No. 16—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Strato I and his mother Agathokleia, the Queen-regent (c. 90-85 B.C.) | 105 |
| No. 17—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Antialkidas (c. 110-80 B.C.) | 106 |
| No. 18—Inscription on Some Coins of Hermaios (c. 20-30 A.D.) and his Queen Kalliope | 107 |
| No. 19—Inscription on Some Copper Coins of Hermaios and of the Kushāṇa Yavuga Kujula Kasa (c. 25-55 A.D.) | 108 |
| No. 20—Swat Relic Vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros ... | 109 |

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SKYTHO-PARTHIANS AND

THE KUSHĀNAS

(I) INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN THE OLDER SKYTHO-PARTHIAN RECKONING
AND CONNECTED RECORDS

| | |
|---|-----|
| No. 21—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Maues (c. 90 B.C.-20 A.D.) | 109 |
| No. 22—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Azes I (c. 10-35 A.D.) | 110 |
| No. 23—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Azilises (c. 30-40 A.D.) | 111 |
| No. 24—Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions of the time of Rañjuvula (c. 1-15 A.D.) and Śoḍāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.) | 112 |
| No. 25—Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa— (Kṛita-Mālava-Vikrama?) Year 72 (=A.D. 15?) | 118 |
| No. 26—Mathurā Stone Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.) | 119 |

| | SUBJECT | PAGE |
|---------|--|------|
| No. 27— | Taxila Copper-plate Inscription of Patika—Year 78 (= A.D. 21?) | 120 |
| No. 28— | Takht-i-Bāhī Stone Inscription of Gondopharnes—Regnal Year 26; Year 103 (= A.D. 46?) | 121 |
| No. 29— | Inscription on Some Coins of Gondopharnes (c. 21-50 A.D.) | 122 |
| No. 30— | Inscription on Some Copper Coins of Kujula Kadphises I (c. 25-55 A.D.) | 123 |
| No. 31— | Inscription on Some Gold Coins of Wema Kadphises II (c. 55-75 A.D.) | 124 |
| No. 32— | Panjtār Stone Inscription of a Kushāṇa King—Year 122 (= A.D. 65?) | 126 |
| No. 33— | Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription—Year 134 (= A.D. 77?) | 127 |
| No. 34— | Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kushāṇa King—Year 136 (= A.D. 79?) | 129 |
| No. 35— | Khalatse Stone Inscription of Uvimikastu(?)—Year 187 (? = A.D. 130?) | 130 |
| No. 36— | Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of Jihonika—Year 191 (= A.D. 134?) | 131 |

(II) INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN KANISHKA'S RECKONING
AND CONNECTED RECORDS

| | | |
|-------------|--|-----|
| Nos. 37-39— | Sārṇāth Buddhist Image Inscriptions of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A.D.)—Year 3 (= A.D. 81?) | 132 |
| No. 40— | British Museum Stone Inscription of Kanishka I —Year 10 (= A.D. 88?) | 134 |
| No. 41— | Suī Vihār Copper-plate Inscription of Kanishka I —Year 11 (= A.D. 89?) | 135 |
| No. 42— | Zeda Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 11 (= A.D. 89?) | 136 |
| No. 43— | Māṇikiālā Stone Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 18 (= A.D. 96?) | 138 |
| No. 44— | Set-Mahet Stone Umbrella Staff Inscription of Kanishka I | 140 |

| | SUBJECT | PAGE |
|-----------|--|------|
| No. 45— | Set-Mahet Buddhist Image Inscription of Kanishka I ... | 141 |
| No. 46— | Inscription on Some Gold Coins of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A.D.) | 142 |
| No. 47— | Kurram Copper Casket Inscription—(Śaka?) Year 21 (= A.D. 99?) | 143 |
| No. 48— | Sāñchī Buddhist Image Inscription of Vāsishka—(Śaka?) Year 28 (= A.D. 106?) | 144 |
| ✓ No. 49— | Mathurā Stone Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 28 (= A.D. 106?) | 146 |
| No. 50— | Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka— (Śaka?) Year 33 (= A.D. 111?) | 148 |
| No. 51— | Ārā Stone Inscription of Kanishka II—(Śaka?) Year 41 (= A.D. 119?) | 149 |
| No. 52— | Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 44 (= A.D. 122?) | 150 |
| No. 53— | Lucknow Museum Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka— (Śaka?) Year 48 (= A.D. 126?) | 151 |
| No. 54— | Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka— (Śaka?) Year 51 (= A.D. 129?) | 152 |
| No. 55— | Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase Inscription of Huvishka —(Śaka?) Year 51 (= A.D. 129?) | 153 |
| No. 56— | Inscription on Some Gold Coins of Huvishka (c. 106-138 A.D.) | 155 |
| ✓ No. 57— | Mathurā Image Inscription of Vāsudeva—(Śaka?) Year 80 (= A.D. 158?) | 156 |

(III) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚAKAS OF WESTERN INDIA

(a) HOUSE OF NAHAPĀNA—THE KSHAḤARĀTA FAMILY

| | | |
|---------|---|-----|
| No. 58— | Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)—(Śaka) Years 41, 42, 45 (= A.D. 119, 120, 123) | 157 |
| No. 59— | Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna ... | 160 |

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|---|------|
| No. 60—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna ... | 164 |
| No. 61—Kārle Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna ... | 165 |
| No. 62—Junnār Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna—(Śaka) | |
| Year 46 (= A.D. 124) | 166 |

(b) HOUSE OF CHASHTANA—THE KĀRDAMAKA FAMILY

| | |
|---|-----|
| Nos. 63-66—Andau Stone Inscriptions of the time of Chashtana and Rudradāman I—(Śaka) Year 52 (= A.D. 130) ... | 167 |
| No. 67—Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I (Śaka) Year 72 (= A.D. 150) | 169 |
| No. 68—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.) | 175 |
| No. 69—Gundā Stone Inscription of the time of Rudrasimha I —(Śaka) Year 103 (= A.D. 181) | 176 |
| No. 70—Junāgarh Stone Inscription of Jayadāman's Grandson ... | 177 |
| No. 71—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Jivadāman—Śaka Year 120 (= A.D. 198) | 178 |
| No. 72—Garhā (Jasdan) Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I—Śaka Year 127 (? = A.D. 205) | 179 |
| No. 73—Kānākheṛā Stone Inscription of Śrīdharavarman—Regnal Year 13; Śaka Year 201 (? = A.D. 279) | 180 |
| No. 74—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudrasimha III—Śaka Year 310 (? = 388 A.D.) | 182 |

CHAPTER II: SOUTH INDIA

A—WESTERN DECCAN: INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

| | |
|--|-----|
| No. 75—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Kṛishṇa (c. 45-40 B.C.) | 183 |
| Nos. 76-81—Nānāghāt Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions of the time of Śātakarṇi I (c. 40-30 B.C.) | 184 |

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| ✓ No. 82—Nānāghāt Cave Inscription of Nāgaṃnikā (?) (c. 30-25 B.C.) | 186 |
| No. 83—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.)—Regnal Year 18 (= c. 124 A.D.) ... | 191 |
| No. 84—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi— Regnal Year 24 (= c. 130 A.D.) | 193 |
| No. 85—Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.)—Regnal Year 7 (= c. 137 A.D.) ... | 195 |
| No. 86—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi— Regnal Year 19 (= c. 149 A.D.) | 196 |
| No. 87—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi— Regnal Year 22 (= c. 152 A.D.) | 200 |
| No. 88—Kārle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi— Regnal Year 24 (= c. 154 A.D.) | 203 |
| No. 89—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Yajña-Śātakarṇi (c. 174-202 A.D.)—Regnal Year 7 (= c. 181 A.D.) | 204 |
| No. 90—Myakadoni Rock Inscription of Puḷumāvi (c. 219-25 A.D.) —Regnal Year 7 (= c. 225 A.D.) | 205 |

B—EASTERN DECCAN

(I) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ĀRYA-MAHĀMEGHAVĀHANA-CHEDIS OF KALIṄGA

| | |
|--|-----|
| No. 91—Hāthīgumphā Cave Inscription of Khāravela (c. 25-5 B.C.) | 206 |
| No. 92—Mañchapurī Cave Inscription of the Chief Queen of Khāravela | 213 |
| No. 93—Mañchapurī Cave Inscription of Vakradeva (?) (c. 5-1 B.C.) | 214 |

(II) INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHRADESA

(a) RECORDS FROM BHATTIPROLU

| | |
|--|-----|
| Nos. 94-97—Bhaṭṭiprolu Casket Inscriptions of the time of Kuberaka (c. 90-80 B.C.) | 215 |
|--|-----|

(b) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IKSHVĀKUS OF THE
KISTNA-GUNTŪR REGION

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Nos. 98-100—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions of Vīrapurushadatta (c. 250-80 A.D.)—Regnal Year 6 | 219 |
| No. 101—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta— Regnal Year 14 | 224 |
| No. 102—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta— Regnal Year 18 | 227 |
| No. 103—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Ehuvula Śāntamūla II (c. 280-95 A.D.)—Regnal Year 2 | 229 |
| No. 104—Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscription of Ehuvula Śāntamūla II— Regnal Year 11 | 230 |

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—CEYLON

| | |
|--|-----|
| No. 105—Āṇḍiyā-kanda Cave Inscription of Tissa-Abaya (= Tishya Abhaya) | 232 |
| No. 106—Duwé Gala Cave Inscription, No. 7 | 233 |

B—CENTRAL ASIA

| | |
|--|-----|
| Nos. 107-114—Documents from Chinese Turkestan | 234 |
| No. 1 = BRS, No. 14 | 234 |
| No. 2 = BRS, No. 45 | 236 |
| No. 3 = BRS, No. 152 | 237 |
| No. 4 = BRS, No. 165 | 240 |
| No. 5 = BRS, No. 288 | 241 |
| No. 6 = BRS, No. 358 | 243 |
| No. 7 = BRS, No. 579 | 247 |
| No. 8 = BRS, No. 661 | 249 |

BOOK III

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

| | SUBJECT | PAGE |
|-------------|---|------|
| No. 1— | Inscription on the Coins of Chandragupta I (c. 320-30 A.D.) and Kumāradevī and the Lichchhavis ... | 253 |
| No. 2— | Allahābād Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 330-76 A.D.) ... | 254 |
| No. 3— | Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta ... | 260 |
| No. 4— | Nālandā Spurious Copper-plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 5 ... | 262 |
| No. 5— | Gayā Spurious Copper-plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 9 ... | 264 |
| No. 6— | Inscription on the Lyrical Type of Coins of Samudragupta (c. 330-76 A.D.) ... | 266 |
| No. 7— | Inscription on the Aśvamedha Type of Coins of Samudragupta ... | 267 |
| No. 8— | Inscription on the Coins of Kācha (= Samudragupta?) ... | 268 |
| No. 9— | Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Chandra Gupta II—Regnal Year 5; Gupta Year 61 (= 380 A.D.) ... | 269 |
| Nos. 10-11— | Udayagiri Cave Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II— Gupta Year 82 (= A.D. 401) ... | 271 |
| No. 12— | Sāñchī Stone Inscription of Chandra Gupta II—Gupta Year 93 (= A.D. 412) ... | 273 |
| No. 13— | Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Chandra Gupta II— Gupta Year 90 + x (= A.D. 409-10 + x) ... | 274 |
| No. 14— | Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra (= Chandra Gupta II?) ... | 275 |
| No. 15— | Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.)—Gupta Year 96 (= A.D. 415-16) ... | 278 |
| No. 16— | Dhānāidaha Copper-plate Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I —Gupta Year 113 (= A.D. 432-33) ... | 280 |
| No. 17— | Karamdāṇḍā Stone Līṅga Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta Year 117 (= A.D. 436). ... | 282 |

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| No. 18—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta Year 124 (= A.D. 444) ... | 283 |
| No. 19—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta Year 128 (= A.D. 447) ... | 285 |
| No. 20—Mankuwār Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta Year 129 (= A.D. 448) ... | 287 |
| No. 21—Mandasor Stone Inscription mentioning Kumāra Gupta I and Bandhuvarman—Mālava Years 493 and 529 (= A.D. 436 and 473) ... | 288 |
| No. 22—Inscriptions on the Aśvamedha Type of Coins of Kumāra Gupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.) ... | 297 |
| No. 23—Inscriptions on Some Silver Coins of Kumāra Gupta I— Gupta Year 124 (= 443-44 A.D.) ... | 298 |
| No. 24—Tumain Fragmentary Inscription of Ghaṭotkacha Gupta of the time of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta Year 116 (= 435-36 A.D.) ... | 298 |
| No. 25—Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta—Gupta Years 136-38 (A.D. 455-457-58) ... | 299 |
| No. 26—Kahāum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta— Gupta Year 141 (= 460 A.D.) ... | 308 |
| No. 27—Indor Copper-plate Inscription of Skanda Gupta—Gupta Year 146 (= A.D. 466) ... | 309 |
| No. 28—Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-67) ... | 312 |
| No. 29—Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta ... | 316 |
| No. 30—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Skanda Gupta ... | 319 |
| No. 31—Sārṇāth Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Kumāra Gupta II—Gupta Year 154 (= A.D. 473) ... | 320 |
| No. 32—Bhitari Seal of Kumāra Gupta II or III ... | 321 |
| No. 33—Sārṇāth Buddhist Image Inscription of Budha Gupta— Gupta Year 157 (= A.D. 476) ... | 323 |
| No. 34—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budha Gupta—Gupta Year 163 (= 482 A.D.) ... | 324 |

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| No. 35—Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Budha Gupta—Gupta Year 165 (=A.D. 484) | 326 |
| No. 36—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budha Gupta (476-95 A.D.) | 328 |
| No. 37—Guṇāghar Copper-plate Inscription of Vaiṇya Gupta— Gupta Year 188 (=A.D. 507) | 331 |
| No. 38—Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhānu Gupta —Gupta Year 191 (=A.D. 510) | 335 |
| No. 39—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of a Gupta Emperor—Gupta Year 224 (=A.D. 543) | 337 |

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES AND SUBORDINATES
OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN NORTHERN INDIA

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

| | |
|---|-----|
| No. 40—Susuniā Rock Inscription of Chandravarman | 341 |
| No. 41—Bāiḡrām Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 128 (=A.D. 448) | 342 |
| No. 42—Pāhārpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 159 (=A.D. 479) | 346 |
| No. 43—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmāditya—Regnal Year 3 | 350 |
| No. 44—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmāditya | 354 |
| No. 45—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 18 | 357 |
| No. 46—Mallasārul Copper-plate Inscription of Vijayasena of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal Year 3 | 359 |

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES AND NEPAL

| | |
|---|-----|
| No. 47—Kosam Stone Slab Inscription of Bhadra Magha— (Śaka?) Year 86 (=A.D. 164?) | 365 |
|---|-----|

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| No. 48—Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa Pillar Inscription of Mānadeva—(Śaka?) Year 386 (= A.D. 464?) | 366 |

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDIGENOUS KINGS OF CENTRAL INDIA

(i) EASTERN PART OF CENTRAL INDIA

(a) UCHCHAKALPA FAMILY

| | |
|--|-----|
| No. 49—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Śarvanātha—Gupta Year 193 (= A.D. 513) | 370 |
|--|-----|

(b) PARIVRĀJAKA FAMILY

| | |
|--|-----|
| No. 50—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Saṃkshobha—Gupta Year 209 (= 529 A.D.) | 374 |
|--|-----|

(ii) KINGS OF THE WESTERN PART OF CENTRAL INDIA

| | |
|--|-----|
| No. 51—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time of Naravarman— Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 461 (= A.D. 404) ... | 377 |
| No. 52—Gaṅgdhār Stone Inscription of Viśvavarman—Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 480 (= A.D. 423) ... | 379 |
| No. 53—Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman <i>alias</i> Viśhṇuvardhana—Mālava (= Vikrama) Year 589 (= A.D. 532) | 386 |
| No. 54—Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman (c. 525-35 A.D.) | 393 |

D—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HŪṆA KINGS FROM CENTRAL INDIA
AND THE PANJĀB

| | |
|---|-----|
| No. 55—Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa (c. 500-515 A.D.) | 396 |
| No. 56—Kurā Stone Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa Shāhi (c. 500-515 A.D.) | 398 |

| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|---|------|
| ✓ No. 57—Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula (c. 515-35 A.D.) | |
| —Regnal Year 15 | 400 |

E—WESTERN INDIA: MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ

| | |
|---|-----|
| No. 58—Bhamodṛā-Mohotā Copper-plate Inscription of Droṇasiṃha | |
| —Gupta-Valabhī Year 183 (= A.D. 502) | 403 |

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE IMPERIAL
GUPTAS IN SOUTH INDIA

A—VĀKĀTAKAS OF VIDARBHA

| | |
|--|-----|
| No. 59—Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyaśakti II—Regnal Year 37 | 406 |
| No. 60—Poona Copper-plate Inscription of Prabhāvatī Guptā— Regnal Year 13 | 411 |
| No. 61—Rithpur Copper-plate Inscription of Prabhāvatī Guptā of the time of Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 19 | 415 |
| No. 62—Chammak Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II— Regnal Year 18 | 418 |
| No. 63—Ajaṇṭā Cave Inscription of the time of Harisheṇa | 425 |

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS

| | |
|---|-----|
| No. 64—Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman —Year 10 | 433 |
| No. 65—Hirahadagallī Copper-plate Inscription of Śivaskanda- varman—Regnal Year 8 | 437 |
| No. 66—Guṇapadeya Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Skandavarman | 443 |
| No. 67—Narasarāopeṭ Copper-plate Inscription of Siṃhavarman— Regnal Year 4 | 445 |

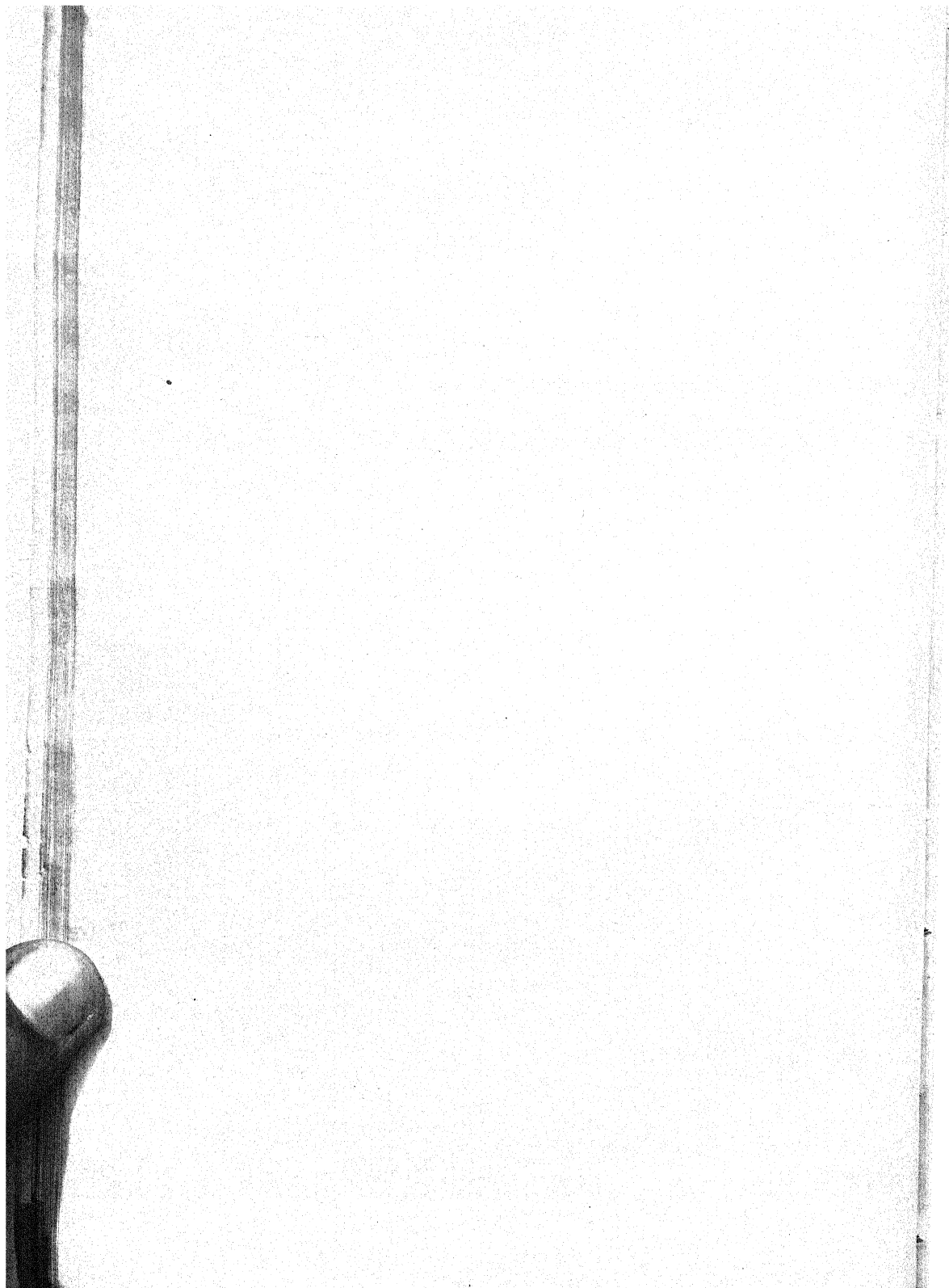
| SUBJECT | PAGE |
|--|------|
| C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KADAMBAS | |
| No. 68—Chandravalli Stone Inscription of Mayūraśarman (c. 330-60 A.D.) | 449 |
| No. 69—Tālagunda Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Śāntivarman (c. 455-70 A.D.) | 450 |
| D—WESTERN GAṄGAS | |
| No. 70—Penukoṇḍa Copper-plate Inscription of Mādhava ... | 456 |
| E—EASTERN GAṄGAS | |
| No. 71—Jirjingi Copper-plate Inscription of Indravarman—(Gaṅga) Year 39 (= c. 535 A.D.?) | 458 |
| CHAPTER IV | |
| INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA | |
| A—BURMA | |
| No. 72—Maunggun Gold-plate Inscriptions | 462 |
| B—MALAY PENINSULA | |
| ✓ No. 73—Fragmentary Stone Inscription of Buddha Gupta ... | 465 |
| C—BORNEO | |
| Nos. 74-75—Kutei Yūpa Inscriptions of Mūlavarman ... | 466 |
| D—JAVA | |
| No. 76—Jambu Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman | 468 |
| No. 77—Tugu Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman—Regnal Year 22 | 469 |
| E—CHAMPĀ (SOUTH ANNAM) | |
| No. 78—Vo-cañh Rock Inscription | 471 |
| No. 79—Cho Dinh Rock Inscription (No. 2) of Bhadravarman ... | 473 |
| No. 80—My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman ... | 474 |
| ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA | 477 |
| INDEX OF SOME INTERESTING WORDS | 507 |
| GENERAL INDEX | 509 |

LIST OF PLATES

| | Between Pages |
|--|---------------|
| Plate I—Map of Bhāratavarsha ... | xlii-1 |
| Plate II—Specimens of Cuneiform Writing—A ... | 2-3 |
| Plate III— Do. —B ... | ,, |
| ✓ Plate IV—Girnar Rock Edicts —I & II ... | 16-17 |
| Plate V— Do. —III & IV ... | ,, |
| Plate VI—Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict —VII ... | 32-33 |
| Plate VII— Do. —XII ... | ,, |
| ✓ Plate VIII—1. Mahāsthān Plaque.—Photoprint ... | 82-83 |
| 2. Do. —Rubbing ... | ,, |
| ✓ Plate IX—Piprāhwā Vase Inscription ... | ,, |
| ✓ Plate X—Besnagar Pillar Inscription ... | 90-91 |
| Plate XI—Parkham Image Inscription—Right Side | 94-95 |
| Plate XII— Do. —Left Side ... | ,, |
| Plate XIII— Do. —Between the Legs ... | ,, |
| Plate XIV—Pāṭnā Image Inscription—II ... | ,, |
| ✓ Plate XV—Ayodhyā Inscription of Dhanadeva ... | 96-97 |
| ✗ Plate XVI—Shinkot (Bajaur) Relic Casket ... | 102-03 |
| Plate XVII—Shinkot Casket Inscriptions of Menander | |
| —Sections A, A ¹ & C ... | ,, |
| ✓ Plate XVIII— Do. —Section A 2 ... | ,, |
| Plate XIX— Do. —Section E ... | ,, |
| Plate XX— Do. —Sections B & D ... | ,, |
| Plate XXI—Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions | |
| —Sections A, E & E" ... | 112-13 |
| Plate XXII— Do. —Sections B, C, D, J & M ... | ,, |
| Plate XXIII— Do. —Sections F, G, J, K & L ... | 114-15 |
| Plate XXIV— Do. —Sections I, J, M & Q ... | ,, |
| Plate XXV— Do. —Sections J, N, O, P, Q & R ... | 116-17 |

| | Between Pages |
|---|---------------|
| ✓Plate XXVI—Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription | 116-17 |
| Plate XXVII—Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription | 128-29 |
| ✓Plate XXVIII—Mathurā Stone Inscription of Huvishka | 146-47 |
| Plate XXIX—Khawat (Wardak) Vase Inscription | |
| —Sides A & B | ... 152-53 |
| ✓Plate XXX— Do. —Sides C & D | |
| ✓Plate XXXI—Junāgarh Inscription of Rudra- | |
| dāman I —Section I | ... 170-71 |
| ✓Plate XXXII— Do. —Section II | |
| ✓Plate XXXIII— Do. —Section III | |
| ✓Plate XXXIV—1. Nānāghāt Cave Inscription — Part I | 186-87 |
| 2. Nānāghāt Cave Figure-label Inscriptions | |
| Plate XXXV—Nānāghāt Cave Inscription — Part II | .. |
| Plate XXXVI—Nāsik Inscription of Puḷumāvi | |
| —Section I | ... 196-97 |
| Plate XXXVII— Do. —Section II | |
| ✓Plate XXXVIII—Hāthīgumphā Inscription of | |
| Khāravela —Section I | ... 208-09 |
| Plate XXXIX— Do. —Section II | |
| ✓Plate XL—Nāgārjunikōṇḍa Inscription (C. 2) | ... 222-23 |
| Plate XLI—Āṇḍiyā-kanda Cave Inscription | ... 232-33 |
| Plate XLII—Duwé Gala Cave Inscription, No. 7 | |
| Plate XLIII—Central Asian Document (BRS, No. 165) | 240-41 |
| ✓Plate XLIV—Allahābād Pillar Inscription of | |
| Samudragupta —Section I | ... 256-57 |
| ✓Plate XLV— Do. —Section II | |
| ✓Plate XLVI—Bāigrām Copper-plate Inscription | |
| —First Side | ... 342-43 |
| ✓Plate XLVII— Do. —Second Side | |
| Plate XLVIII—Seal of the Mallasārul Copper-plate | 360-61 |

| | | | Between Pages |
|--------------|--|------------------|---------------|
| ✓Plate XLIX— | Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhya- | | |
| | śakti II | —Sides I-IIA | ... 408-09 |
| ✓Plate L— | Do. | —Sides IIB-IIIA | ... „ |
| ✓Plate LI— | Do. | —Sides IIIB-IV | ... „ |
| ✓Plate LII— | Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription | | |
| | of Śivaskandavarman | —Sides IA-IIA | 434-35 |
| ✓Plate LIII— | Do. | —Sides IIB-IIIB | ... „ |
| ✓Plate LIV— | Do. | —Sides IVA-VA | ... „ |
| ✓Plate LV— | Do. | —Sides VB-VIB | ... „ |
| Plate LVI— | Do. | —Sides VIIA-VIII | ... 436-37* |



ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>Act. Or.</i> | = <i>Acta Orientalia</i> , Oslo. |
| Allan, <i>Cat.</i> | = <i>Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Coins of the Gupta Dynasties</i> , by J. Allan. |
| <i>An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.</i> | = <i>Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute</i> , Poona. |
| A. R. | = Annual Report. |
| Arch. Surv. Ind. | = Archaeological Survey of India. |
| <i>Arch. Surv. W. Ind.</i> | = <i>Archaeological Survey of Western India</i> . |
| <i>A. S. S. I.</i> | = <i>Archaeological Survey of Southern India</i> . |
| <i>B. E. F. E. O.</i> | = <i>Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extreme Orient</i> , Hanoi. |
| Bhandarkar, <i>List.</i> | = <i>A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India</i> , by D. R. Bhandarkar. Appendix to <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , XIX-XXXIII. |
| <i>Bom. Gaz.</i> | = <i>Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency</i> . |
| <i>Br.</i> | = <i>Brāhmana</i> . |
| <i>C.</i> | = <i>Circa, circum</i> (i.e., round about). |
| <i>Carm. Lect.</i> | = <i>Carmichael Lectures</i> , by D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta University, 1918, 1921. |
| <i>C. H. I.</i> | = <i>Cambridge History of India</i> , vol. I, edited by E. J. Rapson, 1923. |
| <i>Corp. Ins. Ind., I</i> | = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , vol. I. <i>Inscriptions of Asoka</i> , edited by E. Hultzsch. |
| <i>Corp. Ins. Ind., II</i> | = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , vol. II. Part i. <i>Kharoshthī Inscriptions</i> , edited by Sten Konow. |
| <i>Corp. Ins. Ind., III</i> | = <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum</i> , vol. III. <i>Gupta Inscriptions</i> , edited by J. F. Fleet, Calcutta, 1888. |
| <i>E. Hist. Ind.</i> | = <i>Early History of India</i> , by V. A. Smith, 4th edition, 1924. |

| | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Ep. Ind.</i> | = <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , Delhi |
| G. E. | =Gupta Era. |
| <i>Ind. Ant.</i> | = <i>Indian Antiquary</i> . |
| <i>Ind. Cult.</i> | = <i>Indian Culture</i> , Calcutta. |
| <i>I. H. Q.</i> | = <i>Indian Historical Quarterly</i> , Calcutta. |
| <i>J. A. O. S.</i> | = <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> . |
| <i>J. As.</i> | = <i>Journal Asiatique</i> , Paris. |
| <i>J. A. S. B., N. S.</i> | = <i>Journal of the [Royal] Asiatic Society of Bengal, New Series</i> , Calcutta. |
| <i>J. B. B. R. A. S.</i> | = <i>Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i> . |
| <i>J. B. O. R. S.</i> | = <i>Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society</i> , Patna. |
| <i>J. G. I. S.</i> | = <i>Journal of the Greater India Society</i> , Calcutta. |
| <i>Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.</i> | = <i>Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society</i> , Rajahmundry. |
| <i>Journ. Dep. Let.</i> | = <i>Journal of the Department of Letters</i> , Calcutta University. |
| <i>J. R. A. S.</i> | = <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland</i> , London. |
| <i>J. R. A. S. B. L.</i> | = <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters</i> , Calcutta. |
| <i>Khar. Ins.</i> | = <i>Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions</i> , Parts I-II, edited by Boyer, Rapson and Senart; Part III, edited by Rapson and Noble, Cambridge. |
| Lüders, <i>List</i> | = <i>A List of the Brāhmī Inscriptions</i> , by H. Lüders. Appendix to <i>Epigraphia Indica</i> , vol. X. |
| <i>Mabābh.</i> | = <i>Mahābhārata</i> . |
| <i>Mem. A. S. I.</i> | = <i>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</i> . |
| <i>Mod. Rev.</i> | = <i>Modern Review</i> , Calcutta. |
| <i>Mys. Arch. Surv.</i> | = <i>Mysore Archaeological Survey</i> . |
| <i>Pol. Hist.</i> | = <i>Political History of Ancient India</i> , by H. C. Raychaudhuri, Calcutta University, 1938. |
| <i>Proc.</i> | = <i>Proceedings</i> . |

Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.

=*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*

Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.

=*Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.*

Prog. Rep.

=*Progress Report.*

Rām.

=*Rāmāyaṇa.*

Rapson, Cat.

=*Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Coins of the Andhras, etc., by E. J. Rapson, London, 1908.*

Ś. E.

=*Śaka Era.*

Smith, Cat.

=*Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, vol. I, by V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1906.*

V. E.

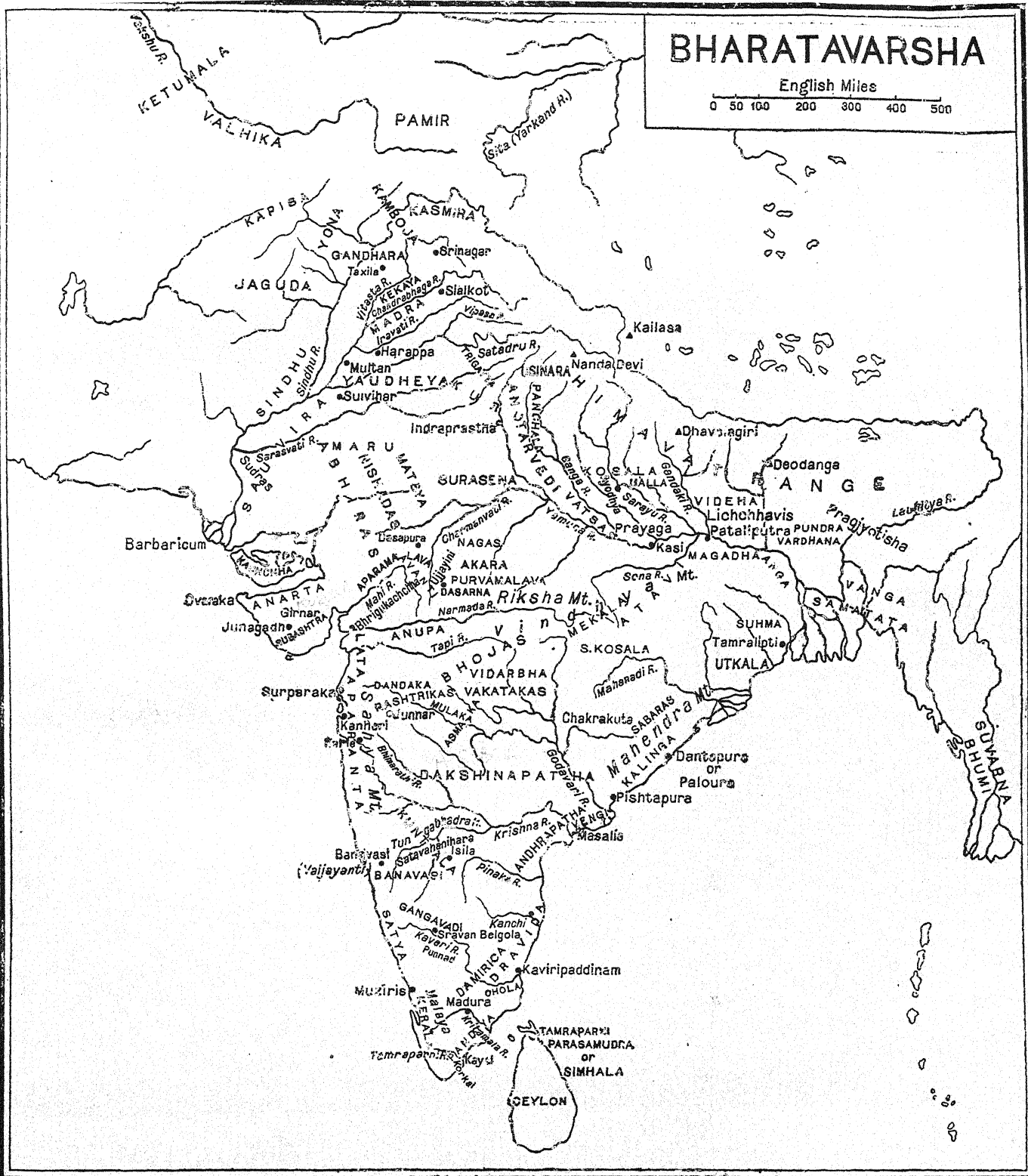
=*Vikrama Era.*

Z. D. M. G.

=*Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*

English Miles

0 50 100 200 300 400 500



he
t
cl
or
s
l
o
ur
m

ve

te

y

:

a

1

v

t

t

t

t

t

t

t

t

t

t

t

t

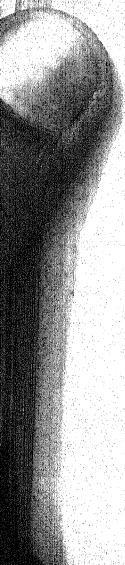
t

t

BOOK I

**Inscriptions of the Akhaemenian
and Maurya Periods**

th
s
o
c
u
sc
a
r
o
v
E
c
y
f
i
o
y
k








































A

y d^a i b t i y m^a n v a h i y
 yadipatīy man(i)yāh(a)iy
 c i y k r m^a a v^a a d^a h y a v^a
 ciyakaram avā dahyāva
 t y a d a r y v^a u s s a y o i y
 tyā dārayava(h)uś zšāyādiya
 a d^a a r y p i t k r m^a d i d i y
 adāraya patikaram didiy
 t y i y m n a g a o u m^a
 tyaiy manā gāoūm
 b r t i y a v d^a a z š n a s a h
 bara(n)tiy avadā zšnāsah(i)diš
 d^a i s a d^a t i y a z d^a a b v a t
 adataiy azdā bavātiy
 i y p a r s h y a m^a r t i y h
 pārsahyā martiyahyā
 y a d^u u r i y a r s t i s
 dūrai y arštis
 p r a g m a t a a d^a t i y
 parāgmata adataiy
 a z d^a a b v a t i y p a r s
 azdā bavātiy pārsa
 m^a r t i y d^u u r y p i y
 martiya dūrayapiy
 h c a p a r s a p r t r m a
 hacā pārsā prtaram
 p t i y t a
 patiyajata

From Old Persian Inscriptions, by S. Sen.

Specimens of Cuneiform writing (Bk. I, Nos. 1-5)—A





B





  
    
   [ (once Art II Sus. d)] 
       
     
      (B III 79 bis. Sus. I 31)
   

WORD-DIVIDER






















IDEOGRAMS

   
 xs (xšāyaθiya-) BU (bāmī-) DAH (dahyāu-) BG (baga)

 or  or  or 
 AM (a(h)uramazdāh-)

NUMERALS

From *Old Persian Inscriptions*, by S. Sen.

Specimens of Cuneiform writing (Bk. I, Nos. 1-5)—B.

CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE AKHAEMENIANS

No. 1—Bisutūn (Behistūn) Column (No. I)

Inscription of Dārayava^hush (=Darius, c. 522-486 B.C.)

BISUTŪN¹, Persia.

KING and THOMPSON, *The Inscription of Darius the Great at Behistūn*, 1907; H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 2, and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 1-3; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 2-6.

Language: Old Persian.

Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT²

- 1 Adam Dārayava^hush³ khshāyathiya vazrka khshāyathi[ya]
[khshāyathiy]-

1 To commemorate his victories, Darius caused to be sculptured on a rock-cliff overhanging the main road from Mesopotamia to Persia, through the Zagros, a huge tablet on which he represented himself with conquered rebels bound before him; the accompanying inscription in Old Persian, Susian and Babylonian describes his campaigns and gives the glory to A^huramazdā. This is the tablet of Behistan, Bahistān, Behistūn, Bisitūn or Bisutūn discovered by Sir Henry Rawlinson in 1837 (Hall, *A. H. N. E.*, 7th ed., p. 571).

2 Prepared from Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. In transliterating the Old Persian records we have used *kh*, *th*, *sh* and *ch* for *x*, *θ*, *š* and *c* which are generally employed by scholars. This is to make this part of our work uniform with other parts in which Modern Persian ش, خ and چ have been transliterated with *kh*, *sh* and *ch*. The latter method has been followed by some scholars, e. g., by H. N. Wright in his *Catalogues of Indo-Muslim Coins*.

3 Many scholars write *vaush*. We have inserted the sounds, in this instance and in others, as they are said to be actually pronounced.

- 2 ānām *khshāyathiya* **Pārsaiy** *khshāyathiya* dah[yūnām]
Visht-
- 3 āspahyā pussa¹ **Arshāmahyā** napā **Hakhāmanish[iya]** [⌘]
[Th]ātiy
- 4 **Dārayava^hush** *khshāyathiya* manā pitā **Vishtāspa** *Vishtāspa-*
[hyā] [pit]ā **Arsh-**
- 5 āma *Arshāmahyā* pitā **Ariyāramna** *Ariyāramnahyā* pit[ā]
[Ch^hishpish] Ch^hishp-
- 6 aish pitā **Hakhāmanisha** [⌘] Thātiy **Dārayava^hush** *khshāya-*
[thiya] [ava]hyarā-
- 7 diy vayan **Hakhāmanishiyā** *thahyāmah'y* [⌘] Hachā paruv-
[iyata] [ā]mātā a^hma-
- 8 h'y [⌘] Hachā paruviyata hyā a^hmākhām tau^hmā *khshāya-*
[thiyā] [ā]hā [⌘] Th-
- 9 ātiy **Dārayava^hush** *khshāyathiya* VIII manā tau^hmāy[ā]
[tyai]y [pa]ruvam
- 10 *khshāyathiya* āha[⌘] Adam navama [⌘] IX dūvitāparnam
[vayam] *khshāyathi-*
- 11 yā a^hmah'y [⌘] Thātiy **Dārayava^hush** *khshāyathiya* va[shnā]
A^huramazd-
- 12 āha² adam *khshāyathiya* a^hmiy [⌘] **A^huramazdā** *khshassam*
manā [fr]ābara [⌘] Th-
- 13 ātiy **Dārayava^hush** *khshāyathiya* imā dahyāva tyā manā
[pat]iyāisha vashn-
- 14 ā **A^huramazdāha** [a]damshām *khshāyathiya* āham **Pārsa**
^{kh}**Uvaja** [B]ābairush **A-**
- 15 **thurā Arabāya Mudrāya** tyaiy drayahyā **Sparda Yaun[ā]**
[Māda] **Armina Kat-**
- 16 **patuka Parthava Zraⁿka Haraiva** ^{kh}**Uvārazmiya Bākhtrish**
[Sug]uda Gaⁿdārā³ Sa-

1 Some scholars transcribe *th^ha* instead of *ssa*.

2 Ahura-Mazda is the Avestic name of God ; *Ahura* means "god" or "the giver" and *Mazda* "the omniscient." In a very old list of 54 names of God, these two are mentioned separately. See Sir A. Mookerjee *Silver Jubilee Volume* III, Pt. 2 (Calcutta University), p. 97.

3 Gandhāra is mentioned in the list of countries. It is also referred to in the big Susa palace inscription (l. 34) of Darius : yakā hachā Gaⁿdārā a[bar]iy

17 ka Thatagush Ha[ra]^{kh}uvatish Maka fraharvam dahyāva
XXIII [§].....¹

TEXT² SANSKRITIZED

अहं धारयद्वसुः³ ×ज्ञायथ्यः (=शासकः, राजा) ×वजृकः (वज्रकः ? =महान्), ज्ञायथ्यः
ज्ञायथ्यानां, ज्ञायथ्यः ×पासें (=पारसिकदेशे), ज्ञायथ्यः +दस्यूनां (=जनपदानां), विष्टाश्वस्य
(इष्टाश्वस्य ? Hystaspes) पुत्रः, ×ऋषामस्य (ऋक्सामस्य ? Arsames) नपात्
(=नप्ता), ×साखामनीषः (Akhaemenian) । शंसति धारयद्वसुः ज्ञायथ्यः—‘मम
पिता विष्टाश्वः, विष्टाश्वस्य पिता ऋषामः, ऋषामस्य पिता +अर्यारमनः, अर्यारमनस्य पिता
×चसिश्चिः, चसिश्चिः पिता ×सखामनीषः’ । शंसति धारयद्वसुः ज्ञायथ्यः—‘×अवस्यराधि
(=अवतः) वयं साखामनीषाः शस्यासहे । +सचा पूर्व्यतः (=पूर्वकालतः) ×आमाताः
(=अभिजाताः ?) स्मसि (=स्मः) । सचा पूर्व्यतः स्या (=सा=या) अस्माकं तोक्मा (=सन्तानः
=वंशः) ज्ञायथ्या (=राजकीया) आसीत्’ । शंसति धारयद्वसुः ज्ञायथ्यः—‘न (अष्ट) मम
तोक्मनः त्ये (=ते=ये=याः) पूर्व ज्ञायथ्याः आसन् । अहं नवमः । ६(नव-संख्यकाः) द्वितापर्य
(=अनुपूर्व्येण ; यद्वा, शाखाद्वयक्रमेण) वयं ज्ञायथ्याः स्मसि’ । शंसति धारयद्वसुः
ज्ञायथ्यः—‘+वश्ना (=इच्छया) +असुरभेधसः (=ईश्वरस्य) अहं ज्ञायथ्यः अस्मि ।

hachā Karmānā, “Teak from Gandhāra was brought and from Karmania.” This is said in connection with the construction of the palace at Susa by Darius. A Ga^ddāriya (man from Gandhāra) is mentioned in the list of subjects in the South Tomb ins. (l. 4) at Persepolis, attributed to Artaxerxes II (c. 404-359 B. C.). Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 172. Gandhāra is identified with the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts. “Sindhu” was conquered later than the date of this record (c. 520—16 B.C.)

1 The inscription on Column I has no less than 96 lines of writing.

2 “The dialect on which the Ancient High Indian is based, the dialect as it was spoken by the Aryan immigrants in the North-West of India, was closely related to the Ancient Persian and Avestic and not very far removed from the primitive Indo-Iranian language. Indeed, the difference between the language of the Vedas and this primitive Indo-Iranian language seems to be less, perhaps, than that between the Indian languages Sanskrit and Pāli” (Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, I, p. 41). In Sanskritizing the text we have followed the original closely in accordance with rules of comparative philology and have often used words which are un-Sanskritic or not strictly Sanskritic. Words that are not noticed in Vedic or Classical Sanskrit and cannot be connected with it are marked with ×, and those related to it at least in form are marked with +.

3 *Dāraya* =holder or holding ; Sanskrit *dhāraya* or *dhārayat*.

असुरमेधाः [मया] कृतं (=राज्यं) प्राभरत् (=प्राभारयत्) । शंसति धारयद्भुः क्षायथ्यः
—‘इमाः दस्यवः (=जनपदाः) त्याः (=ताः=याः) मम (=मां) प्रति एयुः (=आगताः),
वश्ना असुरमेधसः अहम् आसां क्षायथ्यः आसं—^xपार्सः (Persia), ^xसुवजः (Susiana),
⁺बावेरुः (Babylonia), ^xअशुराः (Assyria), ^xअरवायः (Arabia), ^xमुद्रायः
(Egypt), त्ये ⁺अयस्याः (=ते [=ये] समुद्रान्तकवर्तिनः देशाः), ^xस्वर्दः (Sparda,
Sardis), यवनाः (Ionians), ^xमादः (Media), ^xअरमिणः (Armenia), ^xकतप्तुकः
(Kappadokia), पर्शवः (पर्थवः ? Parthia), ^xजङ्कः (Drangiana), ^xसरेवः
(सरयूः ? Aria; mod. Herāt), ^xसुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia), ^xवाख्तिः
(बल्हीकः ; Bactria; mod. Balkh), ⁺सुगुदः (Sogdiana), गन्धारः (Gan-
daria), शकः (Skythia), ⁺शतगुः (Sattagydia), ⁺सरखती (Arakhosia)¹, ^xमकः
(Makae)—प्रसर्व (=सर्वाः मिलिताः) दस्यवः २३ (=त्रयोविंशतिः) ।’

No. 2—Persepolis Inscription (e) of Dārayava^hush (=Darius).

PERSEPOLIS, Persia.

H. C. TOLMAN, *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts*, p. 38,
and *Cuneiform Supplement*, pp. 49-50 ; S. SEN, *Old Persian
Inscriptions*, pp. 92-93.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT²

1 Adam Dārayava^hush khshāyathiya vaz-

2 rka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānā-

1 Avestic Harahvaiti ; mod. Province of Kandahār; known as White India under the later Parthians in the 1st century A. D. Hindu civilisation prevailed in this country which remained more Indian than Iranian till the Mahomedan conquest (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, pp. 326-27).

2 From Tolman's and Sen's transcripts. This portion of the numerous records, which is marked "e" by scholars, is on the south retaining wall of the terrace. The inscriptions are in three versions, viz., Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

- 3 m *khshāyathiya* dahyūnām tyai-
 4 *shām* parūnām **Vishtāspahyā**
 5 pussa **Hakhāmanīshiya** [⌘] *Thātiy* Dāra-
 6 yava^{hush} *khshāyathiya* vashnā **A^hurama-**
 7 **zdāhā** imā dahyāva tyā adam
 8 adrshiy hadā anā **Pārsā** kā-
 9 rā tyā hachāma atrsa manā bāj-
 10 im abara ^{kh}**Uvaja Māda Bābairu-**
 11 **sh Arabāya Athurā Mudrāy-**
 12 **ā Aramina Katpatuka Sparda Ya-**
 13 **unā** tyai ^{hush}*khkahyā* utā tya-
 14 iy drayahyā utā dahyāva t-
 15 yā parau[va]iy **Asagarta Parthava Zraⁿ-**
 16 **ka Haraiva Bākhtrish Sug[u]da** ^{kh}**Uv-**
 17 **ārazmiya Thatagush Hara^{kh}uvatish H-**
 18 **iⁿdush¹ Gaⁿdāra Sakā** **Maka** [⌘] *Thātiy*
 19 **Dārayava^{hush}** *khshāyathiya* yadiy
 20 avathā maniyāha'y hachā aniya-
 21 nā mā [t]rsam imam **Pārsam** kāram pādi-
 22 y[⌘] Yadiy kāra **Pārsā** pāta ahatiy hyā
 23 duvaish[ta]m shiyātish akhshatā hauvchi-
 24 y aurā nirasātiy abiy imām viṭham [⌘]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अहं धारयद्रसुः [×]ज्ञायथ्यः [×]वज्रुकः (=महान्), ज्ञायथ्यः ज्ञायथ्यानां, ज्ञायथ्यः
⁺दस्यूनां त्यासां पुरुषां (=जनपदानां तेषां [=येषां] बहूनाम्), विद्याश्चस्य पुत्रः [×]साखामनीषः ।
 शंसति धारयद्रसुः ज्ञायथ्यः—⁺वश्ना ⁺असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः (=इमे देशाः ते
 [=ये]) अहम् ⁺अवृषि (=अधार्षम्) सह अनया [×]पार्सया [×]कारा (=पारसिकया सेनया) ;
 त्याः (=ताः =याः) ⁺सचा मत् (=मत्तः) अतस्यन् ; मां [×]भाजिम् (=करम्) अभरन्
 (=अहरन्) [×]सुवजः (Susiana), [×]मादः (Media), बावेरुः (Babylonia), [×]अरवायः
 (Arabia), [×]अशुराः (Assyrians), [×]मुद्रायाः (Egyptians), [×]अरमिनः (Armenia),
[×]कत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), [×]स्पर्दः (Sparda), यवनाः (Ionians), त्ये (=ते =ये)
 शुष्कस्य (=शुष्क-देशस्य [वास्तव्याः]) उत (=अपि च) त्ये (=ते =ये) ⁺जयस्याः

1 The Susa Palace ins. (c), l. 44, refers to ivory brought from India (*Hiⁿdauv*),
 Kusha and Arakhosia (Sen, *op cit*, p. 119). A *Hiⁿduviya* (man from Sindhu =
 Indus Valley) is mentioned among the subjects in the South Tomb ins., l. 13.

(=समुद्रान्तिकस्थाः), उत दस्यवः त्याः (=ताः =याः) पूर्वे (=पूर्व-दिक्स्थाः)—⁺अश्वगर्तः (Sagartia), पार्श्वः (Parthia), [×]अङ्गः (Drangiana), [×]सरेवः (Aria), [×]वाख्त्रिः (Bactria), ⁺सुगुदः (Sogdiana), सुवारज्म्यः (Khorasmia), ⁺शतगुः (Sattagydia), ⁺सरस्वती (Arakhosia), सिन्धुः (India²=district on the Indus), गन्धारः (Gandaria), शकाः (Skythians), मकाः (Makae)¹। शंसति धारयद्रुसुः क्षायथ्यः—‘यदि [×]अवथा (=इदृशं) ⁺मन्यासे (=मन्यसे)—“⁺सचा अन्यस्मात् मा ⁺वसम् (=वासिषम्)” इमं पार्सं कारं पाहि (=इमान् पारसिकान् जनान् रक्ष)। यदि कारः पार्सः पातः अस्ति, स्या दविष्ठं [×]च्यातिः अक्षता (=सा सुचिरम् उन्नतिः अव्याहता)⁺अवरा ⁺न्यृच्छति अभि इमां ⁺विशम् (अवस्तात् आगच्छति अभि इमं विशं [=राज-वंशम्])’¹¹

No. 3—Hamadan Gold and Silver Tablet Inscription of Dārayava^hush (=Darius)

HAMADAN, Persia.

HERZFELD, *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 34 ; BUCK, *Language*, 1927 ; SCHWETNER, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, VI ; KENT, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, LI, p. 330 ; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 114.

Language: Old Persian.

Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT¹

- 1 Dārayava^hush khshāyathiya vazrka khshāyathiya khshāyathi-yānām khshāyathiya dahy-
- 2 ūnām Vishtāspahyā pussa Hakhāmani-
- 3 shiya [⌘] Thātiy Dārayava^hush khshāyathiya ima khsh-assam
- 4 tyā adam dārayāmiy hachā Sakaibish

¹ Prepared from Herzfeld's and Sen's transcripts. This record is duplicated and is in three versions, viz., Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian.

- 5 tyaiy para **Sugdam** amata yātā ā **Kushā** ha-
 6 chā **Hiⁿdauv** amata yātā a **Spardā** tyamai-
 7 y **A^huramazdā** frābara hya mathishta bagān-
 8 ām [⌘] Mām A^huramazdā pātuv utāmai yitham [⌘]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

धारयद्वसुः [×]क्षायथ्यः [×]वज्रकः (=महान् राजा), क्षायथ्यः क्षायथ्यानां, क्षायथ्यः ⁺दस्यूनां
 (=जनपदानां), विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः, [×]साखामनीध्यः । शंसति धारयद्वसुः क्षायथ्यः—⁺इमत्
 (=इदं) क्षत्रं (=राज्यं) ल्यत् (=तत् =यत्) अहं धारयामि ⁺सचा ⁺शकेभिः (=शकेभ्यः)
 त्वे परं सुग्दात् (Sogdiana), अमुतः (=अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) यावत् आकुशात्¹ (=यावत्
 कुशं), सचा ⁺सिन्धौ (=सिन्धोः, from India=district on the Indus)
 अमुतः यावत् आ [×]स्वर्दात् (Sparda), त्यन्मे (=तत् [=यत् राज्यं] मे) असुरमेधाः प्राभरत्
 (=प्रायच्छत्), स्यः (=सः=यः) महिष्टः ⁺भगानां (=महत्तमः देवानाम्) । माम्
 असुरमेधाः पातु उत मे ⁺विशं (=वंशम्) ।²

No. 4—Naqsh-i-Rustam Inscription (a) of Dāraya- va^hush (=Darius).

NAQSH-I-RUSTAM near Persepolis, Persia.

TOLMAN, *Old Persian Lexicon and Texts*, pp. 44 and 46,
Cuneiform Supplement, pp. 56-58 ; KENT, *Language*,
 XV, p. 162ff. ; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 96-98.

Language: Old Persian

Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT²

- 1 Baga vazrka **A^huramazdā** hya im-
 2 ām būmim adā hya avam asm-

1 Kusha (evidently beyond Mudrāya or Egypt) is generally identified with Ethiopia ; cf. Kuśadvīpa of the Purāṇas.

2 From Tolman's, Kent's and Sen's transcripts. Of several records this is the first half of an inscription (marked "a" by scholars) containing 60 lines. They are on a tomb ; above is a double row of figures supporting the platform where Darius stands before a burning altar ; higher up is the divine symbol.

- 3 ānam adā hya martiyam adā h-
 4 ya shiyātim adā martiyahyā
 5 hya **Dārayava^hum** khshāythyiam ak-
 6 unaush aivam parūvnām khshāyath-
 7 iyam aivam parūvnām framātā-
 8 ram [⌘] Adam **Dārayava^hush** khshāyathiya va-
 9 zrka khshāyathiya khshāyathiyānām
 10 khshāyathiya dahyūnām vispazanā-
 11 nām khshāyathiya ahyāyā būmi-
 12 yā vazrkāyā dūraiapiy **Visht[ā]s.**
 13 **pahyā** pussa **Hakhāmanishiya Pārsa** [P]-
 14 ārsahyā pussa **Ariya** Ariya-*ch*[i]-
 15 ssa [⌘] *Thā*tiy **Dārayava^hush** khshā[ya]-
 16 thiya vashnā **A^huramazdāhā** im[ā]
 17 dahyāva tyā ada[m] agrbāya[m]
 18 apataram hachā **Pārsā** [⌘] Adams^hām
 19 patiyakhshayaⁱy [⌘] Manā bājim aba[ra]ha [⌘]
 20 Tyashām hachāma athah'[y] [ava] [a]-
 21 kunava [⌘] Dātam tyā manā ava[d]ish
 22 adāriy [⌘] **Māda^{kh}Uvaja Parthava** [Harai]-
 23 **va Bākhtrish Suguda^{kh}Uvāra**[zm]-
 24 **ish Zraⁿka Hara^{kh}uvatish Thatagu**[sh] [Ca]ⁿ.
 25 **dāra Hi^ddush Sakā** haumavar[gā] [Sa]-
 26 **kā tigrakhaudā Bābair**[ush] [A]-
 27 **thurā Arabāya Mudrāya** [Aramina]
 28 **Katpatuka Sparda Yauna Sakā** tyai[y] [pa]-
 29 radraya **Skudra Yaunā** takabarā **Puⁿ[tāy]**-
 30 **ā Kushiyā Machiyā Karkā** [⌘]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺भगः [×]वज्रकः (=देवः महान्) ⁺असुरमेधाः, स्यः (=सः =यः) इमां भूमिम् ⁺अधात्
 (=असृजत्), स्यः [×]अवम् ⁺अरमानम् अधात् (=यः असुम् आकाशम् असृजत्), स्यः मर्त्यम्
 अधात् (=यः मानवम् असृजत्), [×]च्यातिम् (=उन्नतिम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य, स्यः धारय-
 द्वसु [×]ज्ञायथ्यम् अकृणोत् (=प्रकरोत्), एकं पुरुषां ज्ञायथ्यं (=बहूनां [जनानां] राजानम्),
 एकं पुरुषां प्रमातारं (=प्रभुम्) । अहं धारयद्वसुः ज्ञायथ्यः वज्रकः, ज्ञायथ्यः ज्ञाय-
 थ्यानां, ज्ञायथ्यः ⁺दस्यूनां विश्वजनानां (=राजा देशानां सर्वमानवानां), ज्ञायथ्यः अस्याः
 भूम्याः वज्रकायाः दूरे अपि [स्थितायाः] (=राजा अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः),

विष्टाश्वस्य पुत्रः, ^xसाखामनीष्यः, ^xपार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, ⁺अर्यः ⁺अर्य-चित्रः (=अर्य-वंश्यः)। शंसति धारयद्रसुः ज्ञायथ्यः — ⁺वश्ना असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्याः अहम् ⁺अगृभायम् ⁺अपतरं ⁺सचा पार्सात् (=इमे देशाः ते [=तान्=यान्] अहम् अगृह्णां दूरतरं पारसिकदेशात्)। अहम् एषां ⁺प्रत्यक्षये (=एतान् शास्मि)। मम ^xभाजिम् अभरन् (=ते देशाः] मां करम् अहरन्)। त्यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि (=तत् [=यत्] एतेभ्यः मत्तः अशस्यत्), ^xअवत् अकृण्वन् (=अदः [एते] अकुर्वन्)। ⁺धातं त्यत् मम अवत् ^xदिः ⁺अधारि (= [वि]हितं यत् मया अदः तैः अकारि)। — ^xमादः (Media), ^xसुवजः (Susiana), पर्शवः (Parthia), ^xसरेवः (Aria), ^xबाख्तिः (Bactria), ⁺सुगुदः (Sogdiana), ^xसुवारज्मिः (Khoras-mia), ^xजङ्गः (Drangiana), ⁺सरस्वती (Arakhosia), ⁺शतगुः (Sattagydia), गन्धारः (Gandaria), सिन्धुः (India=valley of the Indus), शकाः ⁺सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians), शकाः ^xतिग्रखोदाः (=तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः ; pointed-capped Skythians), ⁺बावेरुः (Babylonia), ^xअशुराः (Assyrians), ^xअरवायः (Arabia), ^xमुद्रायः (Egypt), ^xअरमिणः (Armenia), ^xकत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), ^xस्वर्दः (Sparda), यवनः (Ionia), शकाः त्ये ⁺पारेज्यः (=ते [=ये] समुद्रपारवासिनः¹), स्कुद्रः, यवनाः तकभराः² (=तकधारिनः), पुन्तायाः (Puntians), कुषियाः (Kushians), मचियाः (Maxyes), कर्काः (Karkians)³ ॥

No. 5—Persepolis Inscription [h] of Khshayarshā (=Xerxes, c. 486-65 B.C.)

PERSEPOLIS, Persia

HERZFELD, *A.M.I.*, VIII, pp. 56-77; KENT, *Language*, XIII, pp. 292-305; S. SEN, *Old Persian Inscriptions*, p. 148 ff.

Language: Old Persian.

Script: Cuneiform.

TEXT³

1 Baga vazrka **A^huramāzdā** hya imām būm-

2 im adā hya avam asmānam adā hya

1 Raychaudhuri connects the land of these Sakas with the Sākadvīpa of the Purāṇas. Some scholars read *tara-draya*, "across the sea", in the text.

2 According to some, तक may be a kind of head-dress or coiffure.

3 Prepared from Sen's transcript.

- 3 martiyam adā hya *shiyātīm* adā
 4 martiyahyā hya **Khshayārshām** *khshāyathi-*
 5 yam akunaush aivam parūnām *khshāyath-*
 6 iyam aivam parūnām framātāram [⊗] Ada-
 7 m **Khshayārshā** *khshāyathiya* vazrka *khshāya-*
 8 *thiya khshāyathiyānām khshāyathiya* dahy-
 9 ūnām parū-zanānām *khshāyathiya* ab-
 10 yāyā būmiyā vazrkāyā dūrai y a-
 11 piy **Dārayavahaush** *khshāyathiyahyā* pussa
 12 **Hakhāmanishiya Pārsa** Pārsahyā pussa
 13 **Ariya** Ariya-*chissa* [⊗] *Thātiy Khshayārshā*
 14 *khshāyathiya* vashnā **A^huramazdahā** imā
 15 dahyāva tyaiśhām adam *khshāyathiya* āh-
 16 ām apataram hachā **Pārsā** [⊗] Adamśhām
 17 patiyak^hshayaiy [⊗] Manā bājim abara[ha] [⊗] T-
 18 yashām hachāma athahiy ava akunava [⊗] D-
 19 ātam tyā manā avadiśh adārāya [⊗] **Māda**
 20 ^{kh}**Ūja Hara^{kh}uvatiśh Armina Zraⁿka Parthava**
 21 **Haraiva Bākhtrish Sugda^{kh}Uvārazmi-**
 22 **sh Bābairush Athura Thatagush Sparda**
 23 **Mudrāya Yaunā** tyā drayahiyā dā-
 24 raya^tiy utā tyaiy paradrāya dārāya^t-
 25 iy **Machiyā Arabāya Caⁿdāra Hiⁿdush**
 26 **Katpatuka Dahā Sakā** haumavargā **Sakā**
 27 tigrak^hhaudā **Skudrā Ākaufachiyā**
 28 **Pu^ttāyā Karkā Kushiya** [⊗] *Thātiy Khsha-*
 29 **yārshā** *khshāyathiya* yathā tyā adam *kh-*
 30 *shāyathiya* abavam astiy aⁿtar aitā
 31 dahyāva tyaiy upariy nipishtā a-
 32 yauda [⊗] Pasāvamaⁱy **A^huramazdā** upastām
 33 abara [⊗] Vashnā **A^huramazdahā** ava dahyāvam
 34 adam ajanam utashim gāthavā nīśhāda-
 35 yam [⊗] Utā aⁿtar aitā dahyāva āha yad-
 36 ātya paruvam **Daivā** ayadiy [⊗] Pasāva va-
 37 shnā **A^huramazdahā** adam **Daivadāna-**
 38 **m** viyakanam utā patiyazbayam Daivā
 39 mā yadiyaish [⊗] Yadāyā paruvam Daivā
 40 ayadiy avadā adam **A^huramazdām** ayada-
 41 iy artāchā brazmaniy [⊗] Utā aniyash-
 42 cha āha tyā dushkrtam akariy ava ada-

43 m naibam akunavam [⌘] Aita tya adam aku-
 44 navam visam vashnā A^huramazdahā aku-
 45 navam [⌘] A^huramazdāmai y upastām abara y-
 46 ātā krtam akunavam [⌘] Tuva k[ā] hya
 47 apara yadimaniyā^haiy shiyāta ahaniy
 48 jīva utā mrta artāvā ahaniy
 49 avanā dātā parīdiy tya A^huramazd-
 50 ā niyashitāya [⌘] A^huramazdām yadaishā a-
 51 rtāchā brazmaniy [⌘] Martiya hya avan-
 52 ā dātā pariyaita tya A^huramazdā n-
 53 ishtāya utā A^huramazdām yadataiy a-
 54 rtāchā brazmaniy hauv utā jīva
 55 shiyāta bavatiy utā mrta artāvā
 56 bavatiy [⌘] Thātiy **Khshayārshā** khshāyath-
 57 iya mām A^huramazdā pātuv hachā ga-
 58 stā [u]tamaiy vitham utā imām dah-
 59 yāvam [⌘] Aitā adam **A^huramazdām** jadiy-
 60 āmiy [⌘] Aitamaiy A^huramazdā dadātuv [⌘]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺भगः [×]वजृकः (=देवः महान्) ⁺असुरमेधाः, स्यः (=सः= यः) इमां भूमिम् अधात्
 (=असृजत्), स्यः इमम् अरमानम् (=Ved. मेघम्=आकाशम् ; Mod. Pers. āsmān)
 अधात्, स्यः मर्त्यं (=मानवम्) अधात्, स्यः [×]च्यातिम् (=अभ्युदयम्) अधात् मर्त्यस्य,
 स्यः [×]क्षयार्षा (Xerxes) [×]क्षायथ्यं (=नृपम्) अकृणोत् (=अकरोत्), एकं पुरुषां (=बहूनां)
 क्षायथ्यम्, एकं पुरुषां प्रमातारं (=प्रभुम्) । अहं क्षयार्षाः (Xerxes) क्षायथ्यः ⁺दस्यूनां
 पुरुजनानां (=देशानां बहुजनानां), क्षायथ्यः अस्याः भूम्याः वजृकायाः दूरे अपि (=राजा
 अस्याः पृथिव्याः महत्याः सुदूरविस्तृतायाः), धारयद्वसोः क्षायथ्यस्य पुत्रः, [×]साखामनीष्यः,
[×]पार्सः (Persian), पार्सस्य पुत्रः, ⁺अर्यः (Aryan), ⁺अर्यचितः (=आर्यवंश्यः) । शंसन्ति
 क्षयार्षाः क्षायथ्यः—⁺वश्ना (=इच्छया) असुरमेधसः इमाः दस्यवः त्वेषां (=इमे देशाः
 तेषां [=येषां]) क्षायथ्यः आसम् ⁺अपतरं ⁺सचा पार्सीत् (=दूरतरं पारसिकदेशात्) ।
 अहम् एषां ⁺प्रत्यक्षये (=एतान् शास्मि) । मम [×]भाजिम् अभरन् (=[एते देशाः]
 मां करम् अहरन्) । ल्यत् एषां सचा मत् अशंसि [×]अवत् अकृणवन् (=तत् [=यत्]
 एभ्यः मत्तः अशस्यत् अदः [ते] अकुर्वन्) । हितं ल्यत् मम अवत् [×]दिः अधारयन् (=विहितं
 [=विधानं] यत् मम अदः ते अपालयन्)—[×]मादः (Media), [×]सूजः (=सुवज, Susiana),

+सरस्वती (Arakhosia), ^xअरमिणः (Armenia), ^xअङ्कः (Drangiana), ^xपर्थवः (पर्थवः ? Parthia), ^xसरेवः (Aria), ^xवाख्तिः (Bactria), ^xसुगदः (=सुगुदः, Sogdiana), सुवारज्मिः (Khorasmia), ⁺बावेरुः (Babylonia), ^xअशुरः (Assyria), ⁺शतगुः (Sattagydia), ^xस्वर्दः (Sparda), ^xमुद्रायः (Egypt), यवनाः त्वे ⁺अयसि आ धारयन्ति उत त्वे ⁺पारेअयः धारयन्ति (=यवनाः ते [=ये] समुद्रस्य समीपे वसन्ति अपि च ते[=ये] पारेसमुद्रं वसन्ति), ^xमन्वियाः (Maxyes), ^xअरवायः (Arabia), गन्धारः (Gandaria), ^xसिन्धुः (India = the Indus valley), ^xकत्पतुकः (Kappadokia), ^xदसाः (Dahae), शकाः ⁺सोमवर्गाः (Amyrgian Skythians), शकाः ^xतिग्रखोदाः (=तीक्ष्णाग्रकिरीटाः शकाः), ^xस्कुद्राः (Skudrians), ^xआक्रोफचियाः (people of Ākaufaka), ^xपुन्तायाः (Puntians), ^xकर्काः (Karkians), ^xकुषियाः (Ethiopians?) । शंसति क्षयार्षाः क्षायथ्यः—‘यथा ल्यत् (=यदा तत्=यदा) अहं क्षायथ्यः अभवम्, अस्ति [कश्चित्] अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (=अन्तरे एतेषां देशानां), त्वे उपरि निपिष्टाः (=ते [=ये] उपरि निवेशिताः), अयोधत् (=अयुध्यत=विद्रोहं चकार) । पश्चात् अवत् मे (=मां प्रति) असुरमेधाः ⁺उपस्थाम् अभरत् (=साहायकं व्यधात्) । वरना (=इच्छया) असुरमेधसः ^xअवं दस्युम् (=अमुं देशम्) अहम् अहनं (=विध्वस्तं कृतवान्), उत ^xसीं ^xगातौ आ न्यासादयम् (=अपि च निम्ने भित्तिं स्थापितवान्) । उत अन्तः एताः दस्यवः (=अपि च एतेषां देशानाम् अन्तरे) [कश्चित्] आसीत् ^xयधात्यत् (=यत्) पूर्वं देवाः¹ (=पारसिकैः उपास्यमानेभ्यः देवेभ्यः इतरे देवाः) ⁺अयजि (=अयज्यन्त) । पश्चात् अवत् (=अमुष्य) वक्ष्मा असुरमेधसः अहम् अवं देवधानं व्यखनम् (=अदः देवस्थानम् उत्खातवान्) । उत प्रत्यह्यं (=अपि च घोषितवान् [अहं])—‘देवाः मा ⁺यज्येषन् (=न इज्येरन्)’ । ^xयधायां (=यत्र) पूर्वं देवाः अयजि (=अयजन्त) ^xअवध (=तत्) अहम् असुरमेधसम् अयजे भृतानि च ब्रह्माणि (=पारसिकधर्मसम्मतानि सत्यवचनानि) । उत अन्यः च आसीत् ल्यत् दुष्कृतम् अकारि (=अन्यथापि [देशः] आसीत् यस्मिन् पापम् अक्रियत्) । अवत् (=अमुं देशम्) अहं ^xनेभं (=शुद्धम्) अकृणवम् (=अकरवम्) । एतत् ल्यत् (=यत्) अहम् अकृणवं, विश्वं (=सर्वं) वक्ष्मा असुरमेधसः

1 The reference may be to the people of north-western India and the adjoining regions which formed part of the dominions of Xerxes.

अकृणवम् । असुरमेधाः मे उपस्थां अभरत् यावत् कृतं (=कर्म) अकृणवं (=सम्पादित-
वान्) । त्वं कः स्यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे (=त्वं कश्चिद् यः अपरः यदि मन्यसे)—
“^xच्यातः असानि जीवः उत मृतः ऋतवान् असानि (=सुखितः स्यां जीवितः मृतः च
क्षेमवान् स्याम्)”, ^xअवना हिता परीहि ल्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यग्रापयत् (=अदः विधानम्
अनुसर यत् असुरमेधाः विहितवान्) । असुरमेधसं यजेः ऋतानि च ब्रह्माणि ।
मर्त्यः स्यः अवना हिता पर्येति ल्यत् असुरमेधाः न्यग्रापयत् उत असुरमेधसं यजते
ऋतानि च ब्रह्माणि (=मानवः यः अमूनि विधानानि अनुसरति यानि असुरमेधाः
विहितवान्, अपि च असुरमेधसं यजते सत्यभूतानि च पारसिकशास्त्रसम्मतानि वचनानि),
असौ उत जीवः च्यातः भवति उत मृतः ऋतवान् भवति (=असौ जीवन् च सुखितः
भवति मृतः च क्षेमवान् भवति) । शंसति क्षयार्थाः क्षायथ्यः—‘माम् असुरमेधाः पातु
सचा ^xगर्दात् (=पाप-वासनातः), उत मे विशम्, उत इमां दस्युं (=मम वंशं च
इमं देशं च) । एतत् अहम् असुरमेधसं गदामि (=प्रार्थये) । एतत् मे
असुरमेधाः ददातु ॥

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAURYAS

A—Rocks Edicts of Asoka (c. 273-32 B.C.)

No. 6—First Rock Edict: Gīrnār Version¹

GIRNĀR, Junāgarh State, Kāthiāwād

HULTZCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 1 f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 इय['] धंम-लिपी देवानं पि(प्रि)येन
- 2 पि(प्रि)यदसिना राजा लेख[ट]पि[ता] [१*] [इ]ध न किं-
- 3 चि जीवं आरभिसा(त्पा) प(प्र)जूहितव्यं(व्यं) [१*]
- 4 न च समाजो कतव्यो(व्यो) [१*] बहुकं हि दोसं
- 5 समाजमिह पसति देवानं पि(प्रि)यो पि(प्रि)यदसि राजा [१*]
- 6 अस्ति पि तु एकचा समाजा साधु-मता देवानं
- 7 पि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो [१*] पुरा महानसमिह³
- 8 देवानं पि(प्रि)यस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो अनुदिवसं व-

1 Asoka's Edicts have been discovered at Gīrnār (Junāgarh State, Kāthiāwād), Kalsī (Derādun Dist., U. P.) Dhauli (Puri Dist., Orissa), Jaugaḍa (Ganjam Dist., Orissa), Mansehrā Hazāra Dist., N. W. F. P.) Shāhbāzgarhī (Peshāwar Dist., N. W. F. P.) and Yerragudi (Karnul Dist., Madras Pres.) A fragment containing a few words of R. E. VIII has been discovered at Sopara (ancient Śūrpāraka) in the Thānā Dist., Bombay Pres. Rock-Edicts III and IV refer to the king's 12th regnal year, V to the 13th, VIII to the 10th and XIII to the 8th year. According to Pillar Edict VI, Asoka began to issue rescripts on Dhamma in his 12th regnal year (counted from the date of his *Abhisheka* in c. 269 B. C.)

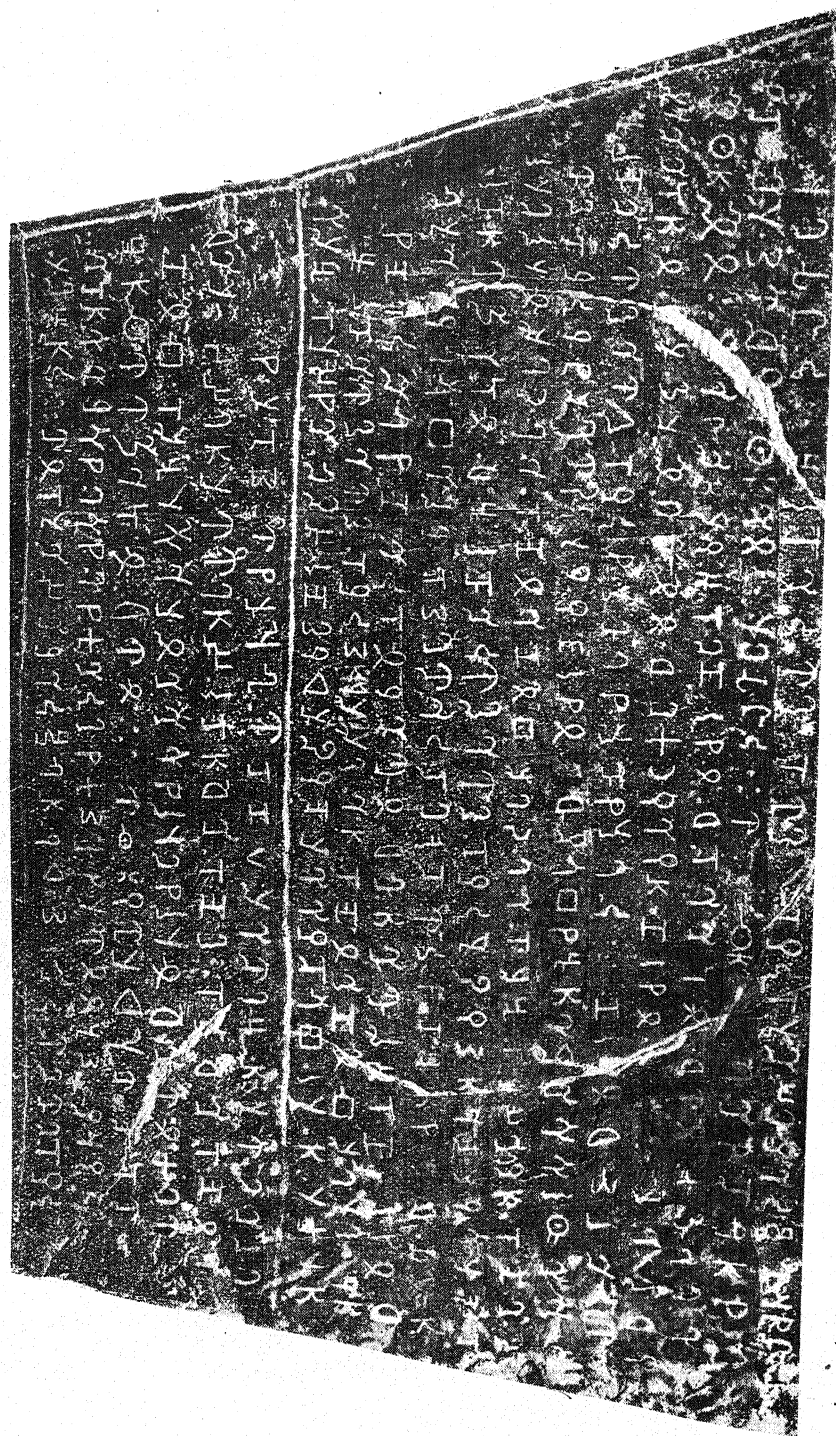
2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

3. The original looks like मेहानसेमिह



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind , I).

Girnar Rock Edicts I & II (Bk. I, Nos. 6-7).



- 9 हूनि पाँ(प्रा)ण-सत-सहस्रा(ला)नि आरभिषु सूपाथाय [1*]
 10 से अज यदा अयं धर्म-लिपी लिखिता ती एव पाँ(प्रा)-
 11 णा आरभरे सूपाथाय द्वो मोरा एको मगो [1*] सो पि
 12 मगो न ध्रुवो [1*] एते पि ती(ती) पाँ(प्रा)णा पछा न आरभिसरे [11*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्मलिपिः (=धर्मानुवर्धकः लेखः) ⁺ देवानांप्रियेण (=देवप्रियेण) प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा (=अशोकेन) लिखिता । इह (=पाटलिपुत्रनगर्यां राजधान्यां ; यद्वा, मम अस्मिन् राज्ये) न कश्चित् जीवः आलभ्य प्रहोतव्यः (=निहृत्य उत्सृष्टव्यः) ¹ । न च समाजः ² (=मेलकः, उत्सवः) कर्तव्यः । बहुकं (=बहु) हि दोषं पश्यति समाजे देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा । सन्ति अपि ⁺ एकल्याः (=एकविधाः=केचित्) समाजाः साधुमताः देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः । पुरा महानसे (=रन्धनागारे) देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः अनुदिवसं बहूनि प्राण-शत-सहस्राणि आलभ्यन्त सूपाथीय (=व्यञ्जनार्थम्) । ³ तत् (=ततः) अथ यदा इयं धर्म-लिपिः लिखिता त्वयः एव प्राणाः (=प्राणिनः) आलभ्यन्ते सूपाथीय—द्वौ मयूरौ एकः मृगः (=द्वौ पक्षिनौ एकः च पशुः ⁴ ; यद्वा, द्वौ शिखिनौ एकः च हरिणः) । सः अपि मृगः न ध्रुवः (=नियतः) । एते अपि त्वयः प्राणाः पश्चात् न आलप्स्यन्ते ॥

1 This injunction goes against the Vedic sanction of killing animals in sacrifices; cf. *Manu*, V, 22, 39 with Medhātithi's commentary.

2 Cf. *Mbh.*, I, 143, 3; 185, 29f; IV, 2, 7 ; 13, 15f.; etc.

3 Cf. the description of king Rantideva's *Mahānasa* where 2000 animals and 2000 kine were slain every day, in *Mbh.*, III. 207, 8-10; VII, 65, 16-18; XII, 29, 127f.

4 Cf. 'मगो वा आगच्छति' । सव्वचतुप्पदानं हि इध मगो ति नामं । 'मोरो वा कट्ठं पातेती ति' । मोरगहणेन च इध सव्वपक्खिगहणं अधिप्पेतं । Quoted from Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the Bhayabherava-sutta of the *Majjhimanikāya* in Barua, *Aśoka Edicts in New Light*, p. 88.

No. 7—Second Rock Edict : Girnār Version

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 449;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 2 f.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सर्वत विजितम्हि देवानंर्पि(प्रि)यस पियदसिनो राजो
- 2 एवमपि र्प(प्र)चतेसु यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केतलपुतो² आ तंब.
- 3 पंणी अंतियो[१*]को योन-राजा ये वा पि तस अंतिय[१*]कस सामीप[१]³
- 4 राजानो सर्वर्त(त्त) देवानंर्पि(प्रि)यस र्पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो द्वे चिक्रीछ[१*] कता
- 5 मनुस-चिक्रीछा च पसु-चिक्रीछा च [१*] असुडानि च यानि मनुसोपगानि च
- 6 पसो[प]गानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वर्त(त्त) हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च [१*]
- 7 मूलानि च फलानि च यत यत नास्ति सर्वत हारापितानि च रोपापितानि च [१*]
- 8 पंथेस् कूपा च खानापिता वै(व्र)द्धा च रोपापित[१] परिभोगाय पसु-मनुसानं [१*]

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references see *Ib.* p. ix f.

2 Read केरलपुतो. Other versions of the edict have केरलपुते (Kālsī), केरडपुतो (Shāhbāzgarhī), and केरलपुत (Mānsehrā). Evidently, the Cholas and Pāṇdyas in plural and Keralaputra and Satyaputra in singular are used in contradistinction. The former group indicates peoples and the latter kings (i.e. their particular countries). Several localities are known with names ending in *puta*, *putta* or *putra*; e.g. Seriyāputa, Kesaputta, Pāṭaliputra (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 130). Similar names may also indicate tribes or sects, e.g., Vanaputra, Dāudputra, Rājaputra = Rajput (Tod, *An. Ant. Raj.*, Calcutta, 1834, I, pp. 232, 233, II, 360); cf. also such epithets as Jetaputta, Sibiputta, Bhojaputta, Videhaputta in literature. Here however *Keralaputra* (as also *Satyaputra*) signifies the king (i.e. his country); cf. references to the kingdom and capital of Kerobothra (=Keraputra) in the *Periplus* (§54) and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i, §87. Cf. also Kosalaputra, surname of Kanakasena, in Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 242.

3 Bühler originally read सामीनं and corrected it into सामंता which is the reading of other versions of the edict. Hultzsch thinks that सामंता was originally engraved on the rock and was subsequently changed into सामीपं (or सामीपा). See R. E. XIII for the princes who were neighbours of Antiokhos.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सर्वत्र ⁺विजिते (=राज्ये) ⁺देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, एवम् अपि प्रत्यन्तेषु यथा चोळाः (Tanjore-Trichinopoly region), पाण्ड्याः (Ramnad-Madura-Tinnevelly region), सत्यपुत्रः (North Malabar), केरलपुत्रः (South Malabar), आ-ताम्रपर्णि (=ताम्रपर्णी[=सिंहल]पर्यन्तम्), [अपि च] अन्तियोकः (Antiochos II Theos of Syria, c. 261-46 B. C.) यवनराजः¹, ये वा अपि तस्य अन्तियोकस्य सामीपाः (=समीपस्थाः) राजानः, सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः [मते] द्वे चिकित्से कृते—मनुष्य-चिकित्सा च पशुचिकित्सा च । औषधानि² च यानि मनुष्योपगानि (=नरहितानि) च पशूपगानि च यत् यत् न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि (=वाहितानि) च रोपितानि च । मूलानि च फलानि च यत् यत् न सन्ति, सर्वत्र हारितानि च रोपितानि च । पथिषु कूपाः³ च खानिताः वृक्षाः⁴ च रोपिताः, परिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम् ॥

No. 8—Third Rock-Edict: Gīrnār Version

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 450; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 4f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT₅

- 1 देवानंर्पि(प्रि)यो पियदसि र[1*]जा एवं आह [1*] द्वादस-वासाभिसितेन मया इदं आचपितं [1*]

1 The word योन=यौन=यवन, meaning *Greek*, was borrowed from the Persians.

2 Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 69, 59:

औषधानि च सर्वाणि मूलानि च फलानि च ।

चतुर्विधांश्च वैद्यान् वै संगृह्णीयाद्विशेषतः ॥

3 Cf. *Vishṇusam.*, 91, 1: कूपकर्तृस्तत्प्रवृत्ते पानीये दुष्कृतस्यार्द्धं विनश्यति । See also *Padma P.*, *Srisṭi*, ch. 57, etc., etc.

4 Cf. *Vishṇu*, 91, 4-8; *Padma*, *loc. cit.*, ch. 58; etc., etc.

5 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ib.* p. ix f.

- 2 सर्वत विजिते मम युता च राज्ञके च पा(प्रा)देसिके च पंचसु पंचसु वासेसु अनुसं-
 3 य[न] ['] f [न]यातु एतायेव अथाय इमाय धंमानुसट्टि(स्टि)य यथा अजा
 4 य पि कंमाय [1*] [स]ाधु मातरि च पितरि च सुसू(स)सा मिता¹-संस्तुत-
 वातीनं बाम्हण-
 5 समणानं सा[धु] [द]ानं पा(प्रा)णानं साधु अनारंभो अप-ध्व(व्य)यता अप-भांडता
 साधु [1*]
 6 परिसा पि युते आजपयिसति गणनायं हेतुतो च ध्व(व्यं)जनतो च [1*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः (=देवप्रियः) प्रियदर्शी राजा (=अशोकः) एवम् आह—‘द्वादश-वर्षाभि-
 पिक्तेन (c. 258 B. C.) मया इदम् आज्ञप्तम् । सर्वत्र ⁺विजिते मम युक्ताः (=राजकोष-नियुक्ताः
 पुरुषविशेषाः) च² रज्जुकाः (=रज्जुग्राहकामात्याः=करादिनिर्द्धारणार्थभूमिपरिमाणादिकार्य-
 नियुक्ताः राजपुरुषविशेषाः) च प्रादेशिकाः (=प्रदेशशासकाः) च पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु अनुसंयानाय³
 निर्यान्तु (=परिदर्शनाय निष्क्रामन्तु), एतस्मै एव अर्थाय अस्यै धर्मानुशस्तये (=धर्मोपदेशाय)
 यथा अन्यस्मै अपि कर्मणे ।—साधुः मातरि च पितरि च शुश्रूषा (=वश्यता, सेवा), मित्र-
 संस्तुत(=परिचित)ज्ञातिभ्यः ब्राह्मण-श्रमणेभ्यः साधु दानं, प्राणानां साधुः अनालम्भः
 (=अहननम्), अल्पव्ययता अल्प-भाण्डता (=अल्पसञ्चयः) [च] साधू । परिषत् (=मन्त्रि-
 संसत्) अपि युक्तान् आज्ञापयिष्यति गणनायां (=अनुसंयातृणां यात्रायाः दूरत्वानुसारेण
 व्ययविशेषाणां परिगणने ; यद्वा, राजाज्ञापालनविषये) हेतुतः (=उद्देश्यानुसारेण) च
 व्यञ्जनतः (=अक्षरार्थानुसारेण ; यद्वा, व्यङ्ग्यार्थानुसारेण) च’ ॥

1 Hultzsch reads मित्र, and notes that it looks like मिता.

2 If this च, not found in other versions, be ignored, युक्त (official) may be taken as qualifying both Rajjuka and Prādesika; cf. S. N. Mitra, *Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 308 ff.

3 Cf. पुराणतीर्थानुसंयान in *Mbh.*, I, 2, 123; *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 278 n.

No. 9—Fourth Rock-Edict: Gīrnār Version.

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 451;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 5 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 अतिक्रातं अंतरं बहुनि वास-सतानि वढितो एव पर्ण(प्रा)णारंभो विहिसा च भूतानं
ज्ञातीसु
- 2 अ[सं]र्ष(प्र)तिपती ब्रा[म्ह]ण-सं(स)मणानं असंर्ष(प्र)तीपती² [।*] त³ अज देवानं-
र्षि(प्रि)यस षि(प्रि)यदसिनो⁴ राज्ञो
- 3 धंम-चरणेन [भे]री-घोसो अहो धंम-घोसो⁵ [।*] विमान-दसणा⁶ च हस्ति-द[स]णा च
- 4 अग्नि-खंघा[नि] च [अ]ग्नि च दिव्या(व्या)न रूपानि दसयिप्ता(त्पा) जनं यारिसे
बहूहि वा[स]-सतेहि
- 5 न भूत-पु[त्रे] तारिसे अज वढिते देवानंर्षि(प्रि)यस षि(प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो
धंमानुसद्धि(स्ति)या अनारं-
- 6 [भो] पर्ण(प्रा)णानं अविहीसा⁷ भू[ता]नं आतीनं संपटिपती ब्रम्हण-समणानं संपटिपती
मातरि पितरि
- 7 [सु]सु(सु)सा थैर-सुसुसा [।*] एस अजे च बहुविधे [ध]म-चरणे व[ढि]ते[।*]
वढयिसति चेव देवानंर्षि(प्रि)यो
- 8 [प्रि*]यदसि राजा धंम-[च*]रणं इदं [।*] पुर्ता(त्ता) च [पो]र्ता(त्ता) च पर्ण(प्र)पो-
र्ता(त्ता) च देवानंर्षि(प्रि)यस षि(प्रि)यदसिनो राज्ञो
- 9 [प्र*]वधयिसंति इदं [धं]म-चरणं आव सवट-कपा धंमम्हि सीलम्हि तिद्धं(स्टं)तो
[धं]मं अनुसासिसंति [।*]

1 From the fascimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ib.*, p. ix f.

2 प was inserted subsequently.

3 त was inserted subsequently.

4 द was inserted subsequently.

5 Hultzsch completes the sentence not with धंम-घोसो but with दसयिप्ता जनं in the next line.

6 Bühler and Senart: दसणा; Hultzsch: दर्सणा

7 ही was inserted subsequently.

- 10 [ए]स हि सेट्टे (स्टे) कंमे य धंमानुसासनं [।*] धंमचरणे पि न भवति असीलस [।*]
[त] इमम्हि अथम्हि
- 11 [व*]धी च अहीनी च साधु [।*] ए[ता]य अथाय¹ इद['] लेखापितं इमस अथ[स]
वधि युजंतु ह[']नि च
- 12 [नो] लोचेतव्वा (व्या) [।*] द्वादसवासाभिसितेन देवानं पि (प्रि)येन पि (प्रि)यद्-
सिना राज[।] इदं लेखापितं [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं बहूनि वर्ष-शतानि (=बहुवर्षशतात्मकं) वर्द्धितः एव प्राणालम्भः, विहिंसा च भूतानां, ज्ञातिषु असंप्रतिपत्तिः (=असंमानः), ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानाम् असंप्रतिपत्तिः । तत् (=ततः =तदनन्तरम्) अद्य ⁺देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मचरणेन (=धर्माचरणेन) मेरीघोषः अभूत् धर्मघोषः (=सर्वे मेरीघोषाः धर्मघोषकाः) । विमान-दर्शनात् च हस्ति-दर्शनात् च अग्नि-स्कन्धान् (=ज्योतिःपुञ्जान्)² च अन्यानि च दिव्यानि रूपाणि दर्शयित्वा जनं, यादृशं बहुभिः वर्षशतैः न भूतपूर्वं (=पूर्वं न [वर्द्धितं] भूतं), तादृशम् अद्य वर्द्धितं देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः धर्मानुशसत्या—अनालम्भः प्राणानाम्, अविहिंसा भूतानां, ज्ञातीनां संप्रतिपत्तिः, ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां संप्रतिपत्तिः, मातरि पितरि [च] शुश्रूषा, स्थविरशुश्रूषा । एतत् अन्यत् च बहुविधं धर्मचरणं वर्द्धितम् । वर्द्धयिष्यति च एव देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा धर्मचरणम् इदम् । पुत्राः च पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च देवानांप्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः प्रवर्द्धयिष्यन्ति इदं धर्मचरणं यावत् संवर्तकल्पम् (=आप्रलयं), धर्मे शीले (=सदाचारे³) [च] तिष्ठन्तः धर्मम् अनुशासिष्यन्ति [च] । एतत् श्रेष्ठं कर्म यत् धर्मानुशासनम् । धर्मचरणम् अपि न भवति अशीलस्य । अस्मिन् अर्थे वृद्धिः च अहीनिः (=अनल्पता) च साधुः । एतस्मै अर्थाय इदं लेखितम्—अस्य अर्थस्य वृद्धिः युज्यतां, हीनिः (=अल्पता) च नः रोचयितव्या (=न्यूनतायां रुचिः न कर्तव्या) । द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 258 B.C.) देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा इदं लेखितम् ॥

1 Two *aksharas* have been erased between *आ* and *य*

2 These may refer to artificial representations of celestial cars, elephants and light, which were shown to people for the increase of their attachment for heaven. Shāh. has जोतिकंधनि

3 Cf. also Childers, *Pāli Dictionary*, s.v. *silam*.

No. 10—Fifth Rock-Edict: Mānsehrā Version

MĀNSEHRĀ, HAZĀRA Dist., N. W. F. P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 454; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 74f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- 1² दे[वनं]प्रियेन³ प्रियद्वशिदरज एव['] अह [1*] कलण['] दुकर['] [1*] ये
अदिकरे कयणस से दुकरं करोति [1*] तं मय बहु [क]यणे [क]टे [1*] [त]'⁴
म[अ] पुत्र [च]
- 2 नत[रे]⁵ च पर च [ते]न ये अपतिये मे [अ]व-कपं⁶ तथ अनुवटिशति से सुकट
क[ष]ति [1*] ये [चु] अत्र देश पि हपेशति से दुकट कपति [1*]
- 3 पपे हि नम सुपदरे⁷ [1*] [से] अतिकत['] अ[']तर['] न भुतप्रुव ध्रम[म]ह-
मत्र नम [1*] से त्रेडश-व[ष]भिसितेन मय ध्रम-महमत्र कट [1*] ते
सत्र-प[ष]डेष⁸
- 4 वपुट ध्रमधिथ[न]ये च ध्रम-वप्रिय हिद-सुखये च [ध्र]मयुतस योन-कंबोज-गधरन⁹
र[ठि]क-पितिनिकन ये व पि अजे अपरत¹⁰ [1*] भ[ट]मये-
- 5 शु ब्रमणिभ्येषु अनथेषु बुध्रेषु हिद-सु[ख]ये ध्रमयुत-अपलिबोधये विय[पु]ट
ते [1*] बधन-बध[स] पटिवि[धन]ये अपलिबोधये मोक्ष[ये] [च] [इयं]

1 From the fascimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ib.*, p. xii f.

2 This is line 19 of the whole record on the rock.

3 Read प्रिये

4 Other versions have त, से and सो

5 Gīrnār has पोता(=पौत्रः)

6 Gīrnār has आव संवट-कपा (=यावत्संवर्तकल्पम्)

7 Bühler: सपदरे वः

8 Read ०डेषु

9 These three peoples lived in North-western India.

10 In a narrower sense *Aparānta* indicated Northern Koṅkan. Here however it seems to signify Western India where the Bhojas, Pitinikas, etc. lived. It is better to take Pitinika as a tribe than as an epithet of Rāṭhika.

- 6 अनुबध [प्र]ज[व*]¹ [ति] व कट्भिकर ति व महलके² ति व वियप्रट ते [।*]हिद
वहिरेषु च नगरे[षु] सत्रेषु [ओ]रोधनेषु भतन³ च स्प[सु]न⁴ [च]
7 ये व पि अवे जतिके सत्रव वियपट [।*] [ए] इयं ध्रम-निशितो तो⁵ व
ध्रमधिथने ति व दन-संयुते ति व सत्रव विजतसि⁶ मअ ध्रम-युतसि वपुट [ते]
8 ध्रम-महमल [।*] एतये अथूये अयि ध्रम-दिपि⁷ लिखित चिर-ठितिक होतु
तथ च मे प्रज अनुवटतु [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘कल्याणं [जनानां] दुष्करम् । यः आदिकरः
(=आरम्भकः) कल्याणस्य सः दुष्करं करोति । तत् (=ततः) मया बहु कल्याणं कृतम् ।
तत् मम पुत्राः च, नप्तारः च, परं च तेभ्यः यत् अपत्यं मे यावत् कल्पं (=आप्रलयं)
तथा अनुवर्तिष्यन्ते (=कल्याणं विधास्यन्ति), ते सुकृतं करिष्यन्ति । यः तु अत्र देशम्
(=एकदेशं=किञ्चिन्मात्रं) अपि हास्यति (=परिहरिष्यति) सः दुष्कृतं करिष्यति । पापं
हि नाम सुप्रदार्यं (=सुप्रवेशं=सुकरम्) । तत् अतिक्रान्तं [बहुकालात्मकम्] अन्तरं न
भूतपूर्वाः धर्ममहामात्राः नाम । तत् तयोदश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 257 B. C.) मया
धर्ममहामात्राः कृताः । ते सर्वे⁺ पाषण्डेषु (=० धर्मसम्प्रदायेषु) व्यापृताः धर्माधिप्राणाय
(=० ष्ठापनाय) च, धर्मवृद्धये हितसुखाय च धर्म-युतस्य यवन-कम्बोज-गन्धाराणां, राष्ट्रिक-
+पैतृयशिकानां, ये वा अपि अन्ये अपरान्ताः [तेषाम्] । भृतार्येषु (=शूद्रेषु वैश्येषु च)
ब्राह्मण्येषु (=ब्राह्मणेषु राजन्येषु च)⁸ अनाथेषु हितसुखाय +धर्मयुतापरिवोधाय (=धार्मिकस्य
शृङ्खल-मोचनाय) व्यापृताः ते । बन्धनबद्धस्य +प्रतिविधानाय (=अर्थादिदानाय)
अपरिवोधाय मोक्षाय च—एतत् अनुवद्धं (=एषः क्रमः)—प्रजावान् (=बहुसन्तानयुक्तः) इति

1 Kālsī: पजाव ; Shāh.: प्रजव ; Sanskrit प्रजावत्

2 Gīrnār has थैरेसु (=स्थविरेषु)

3 Read भतुन (=भ्रातृणां)

4 I.e. the *avarodha* wherein the sisters of Aśoka resided; cf. कन्यान्तःपुर

5 Read ति

6 Dhāuli has सव-पु[ठ]वियं

7 लिपि has become दिपि in Shāh. and Mān. owing to Persian influence.

8 I owe the interpretation to Prof. Raychaudhuri. भूत=Śūdra; अर्य=Vaiśya; इभ्य=a king; hence, the kingly class.

वा कृताभिकारः (=परप्रेरणया कृतदोषः) इति वा महल्लकः (=वृद्धः) इति वा व्यापृताः ते ।
 इह (=पाटलिपुत्रे) वहिः च नगरेषु सर्वेषु अवरोधनेषु (=अन्तःपुरेषु) भ्रातृणां स्वसृणां च ये
 वा अपि अन्ये ज्ञातयः [तेषां च]—सर्वत्र व्यापृताः [ते] । ये—अयं धर्मनिश्चितः
 (=धर्माश्रितः) इति वा धर्माधिष्ठानः इति वा दानसंयुतः इति वा, सर्वत्र विजिते मम
 धर्मयुते व्यापृताः—ते धर्ममहामाताः । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लिखिता—[एषा]
 चिरस्थितिका भवतु, तथा च मे प्रजा [एनां] अनुवर्त्तताम् ॥

No. 11—Sixth Rock-Edict: Gīrnār Version

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 454; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 11-12.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāmhī

TEXT¹

- 1 [देवा][नपियो*] [पियद*]सि राजा एवं आह [।*] अतिक्रातं अंतरं
- 2 न भूतर्पु(प्रु)[व] [स][वि*] [काले*] अथ-कमे व पटिवेदना वा [।*] त मया
 एवं कतं [।*]
- 3 [स]वे काले भू[ज]मानस मे ओरोधनमिह गभागारमिह वचमिह व
- 4 विनीतमिह च उयानेसु च सवर्त(त्त) पटिवेदका² द्वि(स्ति)ता अथे मे [ज]नस
- 5 पटिवेदेथ इति [।*] सर्वत्र च जनस अथे करोमि [।*] य च किंचि मुख[तो]
- 6 आजपयामि स्वयं दापकं वा सा(स्त्रा)वापकं वा य वा पुन महामा[ते(त्ते)]सु
- 7 आचायिके³ अरोपितं भवति ताय अथाय विवादो निभूती व [स]तो परिसायं
- 8 आनंतरं प[टि]वेदेत[य्व(व्यं)] मे स[र्व]र्त(त्त) सर्वे काले [।*] एवं मया आजपितं [।*]
 नास्ति हि मे तो[सो]
- 9 उट्ठा(स्टा)नमिह अथ-संतीरणाय व [।*] कतय्व(व्य)-मते हि मे स[र्व]-लोक-हितं [।*]

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ibid.*, p. ix.

2 दु was originally engraved and was afterwards made टि

3 Cf. आख्यिके कार्ये मन्त्रिणो मन्त्रिपरिषदं चाद्वय ब्रूयात् (Kauṭilya), *Ib.*, p. 13.

- 10 तस च पुन एस मूले उद्गा(स्टा)नं च अथ-संतीरणा च [।*] नास्ति हि कंमतरं
 11 सर्व-लोक-हितसा(त्पा)¹ [।*] य च किंचि पराकमामि अहं किंति भूतानं आनंरां
 गछेयं [।*]
 12 इध च नानि सुखापयामि परत्ता च खगं आराधयंतु [।*] त एताय अथाय
 13 अयं ध[.]म-लिपी लेखापिता किंति चिरं तिष्ठे(स्टे)य इति तथा च मे पुत्ता पोता
 च प(प्र)पोर्ता(त्ता) च
 14 अनुवतरां सव-लोक-हिताय [।*] दुकरं [तु] इदं अयर्त(त्त) अगेन पराक्रमेन [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं न भूतपूर्वं सर्वस्मिन् काले अर्थं कर्म (=कार्यसम्पादनं) वा प्रतिवेदना (=विज्ञापनं) वा । तत् (=ततः) मया एवं कृतम्—सर्वस्मिन् काले—भुजमानस्य मे, अवरोधने, गर्भागारे (=प्रासादान्तःस्थ-विश्रामागारे) व्रजे² (=पथि) वा विनीते (=विनीतके=याने) च, उद्यानेषु च—सर्वत्र प्रतिवेदकाः (=दूताः=विज्ञापकाः) स्थिताः (=उपस्थिताः [सन्तः]) अर्थं मे जनस्य प्रतिवेदयन्तु इति । सर्वत्र च जनस्य अर्थं (=कार्यं) करोमि । यत् च किञ्चित् मुखतः आज्ञापयामि स्वयं, दापकं (=दापनं) वा, श्रावकं (=श्रावणं) वा, यद्वा पुनः महामालेषु आत्ययिकं (=सत्वर-सम्पाद्यकर्म) आरोपितं भवति, तस्मै अर्थाय विवादः (=वितर्कः) निध्यातिः (=विविच्य निर्द्धारणं) वा सती परिषदि, अनन्तरं (=अविलम्बेन) प्रतिवेदयितव्यं मे सर्वत्र सर्वस्मिन् काले । एवं मया आज्ञप्तम् । नास्ति हि मे तोषः उत्थाने (=उद्योगे) अर्थः⁺ सन्तीर्णायां (=अर्थ-सन्तरणे=कर्मसम्पादने) वा । कर्तव्य-मतं (=मतं कर्तव्यं) हि मे सर्व-लोक-हितम् । तस्य च पुनः एतत् मूलम्—उत्थानं³ अर्थसन्तीर्णा च । नास्ति हि कर्मतरं सर्वलोक-हितत्वात् (=०हितात्) । यत् च किञ्चित् पराकमामि अहं—किमिति ?—भूतानाम् आनृण्यं गच्छेयम् । इह च एनान् सुखयामि, परत्र च स्वर्गम् आराधयन्तु (=प्राप्नुवन्तु [ते]) । तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—किमिति ?—चिरं⁺ तिष्ठेत् (=तिष्ठेत्) इति, तथा च मे पुत्ताः पौत्राः च प्रपौत्राः च [एनाम्] अनुवर्तेरन् सर्व-लोक-हिताय । दुष्करं तु इदम् अन्यत्र अग्रात् पराक्रमात्⁺ ॥

1 Other versions have ०हितेन

2 Some take वच (=व्रज) in the sense of ‘cowpen,’ while others find in it वर्चस्व, latrine(?)

3 Cf. *Mbh.*, XII, 56, 14-15; 58, 12-16; cf. also O. Beng. उठानि.

No. 12—Seventh Rock-Edict: Shāhbāzgarhī.¹

SHĀHBĀZGARHĪ, Peshāwar Dist., N. W. F. P.

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, p. 521; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 456;HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 59.**Language:** Prakrit**Script:** KharoshthīTEXT²

- 1 देवनप्रियो प्रिय[इ*]शि रज सवत्र इच्छति सत्र-
- 2 [प्र]षड वसेयु [।*] सवे हि ते सयमे भव-शुधि च इच्छति [।*]
- 3 जनो तु उचवुच-छंदो उचवुच रगो [।*] ते सत्रं व एकदेशं व
- 4 पि कर्षति [।*] विपुले पि तु दने यस नस्ति सयम भव-
- 5 शुधि किट्ठजत द्रिढ-भतित निचे पढ³ [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्वत्र⁴ इच्छति सर्व-⁺पाषण्डाः (=विभिन्नधर्मसम्प्रदायाः) वसेयुः । सर्वे हि ते संयमं भावशुद्धिं (=चित्तशुद्धिं) च इच्छन्ति । जनः तु उच्चावचच्छन्दः (=वृहत्क्षुद्राभिलाषः) उच्चावचरागः (=अधिकानधिकधर्मानुरागः) । ते [कर्तव्यस्य] सर्वं वा एकदेशं वा अपि करिष्यन्ति । विपुलम् अपि तु दानं [यस्य अस्ति, परन्तु] यस्य नास्ति संयमः, भावशुद्धिः, कृतज्ञता, दृढभक्तिता (=०धर्मासक्तिता) [च]—[तस्य दानं] नीचं (=तुलनया हीनं) वाढम् (=अत्यन्तम्, असन्देहम्) ॥

1 On the left of the east face, at the top of the rock.

2 From the facsimiles in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. and *Z.D.M.G.*, XLIII. For references and story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. xif.

3 The Brāhmī versions read वाढं

4 In usual construction, सर्वत्र would follow इच्छति

No. 13—Eighth Rock-Edict : Gīrnār Version.

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep, Ind.*, II, p. 456;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 14

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 अतिक्रतं अंतरं राजानो विहार-यातां जयासु [॥*] एत मग्गवा(व्या) अजानि च एता-
रिस[॥*]नि
- 2 अभीरमकानि अहुंसु [॥*] सो देवानंपियो पियदसि राजा दसवसभिस्सितो
संतो अयाय संबोधिं [॥*]
- 3 तेनेसा धम्म-याता [॥*] एतयं होति बाम्हण-समणानं दसणे च दाने च थैरानं
दसणे [च]
- 4 हिरण-पटिविधानो च जानपदस च जनस दस्पनं² धंमानु[स]द्धी(स्टी) च धम-
परिपुच्छा च
- 5 तदोपया [॥*] एसा भुय-रति भवति देवानंपियस पि(प्रि)यदसिनो राजो भागे
अंवे [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं राजानः विहार-यातां न्ययुः । अत्र ⁺मृगव्या (=मृगव्यं, मृगया)
अन्यानि च एतादृशानि अभिरमकाणि (=सुखावह-व्यापाराः) अभूवन् । तत् (=ततः)
⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा दशवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 260 B.C.) सन् ⁺अयात (=अयात्)
सम्बोधिं (=बुद्धस्य पुरयं बोधिलाभक्षेत्रं) । तेन (=तीर्थगमनेन ; यद्वा, तेन विधानेन)
एषा धर्मेयात्रा । एतस्यां भवति—ब्राह्मण-श्रमणानां दर्शनं च दानं च, स्थविराणां दर्शनं
च हिरण्य-⁺प्रतिविधानं च, जानपदस्य जनस्य दर्शनं धर्मानुशस्तिः च, धर्म-परिपृच्छा
(=० जिज्ञासा) च तदुपगा (=तदनुकूला) । एषा भूयोरतिः (=परमसुखं) भवति देवानां-
प्रियस्य प्रियदर्शिनः राज्ञः, भग्नं अन्यत् (=अपरसुखानि हीनानि ; Cf. Hindī भागना) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *Ibid*, p. ix f.

2 Read either दर्सनं or दसनं. Was दस(स)नं or दस्सनं intended ?

No. 14—Ninth Rock-Edict: Mānsehra Version.¹

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 458 ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I,

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT²

- 1 [देवनप्रिये] प्रियद्रशि रज एवं अह [।*] जने उच्चुच['] [म]गल['] करोति [।*]
- 2 अबधसि अ[व]हसि वि[व]हसि प्रजोपदये प्रवसस्वि एतये अजये [च] [एदि]श[ये]
[जने]
- 3 बहु मंग[लं] [क]रो[ति] [।*] अत्त तु अबक³-जनिक बहु च बहुविध च खुद च
निरथिय च मगलं करोति [।*] से क[टवि]ये [चे]व खो
- 4 मगले[।*] अप-फले चु [खो] [ए]षे [।*] इयं चु खो मह-फले ये धम-मगले [।*]
अत्त इयं दस-भटकसि सम्य-पटिपति गुरुन अ[पचि]ति
- 5 प्र[ए]न [स]यमे श्रमण-ब्रमणन [दने] एषे अणे च एदिशे धम-मगले नम [।*] से
वतविये पि[तु]न पि पुत्तेन पि भ्रतुन पि स्पमिकेन पि
- 6 मित्त-स[']स्तुतेन [अ]व पटिवेशियेन पि इयं सधु इयं कटविye मगले अव तस अथूस
निवुटिय निवुटसि व पुन इम [क]षमि⁴ ति [।*] ए हि [इ]तरे मग[ले]
- 7 श[श]यिके से [।*] [सि]य व तं अथू⁵ निवटेय [सि]य पन नो [।*] हिद[लो]-
किके चेव से⁵ [।*] इयं पुन धम-मगले अकलिके [।*] [ह]चे पि तं अथू⁵ नो
निवटेति [हि]द अ[थ] परत्त

1 On the north face of the second rock. For references and story of discovery, see Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. xii f.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

3 Bühler: बलिक (=बालिका)

4 Bühler: केषमिति

5 Bühler: इह च लोकि च वसे

- 8 अनत पुण¹ प्रसवति [।*] हचे पुन त['] अथ^२ निव[टे]ति हिद ततो उभयेसं [अर]धे होति [।*] हिद च से अथे परल च अनत पुणं प्रसवति तेन धम-[म*]गलेन [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शा राजा एवम् आह—‘जनः उच्चावचं मङ्गलं (=माङ्गलिकानुष्ठानं) करोति । आवाधे (=व्याध्यादिके) आवाहे (=पुत्रोद्वाहे) विवाहे (=कन्योद्वाहे) ⁺प्रजोत्पदायां (=पुत्रोत्पादे) प्रवासे (=प्रवासयात्रायाम्)—एतस्मिन् अन्यस्मिन् च एतादृशे [व्यापारे] जनः बहु मङ्गलं करोति । अत्र तु अम्बिका-जनिकं (=मातापत्न्यः=स्त्रियः) बहु च बहुविधं च क्षुद्रं च निरर्थकं च मङ्गलं करोति । तत् कर्तव्यं च एव खलु मङ्गलम् । अल्प-फलं तु खलु एतत् । इदं तु खलु महाफलं यत् धर्म-मङ्गलम् । अत्र इदं [भवति]—दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, गुरुणाम् अपचितिः (=पूजा), प्राणानां (=प्राणिनां [विषये]) संयमः, श्रमणब्राह्मणेभ्यः दानम्—एतत् अन्यत् च एतादृशं धर्म-मङ्गलं नाम । तत् (=ततः) वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्राता अपि, स्वामिकेन अपि, मित्र-संस्तुतेन अपि, यावत् प्रतिवेश्यं अपि—“इदं साधु, इदं कर्तव्यं मङ्गलम् यावत् तस्य अर्थस्य निर्वृत्तिम्² (=अभीष्टसिद्धिपर्यन्तम्), ‘निर्वृत्ते वा पुनः इदं करिष्यामि’ इति” । यत् हि इतरं मङ्गलं सांशयिकं (=अनिश्चितफलं) तत् । स्यात् वा [जन-त्वेन मङ्गलेन] तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयेत् [इति], स्यात् पुनः न । ऐहलौकिकं च एव तत् । इदं पुनः धर्म-मङ्गलम् अकालिकम् (=इह-पर-काल-निरपेक्षम्) । ⁺हृत्वेत् (=चेत्) अपि तम् अर्थं [=जनः धर्ममङ्गलेन] न निर्वर्तयति इह, अथ परल अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते । हृत्वेत् पुनः तम् अर्थं निर्वर्तयति इह, ततः उभयस्य [फलं] आराद्धं (=लब्धं) भवति । इह च सः अर्थः, परल च अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते तेन धर्म-मङ्गलेन ॥

1 Bühler: अन[']तं पुणं

2 For the rest of the record, Gīrnār (followed by Dhāuli and Jaugada) suggests: अस्ति च अपि उक्तं ‘साधु दानम्’ इति । न तु एतादृशम् अस्ति दानं वा अनुग्रहः वा यादृशं धर्मदानं वा धर्मानुग्रहः वा । तत् तु खलु मिलेण वा, ⁺सुहृदयेन (=सुहृदा) वा ज्ञातिकेन वा सहायेन वा अववदितव्यं तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (=समुचितस्थले), ‘इदं कृत्यम्, इदं साधु’ इति । ‘अनेन शक्यः स्वर्गः आराधयितुं’ (=लब्धुम्) इति । किं च ⁺अनेन (=अस्मात्) कर्तव्यतरं यथा स्वर्गाराद्धिः (=स्वर्गावाप्तिः) ?

Cf. *Dhammapada*, v. 126. *Svarga* (not *Nirvāṇa*) is the goal of Aśoka's *Dhamma*. A school of early Buddhists may have believed that the attainment of *Svarga* by lay worshippers ultimately led them to *Nirvāṇa*.

No. 15—Tenth Rock-Edict: Gīrnār Version.

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 459;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 17f.

● **Language:** Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानं^{पि}(प्रि)यो पिं(प्रि)यदसि ²राजा यसो व कीति व न महाथावह[¹] मज्जे
अवत तदाप्त(त्प)नो³ दिघाय च मे [ज]नो
- 2 धंम-सुसुं(सु)सा सुसुं(सु)सता⁴ धंम-वुतं च अनुविधियतां [*] एतकाय देवानंपियो
पियदसि राजा यसो व किति व इ[च्छ]ति [1*]
- 3 यं तु किचि परिकामते⁵ देवानं[प्रियो*] पिं(प्रि)यदसि राजा त सर्वं पार-
तिं(लि)काय किति सकले अपपरिर्स(स)वे अस [1*] एस तु परिसवे य अपुंअं [1*]
- 4 दुकरं तु खो एतं छुदकेन व जनेन उसटेन व अवर्त(व) अगेन परार्क(क)मेन सर्वं
परिचजिप्ता(त्पा) [1*] एत [तु] [खो] उसटेन दुकरं⁶ [11*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा [ऐहिकं] यशः वा [पारलौकिकं] कीर्तिं वा न महाथीवहं
मन्यते अन्यत्र 'तदात्वे (=वर्तमानकाले) ⁺दीर्घायां (=आयत्यां) च मे जनो धर्मशुश्रूषां
शुश्रूषतां धर्मवृत्तं च [तेन] अनुविधीयताम्' [इति अस्मात्]। एतकस्मै (=एतस्मै) देवानांप्रियः

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery see *Ibid.*, p. ix f.

2 देवा was originally engraved but was afterwards erased. An obliterated दे is visible between सि and रा and an obliterated वा between रा and जा. Hultzsch: ०पियो

3 Read तदात्पने. Other versions read तदत्वाये आयतीये च; cf. तदात्वे च आयत्यां च quoted from Kauṭilya by Hultzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 18, note 8.

4 Senart and Bühler: ०सतां. Here शुश्रूषताम् means सेवताम्.

5 Read परा०

6 Jaugada gives दुकलतले

प्रियदर्शी राजा यशः वा कीर्तिं वा इच्छति । यत्किञ्चित् पराक्रामति देवानंप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा
तत् सर्वं पारलिकाय । किमिति ? सकलः [लोकः] अल्प-परिस्रवः स्यात् । एषः तु परिस्रवः¹
यत् अपुरयम् । दुष्करं तु खलु एतत् (=अल्पपरिस्रवत्वं) क्षुद्रकेण वा जनेन, उत्सृतेन
(=महता) वा अन्यत्र अग्रात् पराक्रमात् (=महोत्साहात्) सर्वं [धर्मशुभ्रप्राधर्मवृत्त-व्यतिरिक्तं]
परिलज्ज्य । एतत् तु खलु उत्सृतेन दुष्कर[तरम्] ॥

No. 16—Eleventh Rock-Edict : Kālsī Version

KĀLSĪ, Dehrā Dūn Dist., U. P.

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 460.,

HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 40

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1³ देवानं[पि]ये पियदधि [ल]ाजा हेवं [आ*]हा [।*] नथि [हे]डिषे दाने
अदिष ध[']म-दाने ।⁴ धम-ष[']वभगे । धम-षं व[धि] । त[त] एषे दाष-भठ-
कषि । षम्या-पटिपति माता-पितिषु । पुषुषा । मित-षंथुत-नातिक्यानं समना-
[व]भनाना [दा]ने
2 पानानं अनाल[']मे⁵ [।*] एषे वत[']वये पि[']त[']ना पि पुते[न] पि⁶ भा[']त[']-
ना पि⁷ षवा[']मक्येन पि मित-⁸शंथुताना अवा पटिवेषियेन['] इय[']

1 Cf. Sanskrit आस्रव ; Pāli आसवो

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ibid.*, p. xi

3 This is line 29 of the whole inscription on the rock.

4 This Daṇḍa and others in the text are unnecessary. Other versions add धमसंस्तव praise of, or acquaintance in, Dharma.

5 Girnar has: तत इदं भवति दासभतकम्हि सम्यपतिपती मातरि पितरि
साधु सुसू(सू)सा मित-सस्तुत-नातिक्यानं बाम्हण-स(स)मणानं साधु दानं पा(प्रा)णानं
अनारंभो साधु

6 As Hultzsch suggests, न is entered below the line.

7 Read पुवामि०

8 त of मित stands below the line. Read शंथुतेना.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., I).

Shahbazgarhi Rock Edict VII (Bk. I, No. 12).



Notes : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., I).

Shāhbāzgarhī Rock Edict XII (Bk. I, No. 17).

षाधु इयं कटविये [॥*] [शे] तथा कल[त] हिदलोकिव्ये च कं¹ आलधे होति
पलत च[र] अनत² पुना पशवति तेना धम-दानेना [॥*]

TEXT SANKRITIZED

¹ देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘नास्ति इदं दानं यादृशं धर्मदानं, धर्म-
संविभागः (=धर्मस्य[अधर्मात्]विभजनं), धर्मसंबन्धः (=धर्मासुमोदितसंबन्धः) । तत्र एतत्
[भवति]—दासभृतकेषु (=क्रीतदास-वैतनिकदासेषु) सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, मातापितृषु शुश्रूषा,
मित्र-संस्तुत-ज्ञातिक्रियेभ्यः श्रमण-ब्राह्मण्येभ्यः दानं, प्राणानाम् अनालम्भः [च इति] । एतत्
वक्तव्यं पित्रा अपि, पुत्रेण अपि, भ्रात्रा अपि, स्वामिक्रियेन अपि, मित्रसंस्तुतेन, यावत्
प्रतिवेश्य—“इदं साधु, इदं कर्तव्यम्” [इति] । सः तथा कुर्वन् (=तस्मिन् तथा कुर्वति),
ऐहलोकिक्रियं च कं आराद्धं भवति, परत्र च [तस्य] अनन्तं पुण्यं प्रसाव्यते तेन धर्म-
दानेन’ ॥

No. 17—Twelfth Rock-Edict : Shāhbāzgarhī

SENART, *J. As.*, VIII, xi, p. 511 f; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 447;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 64f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT³

I देवनंप्रियो प्रियद्रशि रय सत्र-प्रषंडनि⁴ प्रव्रजित[नि]⁵ ग्रहथनि च पुजेति
दनेन विविधये च पुजये [*] नो च तथ [द]न व पुज व

1 कं, not found in other versions, is used in Vedic Sanskrit as an indeclinable
expletive particle.

2 Read अनंतं पुणं

3 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict is engraved on a
separate boulder. For references and story of discovery, see *Ibid.*, p. xi f.

4 प्रषंड (=पाषंड) is here used in the sense of ‘followers of different doc-
trines,’ ‘different religious sects.’

5 This word is entered above the line.

- 2 **देवनंप्रियो** मजति यथ किति स[ल]-वडि¹ सिय सत्र-प्रषंडनं [*] सल-वडि तु बहुविध [*] तस तु इयो मुल यं वचोगुति²[1*]
- 3 किति अत-प्रषंड-पुज व प[र]-पषंड-गर(ह*)न³ व नो सिय [अ]पकरणासि⁴ लहुक व सिय तसि तसि प्रकर[णे] [1*] पुजेतविय व चु पर-प्रषं-
- 4 [ड] तेन तेन अकरेन⁵ [1*] ए[व]' करतं⁶ अत-[प्र]षंडं वडेति पर-प्रषंडंस⁷ पि च उपकरोति [1*] तद् अजथ क[र]मि[नो]⁸ अत-प्र[षंड]
- 5 क्षणति [पर]-प्रषंडस च अपकरोति [*] यो हि कचि अत-प्रषंडं पुजेति [पर]-[प्र]-षंड['] गरहति सत्रे अत-प्रषंड-भतिय व किति
- 6 अत-प्रषंडं दिपयमि ति सो च पुन तथ करतं⁹ सो च पुन तथ करतं ब[डत]रं उपहंति अत-प्रषंडं [1*] सो सयमो¹⁰ वो सधु [1*] किति अजमजस ध्रमो
- 7 श्रुणुयु च सुश्रुणुयु च ति [1*] एवं हि **देवनंप्रियस** इच्छ किति सत्र-प्रषंडं बहु-श्रुत च क[लण]गम च सियसु [1*] ये च तत्त तत्त
- 8 प्रसन तेष['] वतवो **देवनंप्रियो** न [तथ] [द]न['] [व] [पुज] व मजति य[थ] किति सल-वडि सियति सत्र-प्रषंडनं [1*] बहुक च एतये अठ[ये*]
- 9 व[प]ट [ध]म-म[ह]मत्र इ[ल्लिधि]यक्ष-म[ह]मत्र [व]च भूमिक¹¹ अजे च निकये [1*] इमं च एतिस [फ]लं यं अत-पषंड-वडि [भोति]
- 10 ध्रमस च दि[पन] [11*]

1 Sanskrit सार०. Other versions have सार-वडी (Girnār) and शाला-वडि (Kālsī).

2 Others read वच०

3 गरणा may be a mistake for गरहा.

4 Bühler: अपकरणासि

5 Ginār has प्रकरणेन and Kālsī अकालन

6 Bühler: कर[']तं

7 Read ०डस

8 Bühler: क[र]त च

9 Omit सो च पुन तथ करतं, engraved for a second time through mistake.

10 Other versions have समवाय (=समवाद), 'restrained speech'.

11 Bühler: वच० Vrajabhūmi (=Vraja, Ghosha) "is an outpost from city or village, and a cowpen developed into a ranche, and hence into a village." The Vrajabhūmikas worked possibly amongst the "great body of ranchmen, the cattle-raising population." Cf. Hopkins, *JAOS.*, XIII, pp. 77, 79, 83.

TEXT SANKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा सर्व-⁺पाषण्डान् (=विभिन्न-धर्मसम्प्रदायान्)—प्रव्रजितान् गृहस्थान् च—पूजयति दानेन विविधया च पूजया । नो (=न) तु तथा दानं वा पूजां वा देवानांप्रियः मन्यते यथा—किमिति ?—सारवृद्धिः (=उन्नतिः) स्यात् सर्व-पाषण्डानाम् । सारवृद्धिः तु बहुविधा । तस्याः तु इदं मूलं यत् वचोगुप्तिः (=वाक्संयमः) । किमिति ? आत्म-पाषण्ड-पूजा वा पर-पाषण्ड-गर्हणं वा नो स्यात् अप्रकरणे (=अस्थाने=अकारणे), लघुकं (=किञ्चिन्मात्रं) वा स्यात् तस्मिन् तस्मिन् प्रकरणे (=सङ्गतस्थले) । पूजयितव्याः वा तु पर-पाषण्डाः तेन तेन आकारेण (=सर्वप्रकारैः) । एवं कुर्वन् आत्म-पाषण्डं वर्धयति, परपाषण्डम् अपि च उपकरोति । ततः अन्यथा कुर्वाणः आत्मपाषण्डं क्षिणोति परपाषण्डं च अपकरोति । यः हि कश्चित् आत्म-पाषण्डं पूजयति परपाषण्डं [वा] गर्हति—[एतत्] सर्वम् आत्म-पाषण्ड-भक्त्या एव—किमिति ?—‘आत्मपाषण्डं दीपयामि’ इति—सः च पुनः तथा कुर्वन् वाढतरम् उपहन्ति आत्म-पाषण्डम् । तत् संयमः एव साधुः । किमिति ? अन्योऽन्यस्य धर्मं शृणुयुः शुश्रूषेरन् च [जनाः] इति । एवं हि देवानांप्रियस्य इच्छा । किमिति ? सर्व-पाषण्डाः बहुश्रुताः (=नानाधर्मज्ञाः) च कल्याणगमाः (=उदारसिद्धान्ताः) च स्युः । ये च तत् तत् [पाषण्डे] प्रसन्नाः (=अनुरक्ताः) तेभ्यः वक्तव्यं—‘देवानांप्रियः न तथा दानं वा पूजां वा मन्यते यथा—किमिति ?—सारवृद्धिः स्यात् सर्वपाषण्डानाम्’ । बहुकाः (=बहवः) च एतस्मै अर्थाय व्यापृताः धर्ममहामाताः, स्यध्यक्षमहामाताः (=अन्तःपुराध्यक्षाः), व्रजभूमिकाः (=धोषपरिदर्शकाः ; यद्वा, गवाध्यक्षाः)—अन्यः च निकायः (=गणः [राजपुरुषाणाम्]) । इदं च एतस्य फलं यत् आत्मपाषण्डवृद्धिः भवति, धर्मस्य च दीपना (=उद्भासना) [इति] ॥

No. 18—Thirteenth Rock-Edict: Shāhbāzgarhī.

On the west face of the Shāhbāzgarhī Rock.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 246f; Hultzsch, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 66 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

1 [अठ]-वष-अ[भिसि]त[स] [देवन]प्रि[अ]स प्रि[अ]द्रशिस र[जो] क[लिग]

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references see *Ib.*, p. xii

- वि[ज]त[॥*] दिअढ-म[ले] प्रण-शत-सह[ले] [ये] ततो अपवुडे शत-सहस्र-मले
तल हते बहु-तवत[के] [व] [मुटे] [॥*]
- 2 ततो [प]च अधुन ल[धे]षु कलिगेषु [तित्रे] [ग्रम-शिलन]¹ ग्र[म-क]मत ग्रमनु-
शस्ति च देवनप्रियस [॥*] सो [अ]स्ति अनुसोचन² देवन[प्रिअ]स विजिनिति
कलिग[नि] [॥*]
- 3 अविजितं [हि] [वि]जिनमनो³ या त[ल] वध व मरणं व अपवहो व जनस तं बढं
[वे]दनि[य]-म[तं] गुरु-मत[] च देवनं प्रियस [॥*] इदं⁴ पि चु [ततो]
गुरुमततरं [देवनं] प्रियस ये⁵ तत्र
- 4 वसति ब्रमण व श्रम[ण] व अ[]जे व प्रण्ड ग्र[ह]थ व येसु विहित एष अग्रभुटि-
सुश्रुष मत-पितुषु सुश्रुष गुरुन सुश्रुष मिल-संस्तुत-सहय-
- 5 अतिकेषु दस-भटकनं सम्म-प्रतिप[ति] द्विढ-भतित तेष तल भोति [अ]प-
[अ]थो व वधो व अभिरतन व निकमणं [॥*] येष व पि सुविहितनं⁶ [सि](ने*)हो
अविप्रहिनो [ए] [ते]ष मित्र-संस्तुत सहय-जतिक वसन
- 6 प्रपुणति [त]ल तं पि तेष वो अपग्रथो⁷ भोति [॥*] प्रतिभगं च [ए]तं सत्र-मनुशनं⁸
गुरुमतं च देवनं प्रिय[स] [॥*] नस्ति⁹ च एकतरे पि प्रण्डस्मि न नम प्रसदो
[॥*] सो यमलो¹⁰ [ज]नो तद कलिगे [ह]तो च मु[टो] च अप[वुड] च ततो

1 Bühler : ०पलनं (=०पालनं). Other versions have धंमवाय (=धर्मवाद)

2 Other versions suggest अनुशय

3 Bühler : ०मनि ये

4 Bühler : इमं

5 Bühler : तलहि

6 Bühler : संवि०

7 Read अपग्रथो which is Bühler's reading. Other versions have उपघात for
अपग्रथ

8 Bühler : सत्रं

9 Kālsī followed by Mānsehrā and Gīrnār has नथि चा पे जनपदे यत्ता नथि
इमे निकाया आनता योनेषु बह्वने चा षमने चा ; नथि चा कुवापि जनपदधि यत्ता
नथि मनुषान एकतलधि पि पाषडधि नो नाम पषादे ।

10 Other versions have यावतक (=यावन्तः)

- 7 शत-भगे व सहस्र-भगं व [अ]ज गुरु-मतं [वो] देवनंप्रियस [1*] यो पि च अपक्रेयति क्षमितविय-मते व¹ देवनं[प्रि]यस यं शक्रो क्षमनये [1*] य पि च अटवि देवनंप्रियस विजिते भोति त पि अनुनेति अपुनिजपेति² [1*] अनतपे पि च प्रभवे
- 8 देवनंप्रियस वुचति तेष किति अवतपेयु न च [ह]जेयसु [1*] इच्छति हि [देव]नंप्रियो सत्र-भुतन अक्षति स[']यमं सम[च]रियं रभसिये³ [1*] अयि⁴ च सुख-सुत विजये देवनंप्रिय[स] यो ध्रम-विजयो [1*] सो च पुन लधो देवनंप्रियस इह च सवेषु च अंतेषु
- 9 [अ] षष्ठु पि योजन-श[ते]षु यत्त अंतियोको नम [यो]न-रज परं च तेन अ[*]-तियो[के]न चतुरे ४ रजनि तुरमये नम अंतिकिनि नम मक नम अलिकसुदरो नम निच चोड-पंड अव त[']वपं[णि]य [1*] [ए]वमेव [हि]द रज-विषवस्पि⁵ योन-क[']वोयेषु नभक-नभितिन⁶-
- 10 भोज-पितिनिकेषु अंध्र-पालिदेषु⁷ सवल देवनंप्रियस ध्रमनुशस्ति अनुवटंति [1*] यत्त पि देवनंप्रियस दुत न व्रचंति ते पि श्रुतु देवनंप्रियस ध्रम-वुटं विधनं⁸ ध्रमनुशस्ति ध्रमं [अ]नुविधियंति अनुविधियिशं[ति] च [1*] यो [स]⁹ लधे एतकेन भो[ति] सवल विजयो सवल पु[न]

1 Bühler : वो

2 Read अनुनिक्षपेति which is Bühler's reading.

3 Other versions add माद्व and omit रभसिये

4 Bühler : एष

5 Bühler : विष-वज्जि which is no doubt wrong.

6 Other versions suggest नाभपंतिषु for नभिलीतां. The Nābhakas and Nābhāpantis have not been satisfactorily identified.

7 Bühler : पुलि[दे]षु. Gīrnār has पारिदेसु and Kālsī पालिदेषु. The Pulindas of the Vindhyān region are always associated with the Andhras who probably inhabited the whole land from the Vindhya to the Kṛṣṇā.

8 Bühler : विधेनं

9 Bühler : च

- 11 विजयो प्रिति-रसो सो [१*] लध [भोति] प्रिति घम-विजयस्मि [१*] लहुक तु खो
स प्रिति [१*] परति[क]मेव मह-फल मेजति देवन[१]प्रियो [१*] एतये च अठये
अयि¹ घम-दिपि निपि[स्त]² [१*] किति पुल पपोल मे अयु नवं विजयं म
विजेत[१]वय मजिषु स्प[कस्मि]³ यो विज[ये] [१]ति च लहु-द[१]डत च रोचेतु तं
च यो⁴ विज(यं*) मज[तु]
- 12 यो घम-विजयो [१*] सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको [१*] सव चतिरति⁵ भोतु
य [ध्र]म-रति⁶ [१*] स हि हिदलोकिक परलोकिक [१*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अष्टवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 262 B.C.) ⁺देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा कलिङ्गाः⁷ विजिताः ।
⁺द्वयर्द्धमात्रं (=सार्द्धकं ; यद्वा, बर्द्धमात्रं) प्राणशतसहस्रं यत् ततः अपोढं (=वन्दिरूपेण)
अपनीतं ; यद्वा, अपवृद्धं=हासं गतं), शतसहस्रमात्रं तत्र हतं, ⁺बहुतावत्कं (=तादृशसंख्यकं
बहु) वा मृतं । ततः पश्चात् अधुना लब्धेषु कलिङ्गेषु तीव्रं धर्म-शीलनं, धर्मकामता
(=कामिता), धर्मानुशस्तिः च देवानांप्रियस्य । तत् अस्ति अनुशोचनं देवानांप्रियस्य विजित्य
कलिङ्गान् । अविजिते हि विजीयमाने यः तत्र वधः वा मरणं वा अपवाहः वा जनस्य, तत्
बाढं वेदनीयमतं गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य । इदं अपि तु ततः गरुमततरं देवानांप्रियस्य—ये

1 Bühler : अयो

2 दिपि and निपिस्त of the Kharoshthī versions are due to Persian influence. The first occurs in Shāhbāzgarhi I, ll. 1, 3; V, 13; XIII, 11; XIV, 13; Mānsehrā I, 1, 4; V, 26; VI, 31; XIII, 12; XIV, 13.

3 Girnār has सरसके (=स्वरसके [Hultzsch]; शर-शक्ये [Bühler]) and Kālsī षयकषिनो (=स्वके [Hultzsch who takes नो to be a mistake for यो=एव]; शल्याकर्षिणाः [Bühler])

4 Bühler : तं ए[व]

5 Bühler : सत्र च निरति (which may be right). Hultzsch : सवचति०

6 Bühler : [स्त्र]म०

7 At the time of Aśoka, Kalinga seems to have been extended from the Purī Dist. to the Ganjam Dist.

तत्र वसन्ति ब्राह्मणाः वा श्रमणाः वा अन्ये वा [†]पाषण्डाः गृहस्थाः वा—येषु विहिता एषा
 अग्रभृति-शुश्रूषा (=उच्चपदस्थपुरुषः), माता-पितृषु शुश्रूषा, गुरुणां शुश्रूषा, मित्र-संस्तुत-
 सहाय-ज्ञातिकेषु दासभृतकेषु सम्यक्प्रतिपत्तिः, दृढभक्तिता [च]—तेषां तत्र भवति [†]अपग्रथः
 (=उपघातः) वा बधः वा अभिरक्तानां (=प्रियजनानां) वा निष्कामणं (=निर्वासनम्) ।
 येषां वा अपि सुविहितानां (=सुखस्थितानां) ज्ञेहः अविप्रहीनः (=अहीनः), यत् तेषां मित्र-
 संस्तुत-ज्ञातिकाः व्यसनं प्राप्नुवन्ति, तत्र (=व्यसनप्राप्तिविषये) तत् अपि तेषाम् एव अपग्रथः
 भवति । प्रतिभागः (=भाग्यं) च एतत् सर्वमनुध्याणां, गुरुमतं च देवानांप्रियस्य । नास्ति च
 एकतरे अपि पाषण्डे न नाम प्रसादः (=अनुरागः [जनस्य]) । तत् यन्मात्रः जनः तदा कलिङ्गे
 हतः च मृतः च अपोढः च, ततः शतभागः (=शततमभागः) वा सहस्रभागः वा अथ गुरुमतः
 एव देवानांप्रियस्य । यः अपि च अपकुर्यात्, क्षन्तव्यमतं वा [तस्य कर्म] देवानांप्रियस्य यत्
 शक्यं क्षमणाय । या अपि च अटवी (=अटवीवासिनः) देवानांप्रियस्य [†]विजिते भवति, ताम्
 अपि अनुनयति अनुनिधाययति (=[कर्तव्यं] बोधयति) । अनुतापे अपि च प्रभावः देवानांप्रियस्य
 उच्यते तेभ्यः (=अवटवीवासिभ्यः) । किमिति ? [गुरुतरराजापकारं कर्तुम्] अवलपेरन्
 (=संकुचेयुः), न च [तथा कृत्वा] हन्येरन् । इच्छति हि देवानांप्रियः सर्वभूतानाम् अक्षतिं संयमं
 समाचर्य (=अपक्षपातं [च]) रामस्ये (=अपराधे) । अयं च मुख्यमतः (=मुख्य-मतः)
 विजयः देवानांप्रियस्य यः धर्म-विजयः । सः च पुनः लब्धः देवानांप्रियेण इह च सर्वेषु
 च अन्तेषु (=प्रत्यन्तदेशेषु) आ षड्भ्यः अपि योजनशतेभ्यः, यत्र अन्तियोकः नाम
 यवन-राजः, परं च तस्मात् अन्तियोकात् चत्वारः ४ राजानः तुरमायः नाम, अन्तेकिनः
 नाम, मकाः नाम, अलिकसुदरः नाम ; नीचाः (=अधस्तनाः =दक्षिणस्थाः) चोल-पाण्ड्याः
 यावत् ताम्रपर्णीयान्¹ । एवम् एव इह राजविषये यवन-कम्बोजेषु नामक-नाम-
 [प]तिषु भोज-पैथ्ययणिकेषु² अन्ध्र-पुलिन्देषु सर्वत्र देवानांप्रियस्य धर्मानुशस्तिं [जनः] अनु-
 वर्तते । यत्र अपि देवानांप्रियस्य दूताः न व्रजन्ति, ते (=तत्पत्याः) अपि श्रुत्वा देवानां-
 प्रियस्य धर्मोक्तं (यद्वा, धर्म-वृत्तं), विधानं, धर्मानुशस्तिं [च], धर्मम् अनुविदधति अनुविधास्यन्ति

1 Cf. RE II. The Greek kings are (1) Antiokhos II Theos of Syria and Western Asia (261-46 B.C.); (2) Magas of Kyrene in North Africa (c. 282-58 B.C.); (3) Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt (285-47 B.C.); (4) Antigonas Gonatas of Makedonia (277-39 B.C.); (5) Alexander of Epirus (272-c. 255) or Alexander of Korinth (252-c. 244 B.C.).

2 Cf. RE V, ante, p. 23. For Bhoja and Rāshṭrika, see also the Hāthigumphā inscription, *infra*.

च । यः सः (=यः कश्चित्) लब्धः एतकेन भवति सर्वत्र विजयः, सर्वत्र पुनः विजयः प्रीतिरसः
(=०रसयुक्तः) सः । लब्धा भवति प्रीतिः [जयिना जितैः च] धर्मविजये । लघुका तु खलु सा
प्रीतिः । पारल्लिकम् [सुखम्] एव महाफलं मन्यते देवानांप्रियः । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः
निवेशिता । किमिति ?—पुत्राः प्रपौत्राः [च] मे स्युः [ये, ते] नवं विजयं मा विजेतव्यं मंसत ;
स्वके एव विजये क्षान्तिः च लघुदण्डता च [तेभ्यः] रोचताम् ; तं च एव विजयं मन्यतां यः
धर्म-विजयः । सः ऐहलौकिकः पारलौकिकः [च] । सर्वा च अतिरतिः (=परा प्रीतिः) भवतु
या धर्मरतिः । सा ऐहलौकिकी पारलौकिकी [च] ॥

No. 19—Fourteenth Rock-Edict: Gīrnār Version.

SENART, *Inscriptions de Piyaḍasi*, I; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 465;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 25 f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 अयं धर्म-लिपी देवानांपि(प्रि)येन पि(प्रि)यदसिना र[ग]जा [ले]खापिता [।*]
अस्ति एव
- 2 संखि[ते]न अस्ति मम्ममेन अस्ति विस्ततन² [।*] न च सर्वं [स]र्वत घटितं [।*]
- 3 महालके हि विजितं बहु च लिखितं लिखापयिसं चेव [।*] अस्ति च एत कं
- 4 पुन पुन वुतं तस तस अथस³ माधूरताय [।*] किंति जनो तथा पटिपज्जेथ [।*]
- 5 तत्र एकदा⁴ असमा[त] लिखित['] अस देसं व सञ्जाय⁵-[का]रणं व
- 6 [अ]लोचेत्ता(त्पा) लिपिकरापरधेन व [।*]

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *Ib.*, p. ix f.

2 Read विस्ततेन

3 स was interested subsequently.

4 Other versions have किञ्चि (Kālsī and Mānsehrā) and किचे (Shāhbāzgarhī).

5 Other versions have षंखेये (Kālsī) and संखय (Shāhbāzgarhī and Mānsehrā).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

इयं धर्म-लिपिः ⁺देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा लेखिता । अस्ति एव संक्षिप्तेन, अस्ति मध्यमेन, अस्ति विस्तृतेन [लिखितम्] । न च सर्वं (=सर्व-विषयः) सर्वत्र घटितम् (=प्रयुक्तं)¹ । महल्लकं (=सुबृहत्) हि ⁺विजितं, बहु च लिखितं, लेखयिष्यामि च एव । अस्ति च अत्र कं² पुनः पुनः उक्तं³ तस्य तस्य अर्थस्य मधुरतायै⁴ । किमिति ?—जनः तथा प्रतिपद्येत (=कुर्वीत) । तत्र एकदा (=कदाचित्) असमाप्तं लिखितम् स्यात्, देशं (=प्रचारस्थानं) वा संचयकारणं (=संचेप०) वा आलोच्य, लिपिकरापराधेन वा ॥

B—SEPARATE ROCK-EDICTS⁵ OF AŚOKA

No. 20—First Separate Rock-Edict: Dhauli Version.

Dhauri, Purī Dist., Orissa

KERN, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 379ff; SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 82ff;

BÜHLER, *ASSI.*, I, p. 114ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 92ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT⁶

1 [देवानां] [पि] य [स] [वच] नेन तोसलियं⁷ म [हा] मात [नग] ल-
[ि] [व] [यो] हलक [ा]

1 Cf. the absence of RE XI-XIII at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa.

2 कं is an expletive indeclinable particle.

3 Other versions have लपित ; cf. injunctions like मातापितुषु सुसूसा, etc.

4 Other versions suggest माधुर्याय

5 The Separate Rock-Edicts are found at Dhauri and Jaugaḍa in ancient Kalinga, conquered by Aśoka. They are found in these versions instead of RE XI, XII and XIII. Cf. RE XIV. SRE I was actually engraved after SRE II.

6 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *Ib*, p. xiii f.

7 Jaugaḍa has समापायं in place of तोसलियं. Tosali is modern Dhauri and Samāpā the modern Jaugaḍa locality.

- 2 [व]तविय [।*] [अं] किछि [दखा]मि हकं तं इछामि [किंति] कं[मन] [प]टि-
[पादये]हं¹
- 3 दुवालते च आलभेहं [।*] एस च मे मोख्य-मत दुवा[ल] [एतसि] [अठ]सि
अं तु[फेसु]
- 4 अनुसथि [।*] तुफे हि बहूसु पानसहसेसुं² आ[यत]³ पन[यं] [ग]छेम सु
मुनिसानं [।*] सवे
- 5 मुनिसे पजा ममा [।*] अथ[ि] पजाये इछामि हक['] [किंति] [स]वे[न] [हि]त-
सुखेन हिदलो[कि]क-
- 6 पाललोकिके[न]⁴ [यूजेवू] [ति] तथा [सव*]-[मुनि]सेसु पि [इ]छामि [ह]क['] [।*]
नो च पापुनाथ आव-ग-
- 7 [मुके]⁵ [इयं अठे] [।*] [केछ] [व] एक-पुलि[से] [पापु*]नाति ए[तं] से पि देसं
नो सवं [।*] दे[खत] [हि] [तुफे] एतं
- 8 सुवि[हि]ता पि [।*] [नि]तियं⁶ एक-पुलिसे [पि] [अथि] [ये] बंधनं वा पलिकिलेसं
वा पापुनाति [।*] तत होति
- 9 अकस्मा तेन बधन[']तिक अ'ने च⁷ [तत*][व*]हु जने द[वि]ये दुखीयति [।*] तत
इच्छितविये
- 10 तुफेहि किंति मभं पटिपादयेमा ति [।*] इमे[हि] चु [जातेहि] नो संपटिपजति
इसाय आसुलोपेन
- 11 नि[ठ]लियेन⁸ तूलना[य] अनावृत्तिय आलसियेन [ि]कलमथेन [।*] से इच्छितविये
किंति⁹ एते

1 Senart and Bühler : पटिवेद०

2 Read : ०सेसु

3 Senart and Bühler : आयता

4 Senart and Bühler : ०लोकिकाये

5 Senart and Bühler : आवा-गमके

6 Senart and Bühler : निति इयं. Some scholars take नितियं in the sense of
नीति: इयं [भवति]

7 Jaugada has अन्ये च वगे बहुके वेदयति (=अन्यः च वर्गः बहुकं वेदयति).

8 Senart and Bühler : निथूलिये

9 Read किंति

- 12 [जाता] [नो] हुवेवु म[म]ा ति [।*] एतस च सव[स] मूले अनासुलोपे अ[तू]लना
च [।*] निति[य] ए किलंते सिया
- 13 [न] ते उग[छ]¹ संचलितवि[ये] तु व[ि]ट[त] [व][ये] एतविये वा [।*] हेवं-
मेव ए द[खेय]² [तु]फाक तेन वतविये
- 14 आनं ने³ देखत हेवं च हेवं च [दे]वानं^{पियस} अनुसथि [।*] से मह[।-फ]ले [ए]तस
[संप]टिपाद
- 15 महा-अपाये असंपटिपति [।*] [वि]प[।]टपादयमीने⁴ हि एतं नथि स्वगस
[आल]धि नो लाज[।]ल[ध] [।*]
- 16 दु-आ[ह]ले हि इ[म]स कंम[स] [मे] कुते म[ने]⁵-अतिलेके [।*] स[']पटिपज[मी]-
[ने] चु [एतं] स्वग[']
- 17 आलाभ[यि]स[थ] [मम] [च] [आ]ननियं एहथ [।*] इयं च [लिपि] [ति]स-
न[ख]तेन सो[त]विय[।] [।*]
- 18 अंत[ल]ा [।] [प] च [।] [सेन] [ख]नसि ख[नसि] एकेन पि सोतविय [।*]
हेवं च कलंतं तुफे
- 19 चघथ संप[टि]पाद[।]यतवे [।*] [एता]ये अठाये इय['] [लिपि] लिखित [हि]द
एन
- 20 नगल-वि[योहा]लका स[स्व]तं समयं यूजेवू [।]त [एन*][ज*] [न]स⁶ अकस्मा
[प]लिबोधे व
- 21 अकस्मा पलिकि[लेसे] व नो सिया ति [।*] एताये च अठाये हक['] [महा*]मते⁷
पंचसु पंचसु [व]से-

1 Read उगछे

2 Senart and Bühler : दखिये

3 Hultzsch : आनंने(=अनुराय) for which however we have आननिय in l. 17

4 Lüders and Hultzsch take हि as a separate word; but Senart and Bühler read ०मीनेहि

5 Senart : मन- and Hultzsch : मनो-

6 This is Hultzsch's restoration in accordance with the Jaugada version. Senart and Bühler read नगल-जनस which is visible on Burgess's plate owing, according to Hultzsch, to retouching.

7 Hultzsch suggests महामातं; Senart and Bühler read धंमते

22 सु [निखा]मयिसामि ए अखखसे अ[चंडे] सखिनालंमे होसति एतं अठं जानितु [तं*]
[पि*] [त]था

23 कल[']ति अथ मम अनुसथी ति [।*] उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये [नि]-
खाम[यिस][ति*] * * *

24 हेदिसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिनि वसानि [।*] हेमेव तख[सि]लाते पि
[।*] [अ]दा अ * * *

25 ते महामता निखमिसंति अनुसयानं तदा अहापयितु अतने कमं एतं पि जानि-
संति

26 तं पि त[थ]ा कल'ति अ[थ] लाजिने अनुसथी ति [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन तोसल्यां महामाताः नगर-व्यवहारकाः (पौरव्यवहारिक महामाताः)
[एवं] वक्तव्याः—‘यत् किञ्चित् +द्रक्षामि (=पश्यामि) अहं तत् इच्छामि—किमिति ?—
कर्मणा प्रतिपादये द्वारतः (=उपायैः) च आरभे (=उत्सहे) । एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम्
एतस्मिन् अर्थे यत् युष्मासु अनुशस्तिः । यूयं हि बहुषु प्राणसहस्रेषु आयाताः (=व्यापृताः),
प्राण्यं गच्छेम [यूयं अहं च] स्वित् मनुष्याणाम् [इति हंतोः] । सर्वैः मनुष्यैः प्रजा
(=अपत्यं) मम । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ?—सर्वेण हित-सुखेन ऐहलौकिक-
पारलौकिकेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति, तथा सर्वमनुष्येषु अपि इच्छामि अहम् । नो (=न) च
[यूयं] प्राप्नुथ (=जानीथ) यावद्-गमकः अयम् अर्थः (=अस्य अर्थस्य यावती गमकता) ।
[युष्माकं] कश्चित् वा एकपुरुषः प्राप्नोति (=जानाति) एतम् ; सः अपि देशं नो सर्वम् । पश्यत
हि यूयम् एतत् सुविहिताः (=राजानुग्रहात् सुखावस्थिताः) अपि² । नीत्याम् (=दण्डनीति-
विषये) [कश्चित्] एक-पुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति ।
तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन बन्धनान्तकं (=बन्धनान्तः [प्राप्तः])³ । अन्यः च [तत्र]
बहुः [बन्धनबद्धः] जनः दवीयः (=चिरं) दुःखायते । ततः एष्टव्यं युष्माभिः—

1 Some scholars take it as सु-मनुष्यनां

2 Some would find here सुविहिता अपि नीतिः इयं

3 Cf. समाचर्य in RE XIII and दण्डसमता in PE IV. Or, [विचारार्थिनां] एक-
पुरुषः अपि अस्ति, यः बन्धनं वा परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति । तत्र भवति अकस्मात् तेन
[विधानेन] बन्धनान्तकं (=कारायामृत्युः) । अन्यः च बहुः जनः (स्वजनः) दवीयः
(=गभीरं) दुःखायते । cf. ll. 20-21).

किमिति ?—“मध्यं (=अपक्षपातं) प्रतिपादयेमहि” इति । एभिः तु जातैः (=वर्गैः)
 नो [मध्यं] संप्रतिपद्यते—ईर्ष्या, आशुलोपेन (=कोधेन), नैष्ठुर्येण, त्वरणा (=क्षिप्रतया),
 अनावृत्या (=अनभ्यासेन), आलस्येन, क्लमथेन (=क्लान्त्या) [च] । तत् एष्टव्यं—किमिति ?—
 “एतानि जातानि नो भवेयुः मम” इति । एतस्य च सर्वस्य [सम्प्रतिपादनस्य] मूलम् अनाशुलोपः
 (=अक्रोधः) अत्वरणा (=धीरता) [च] । नीत्यां यः क्लान्तः स्यात्, न सः उदगच्छेत् ; [तत्]
 सञ्चलितव्यं तु, वर्तितव्यम् (= धैर्येण सत्तव्यं), एतव्यं (=अग्रे सत्तव्यं) वा । एवम् एव यः
 पश्येत्, युष्मभ्यं तेन वक्तव्यम्—“[राजशासनातिरिक्तं] अन्यत् न पश्यत । एवं च एवं च
 देवानांप्रियस्य अनुशस्तिः ।” तत् महाफलः एतस्य सम्प्रतिपादः, महापाया असंप्रतिप्रतिः ।
 विप्रतिपाद्यमाने (=अक्रियमाने) [युष्माभिः] हि एतस्मिन्, न अस्ति स्वर्गस्य आराद्धिः
 नो राजाराद्धिः (= राजानुग्रह-लाभः) । द्वाहाहरः¹ (=द्विभनस्कतया सम्पादनं) हि अस्य
 कर्मणः, मे कुतः मनोऽतिरेकः (=मनःशक्तेः [=उत्साहस्य] वृद्धिः) ? [युष्माभिः] संप्रति-
 पद्यमाने तु एतस्मिन्, स्वर्गम् आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनुरागम् एष्यथ । इयं च लिपिः
 तिष्य-नक्षत्रेण [युष्माभिः] श्रोतव्या । अन्तरा अपि च तिष्यं (=तिष्यातिरिक्ते) क्षणे क्षणे
 एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः यूयं जायुत² (=उत्सहृब्धं) [कर्म] संप्रति-
 पादयितुम् । एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह, येन नगर-व्यवहारकाः शाश्वतं
 समयं [एतत्³ अनुशासनं] युञ्ज्युः (= प्रयुञ्जुः) इति, येन जनस्य अकस्मात् परिबोधः
 (=बन्धनं) वा अकस्मात् परिक्लेशः वा न स्यात् ईदृशः । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं महामातः
 पञ्चसु पञ्चसु वर्षेषु [अनुसंयानाय] निष्क्रामयिष्यामि—यः अकर्कशः अचरुडः
 सत्कीर्णारम्भः (=मृदुप्रयत्नः) भविष्यति—“एतम् अर्थं ज्ञात्वा [तत् अपि] [नगर-व्यवहारकाः]
 तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा मम अनुशस्तिः?” इति [ज्ञातुम्] । उज्जयिनीतः अपि तु [राज-प्रतिनिधिः]
 कुमारः एतस्मै एव अर्थाय निष्क्रामयिष्यति ईदृशम् एव वर्गं, नो च अतिक्रामयिष्यति क्षीणि
 वर्षाणि (= लिषु लिषु वर्षेषु) । एवमेव तक्षशिलातः अपि । यदा...तः महामाताः
 निष्क्रमिष्यन्ति अनुसंयानाय, तदा अहित्वा आत्मनः कर्म, एतत् अपि ज्ञास्यन्ति, “तत् अपि
 [ते] तथा कुर्वन्ति यथा राज्ञः अनुशस्तिः?” इति ॥

1 I.e. द्वाहाहः...कुतः मनोऽतिरेकाय ? According to some दुराहरः (=दुष्टसम्पादनं) ;
 but in that case we should have had दुलाहले

2 चवथ may be taken in the sense of Sanskrit जायुत i.e. ‘should be on the
 alert.’ Grierson derives it from Chhattisgarhi *chagh*, ‘to rise, ascend,’ from
 Sanskrit *charch*, ‘to go.’ Kern and Bühler connect *chagh* with Hindi *chāh-nā*
 (Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 1932, p. 345). According to Hultzsch *chagh* = Sanskrit *Sak*,
 ‘to be able.’

3 एतं in the Jaugaḍa version should be noticed.

No. 21—Second Separate Rock-Edict: Jaugada Version.

Jaugada, Ganjam Dist., Orissa.

KERN, *JRAS*, 1880, p. 379ff; SENART, *Ind. Ant.* XIX, p. 82ff:

BÜHLER, *ASSI*, I, p. 114ff; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 115ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानपिये हेवं आ[ह] [१*] समापायं महामता ल[१]जवचनिक वतविया [१*]
अं किञ्चि दख[१]मि हकं तं इ[छ]मि हकं [कि]ति कं क्मन
- 2 पटिपातयेहं दुवा[ल]ते च आलभेहं [१*] एस च मे मोखियमत² दुवाल एतस
अ[थ]स अ[१] [तुफे]सु अनुस[थि] [१*] सव-मुनि-
- 3 सा मे पजा [१*] अथ पजा[ये] इछामि किंति मे सवेणा हित-सु[खे]न यु[जे]यू
³[अ]थ पजाये इछामि किं[ति] [मे] सवेन हित-सु
- 4 [खे]न युजेयू ति हिदलोगिक-पाललोकिकेण[१] हेवंमेव मे इछ सव-मुनिसेसु [१*]
सिया अंतानं [अ]विजिता-
- 5 नं कि-छादे⁴ सु लाजा अफेसू ति [१*] एताका⁵ [वा] मे इछ [अ]तेसु पापुनेयु
लाजा हेवं इछति अनु[विगि]न हे[यू⁶]
- 6 ममियाये [अ]खसेयु च मे सुखंमेव च लहे[यू] ममते [नो] (दु*)ख[१] [१*]
हेवं च पापुनेयु ख[मिस]ति ने लाजा

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ib.*, p. xiv.

2 Senart: मते and Bühler: मतं

3. The passage अथ पजाये इछामि किंति मे सवेन हितसुखेन युजेयू has been repeated by mistake.

4 Senart and Bühler : छदे

5 Read एतका

6 Senart and Bühler: हेयु

- 7 ए सक्रिये¹ खमितवे मम² निमित्तं च धंम[']³ चले[यू] ति हिदलोग['] च पल्लोग
च आलाधये[यू] [।*] एताये
- 8 च अठाये हकं तुफेनि अनुसासामि अन[ने] [एत]केन [ह]कं तुफेनि अ[नु]सासितु
छंद['] [च] वेदि-
- 9 [तु] आ मम धिति पटिना च अचल [।*] स हेवं [क]द्र क[']मे [च]लितविये
अस्वास[नि]या च ते एन ते पापुने-
- 10 यु अ[थ]ा पित [हे]वं [ने] लाजा ति अथ [अ]तानं अनुकंप[ति] [हे]वं
अ[फे]नि अनुकंप[ति] अथा पजा हे-
- 11 वं [मये] ला[जि]ने [।*] तुफेनि हकं अनुसासित⁴ [छ]दिं [च] [वेदि]त⁵
[आ]⁶ [म]म धिति पटिना चा अचल [सक]ल-
- 12 देसा-आ[युति]के⁷ होसामी एतसि [अ]थ[ि]स [।*] [अ]लं [हि] तुफे
अस्वास[ना]ये हि[त]-सुखाये [च] [ते]स['] हिद-
- 13 लोगि[क]-प[ि]ल[लो]कि[का]ये [।*] हेवं च कलंतं खग['] [च] [आ]लाधयिस[थ]
मम च आन[ने]यं एसथ [।*] ए-
- 14 ताये च अ[थ]ाये इ[यं] लिपी लि[खित] [हि]द ए[न] [म]ह[ि]माता सास्वतं समं⁸
युजेयू अस्वासनाये च
- 15 धंम-चल[ना]ये च अंतान['] [।*] इयं च लिपी अ[नु]च[ि]तुं[म]ासं [सोत]विया
तिसेन [।*] अंतला पि च सोतविया [।*]
- 16 खने संतं एके[न] पि [सोतवि]या [।*] हेव['] च [क]लंत['] च घथ संपटिपातयित-
[ने] [।*]

1 Senart: छक्रिये and Bühler: चक्रिये

2 Read मम as in the Dhauili version.

3 The अनुस्वार of मं is engraved above the line.

4 Read ०सासितु

5 Read ०वेदितु. Senart: वेदात

6 आ is not noticed by Senart and Bühler.

7 Read देसायु०

8 Read समयं

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[†]देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह—‘समापायां महामात्राः राज-वाचनिकं¹ (=०वचनं) वक्तव्याः ।—
 “यत्किञ्चित् पश्यामि अहं तत् इच्छामि अहं—किमिति ? कं² कर्मणा प्रतिपादये,
 द्वारतः च आरमे । एतत् च मे मुख्यमतं द्वारम् एतस्य अर्थस्य यत् युष्मासु
 अनुशस्तिः । सर्व-मनुष्याः मे प्रजा (= अपत्यं) । यथा प्रजायै इच्छामि—किमिति ?—
 मया सर्वेण हितसुखेन युज्येरन् [प्रजाः] इति ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकेन, एवम् एव मे इच्छा सर्व-
 मनुष्येषु । स्यात् अन्तानाम् अविजितानाम् [इयं जिज्ञासा] “किञ्छन्दः स्वित् राजा
 अस्मासु ?” इति । एतकाः वा मे इच्छाः अंतेषु प्राप्नुयुः—“राजा एवम् इच्छति—अनुद्विमाः
 भवेयुः मया, आश्वस्युः च मया, सुखम् एव च लभेरन् मत्तः नो (= न) दुःखम्” ; एवं
 च प्राप्नुयुः—“क्षमिष्यते नः राजा यत् शक्यं क्षन्तुम्” ; मम निमित्तं च धर्मं चरेयुः
 इति ; इहलोकं च परलोकं च आराधयेयुः [इति] । एतस्मै च अर्थाय अहं युष्मान्
 अनुशास्मि ; अनृणः एतकेन अहं—युष्मान् अनुशिष्य, छन्दम् च वेदयित्वा, या मम
 धृतिः (=दृढता) प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च] । तत् एवं कृत्वा कर्म चरितव्यम् ; आश्वासनीयाः
 च ते, येन ते प्राप्नुयुः “यथा पिता एवं नः राजा” इति ; “यथा आत्मानम् अनुकम्पते एवम्
 अस्मान् अनुकम्पते” ; “यथा प्रजा एवं वयं राज्ञः” [इति] । युष्मान् अहम् अनुशिष्य,
 छन्दं च वेदयित्वा, या मम धृतिः प्रतिज्ञा च अचला [तां च]—सकलदेशावृत्तिकः³
 (=सर्वदेशव्यापित्विमान्) भविष्यामि एतस्मिन् अर्थे । अलं (=समर्थाः) हि यूयम् आश्वा-
 सनाय हितसुखाय च तेषाम् ऐहलौकिक-पारलौकिकाय । एवम् च कुर्वन्तः स्वर्गम् च
 आराधयिष्यथ, मम च आनृण्यम् एष्यथ । एतस्मै च अर्थाय इयं लिपिः लिखिता इह,
 येन महामात्राः शाश्वतं समर्थं [एतत् अनुशासनं] युज्युः आश्वासनाय च धर्मचरणाय च
 अन्तानाम् । इयं च लिपिः अनुचातुर्मासं श्रोतव्या तिष्येण । अन्तरा अपि च श्रोतव्या ।
 क्षणे सति एकेन अपि श्रोतव्या । एवं च कुर्वन्तः [यूयं] जागृत संप्रतिपादयितुम् ॥

1 Bhandarkar takes Rājavachanika as a class of Executive officials like Nagaravyavahārika (*op. cit.*, p. 368).

2 कं is an indeclinable expletive particle.

2a Cf. वर्त्तते पितृवन्नृषु (Manu, VII, 80) ; स्याद्राजा भृत्यवर्गेषु प्रजासु च यथा पिता (Yājñavalkya, I, 334) .

3 I take आयुति or आवुति to be Sanskrit आ+वृति meaning ‘request’. The passage would then mean ‘one whose request reaches every individual of the whole country.’ An emperor’s ‘request’ is of course his ‘order’; cf. आवुति in PE IV. For other interpretations, see Bhandarkar, *loc. cit.*

C—MINOR ROCK INSCRIPTIONS¹ OF AŚOKA

No. 22—Minor Rock-Inscription : Rūpnāth Version

RŪPNATH Rock, Jubbulpore Dist., C. P.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, VI. p. 149ff.; VII, p. 141ff; XXII, p. 299ff;SENART and GRIERSON, *Ib*, XX, p. 154 ff; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 166f.**Language:** Prakrit**Script:** BrāhmīTEXT²

- 1 देवानंपिये³ हेव['] आहा [।*]⁴ साति[र]केकानि⁵ अडति[या]नि व(सानि*) य
सुमि पाकास [सके]⁶ [।*] नो चु बाडि पकते⁷ [।*] सातिलेके चु छवछरे⁸ य सुमि
हक['] सघ उ[पे]ते

1 Minor Rock Edicts have been discovered at Sahasrām (Shāhābād Dist., Bihār), Rūpnāth (Jubbulpore Dist., C.P.), Bairāt (Jaipur State, Rājputānā), Maski (Raichūr Dist., Hydarābād), Yerragudi (Karnūl Dist., Madras Pres.) and Siddapura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and Brahmagiri (Chitaldrug Dist., Mysore).

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references and story of discovery, see *Ib*, p. xxiii f.

3 Maski : देवानंपियस असोकस.....

4 Brahmagiri, Siddapur and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara have सुवरागिरीते अयपुतंस
महामातानं च वचनेन इसिलसि महामाता आरोगियं वतविया । at the beginning of the record.

5 Read सातिरेककानि or सातिरेकानि.

6 Bühler : पाका (=हका=हक) सावके; cf. बुध-शके in Maski. Other versions read उपासके. Hultzsch : प्रकास.

7 Brahmagiri and Siddapura add : हुसं एकं सवछरं

8 Read संवछरे. Cf. the Brahmagiri and Siddapura versions.

- 2 वाडि च¹ पकते [।*] या² [इ]माय कालाय जंघुदिपसि अमिसा देवा हुसु
ते दानि [मिसा] कटा³ [।*] पक्रमसि⁴ हि [ए]स फले [।*] नो च एसा महतता
प[।]पोतवे खुदकेन⁵
- 3 पि प[क]म[मि]नेना⁶ सकिये⁷ पिपुले⁸ पा⁹ खगे आरोधेवे¹⁰ [।*] एतिय
अटाय च सावने कटे [ख]दका च उडाला च पक्रमतु¹¹ ति अता पि च
जानंतु इय¹² पक[रा]¹³ [व]
- 4 किति चिर-ठितिके¹⁴ सिया [।*] इय हि अठे वडि वडिसिति विपुल च वडिसिति
अपलधियेना दियडिय वडिसत¹⁵ [।*] इय च अठे पवति[सु] लेखापेत वालत [।*]
हध¹⁶ च अथि
- 5 साला-ठ[भे]¹⁷ सिला-ठ[.]भसि लाखापेतवय¹⁸ त¹⁹ [।*] एतिना च वयजनेना

1 Bühler : चु

2 Bühler : यि

3 Sahasram has अंसि-देवा संत मुनिसा मिसं-देवा कटा. For मिसा कटा,
Maski and Yerraguḍi have मिसिभुता (=मिश्रीभूताः)

4 Other versions have पक्रमस.

5 Senart and Bühler add हि क after this word.

6 Bühler : परममिनेन

7 Brahmagiri reads सवये आलाधेतवे ; Maski has सके अधिगतवे and adds न
हेवं दखितविये उडालके व इम अधिगळेया ति

8 Read विपुले

9 Read पि

10 Read आराधेत(त*)वे ; Bühler : आरोधेवे.

11 Senart and Bühler : पक्रमंतु

12 Senart and Bühler : इयं

13 Read पक्रमे

14 Siddapura has चिरठितिके च इयं पक्रमे होति and Sahasrām चिलठितिके
च पलाक्रमे होतु

15 Read वडिसिति or वडिसति

16 Bühler and Senart propose हध. But हध may be a mistake for हचे

17 Read सिला०

18 Read लिखापितविये

19 Read ति

यावत्क तुपक¹ अहाले सवर² विवसेतवा[य]³ ति [।*] [व्यु]ठेना सावने
कटे [।*]⁴ २०० [।*] ५० [।*] ६ स-

6 त विवासा त⁵ [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रियः एवम् आह ।—‘सातिरेकाणि +अर्द्धतोणि (=सार्द्धद्वे) वर्षाणि यत्
अस्मि प्रकाशं शाक्यः (=बौद्धोपासकः)। नो तु [अहं] वाढं (=तीव्रं) प्रकान्तः (=धर्मोद्यमि)
[अभूवम् एकं संवत्सरम्]। सातिरेकं तु संवत्सरं यत् अस्मि अहं सङ्गम् उपेतः
(=बौद्ध-सङ्गं गतः⁶), वाढं च प्रकान्तः। ये अस्मै कालाय (=इयन्तं कालं)
जम्बुद्वीपे⁷ अमिश्राः देवाः अभूवन्, ते इदानीं मिश्राः (=सम्बन्धवन्तः) कृताः [मनुष्यैः]।⁸
प्रक्रमे (=पराक्रमे=उद्योगे) हि एतत् फलम्। नो च एतत् [केवलं] महात्मत्वात्
प्राप्तुं, क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः अपि स्वर्गः आराधयितुं (=लब्धुम्)।
एतस्मै अर्थाय च श्रावणं कृतं—क्षुद्रकाः च उदाराः (=महात्मानः, महाधनाः) च प्रक्रमन्ताम्
इति; अन्ताः (=प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) अपि च जानन्तु; अयं प्रक्रमः एव—किमिति?—
चिरस्थितिकः स्यात्। अयं हि अर्थः (=श्रावण-विषयः) वृद्धिं (=वृद्ध्या) वर्द्धिष्यते, विपुलं
च वर्द्धिष्यते, +अवराधिकेन (=न्यूनाधिकतया) द्वयर्द्धं (=सार्द्धैकं) वर्द्धिष्यते। इमं च अर्थं
पर्वतेषु लेख्य वारतः (=सुयोगक्रमेण)। इह (=राज्ये यत्कुलचित्) च अस्ति [चेत्] शिला-
स्तम्भः, शिलास्तम्भे लेखयितव्यः इति। एतेन च व्यञ्जनेन (=शासनभावानुसारेण) यावत्

1 Read तुफाकं; cf. Sārṇāth Pillar, l. 9

2 Read सवत्; cf. *loc. cit.*, l. 10.

3 Read विवसेतविये. Senart : ०विय and Bühler: ०वायु

4 Brahmagiri has इयं च सावणे सावापिते व्यूथेन २०० ५० ६ and Sahasram दुवे
सपंना लाति-सता विवुथा ति २०० ५० ६

5 Read ति

6 Aśoka seems to have temporarily put on the monk's robe without proper initiation, like king Milinda (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 123 f.) That he became a monk for life is not supported by tradition.

7 According to Buddhist conception, Jambudvīpa is the southern quarter of the earth comprising India.

8 Gods associate themselves with pious people both on the earth and in heaven. Aśoka seems to claim that he made all men pious by preaching his Dharma, and thereby facilitated their association with gods. Or, possibly he granted the despised castes entry into the temples of deities.

युष्माकम् आहारं (=शासनाधीन-प्रदेशांशं=आहारावधि-पर्यन्तं) सर्वत्र विवासयितव्यः [युष्माभिः पुरुषः] इति । व्युषितेन (=प्रवासिना [मया]) श्रावणं कृतम् । २५६^१ शतानि (=षट्-पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रि-शतद्वयं) [स्वस्य] विवासः' इति ।

No. 23—Minor Rock-Edict: Yerragudi Version.

YERRAGUDI, Karṇūl Dist., Madras Pres.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII, p. 817ff.; B. M. BARUA, *Ibid.*, IX, p. 116f; XIII, p. 132ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

1 देवानं पिये हेव

1a हया³ [1*]

1b [स]ाधिकानि.....

2 *ते[कप] रज्ज्वसं कंए

2a ⁵खो तु नो [1*] केसपाउ कंह [यं]

1 The meaning of the passage is perfectly clear in the Saharsam version which suggests द्वे षट्पञ्चाशत् रात्रिशते व्युष्टानि इति २५६=द्वे रात्रिशते षट्पञ्चाशत् [च]—२५६—[रात्रयः] व्युष्टानि इति । I do not think that the passage can be so explained as to refer to the passing away of 256 years of an era connected with some event of Buddha's life, as suggested by Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 2nd ed., p. 370 ff.

2 From the facsimile in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VII and IX; *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1922-29, pl. LXII. The engraver engraves the first line, as he should, from left to right, but continues it in such a manner as to make it appear as two separate lines. Then he begins to engrave from right to left and continues it in such a fashion as to make the left half of the second line a continuation of the first half of line 1. Sometimes he puts letters of one line into another. The characteristic of writing from right to left is an old trait of Brāhmī.

3 Read from right to left : आह

4 Read from right to left (as एकं संवत्सर पकते) after 1. 2a.

5 Read from right to left यं हकं उपासके । न तु खो

- 3 हुस साति[रे]कं [तु खो] सवछरे यं मया संघे उपयि-
 4 ¹[अ] [न]लेका च नामिइ [।*] तेरुप मे च ढवा ते
 5 -मिसा मुनि-
 5a सा देवेहि ते दानि मिसिभूता [।*] पकमस हि (एस फले। *)
 6 ²खु येकिस व नेत्पहम [न]
 7 -दकेन पि प[क]- 7a धेतवे [।*] ए
 8 [म]मीनेन सकिये विपुले खगे आरा³ ताय च अठाय इयं
 9 [स]ावने साविते अथा खुदक-महधना इमं पराकमेवू अ'-
 10 ⁴च कातिठिरचि वुनेजा मे च ता-
 11 [इ]यं पकमे होतु विपुले पि च वडसिता अपरधिया दियडियं [।*]
 12 ⁵सा नेवसा च यं[इ]
 13 -[वापि]ते व्यूथेन २००[+*]५०[+*]६ [।*] 13a हेवं देवानं⁶ देवानंपि-
 13b -ये आह यथा देवान- 14 [।*] ⁷[यवितक थात हाआ] येपि
 15 [राजू]के आनपितविये
 16 ⁸नआ दपनजा नीदा ते
 17 -पयिसति रठिकानि च [।*]⁹ मातापितूसू सु(सु*)-
 18 सितविये हेमेव गरुसु सुसूसितविये पानेसु दयितविये 18a सच वतविय
 19 सुसुम धंमगुना पवतितविया [।*] हेवं तुके आनपयाथ देवानंपियस वचनेन [।*] हे-
 20 ¹⁰पनआ वमे

1 Read from right to left: -ते वाढ च मे पकते । इमिना च कालेन अ-

2 Read from right to left: न महत्पनेव सकिये खु-

3 Read here line 7a.

4 Read from right to left: -ता च मे जानेवु चिरठितिका च

5 Read from right to left: इयं च सावने सा-

6 Omit देवानं

7 Read from right to left -पिये आहा तथा कतविय

8 Read from right to left: ते दानी जानपदं आन-

9 Cf. Brahmagiri (ll. 9-12) and Jatinga-R. and Siddapura. They end with the passages चपडेन लिखितं in Brāhmī and लिपिकरेण in Kharoshthī.

10 Read from right to left: -मेव आनप-

- 21 यथ हथियारोहानि कारनकानि यू[ग्य]चरियानि बंभनानि च तुफे [।*] हेवं निवेसया-
 22 थ अन्तेवासीनि या[रि]सा पोराणा पकिति [।*] इयं सुसुसितविये अपचायना य वा सव मे
 22a आचरि-
 23 -यस यथाचारिन आचरियस[।*] नातिकानि यथारह नातिकेसु पवतितविये[।*] हेसा [पि]
 24 अन्तेवासीसु यथारह पवतितविये यारिसा पोराणा पकिति [।*] यथारह यथा इयं
 25 आरोके सिया हेवं तुफे आनपयाथ निवेसयाथ
 25a च अन्तेवास[।*]नि [।*] हेवं दे- 26 [।*] 1तियपनआ येपिनंवा

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

+देवानांप्रिय एवम् आह ।—‘साधिकानि [अर्द्धलीणि वर्षाणि=सार्द्धं द्वे वर्षे] यत् अहम्
 उपासकः [अस्मि] ; नो तु खलु एकं संवत्सरं प्रक्रान्तः अभूवम् । सातिरेकं तु खलु
 संवत्सरं यत् मया सङ्गः उपेतः, बाढं च मया प्रक्रान्तम् । अनेन च कालेन अमिश्राः [ये]
 मनुष्याः देवैः, ते इदानीं मिश्रीभूताः [देवैः] । प्रक्रमस्य हि [इदं फलम्] । न महात्मना एव
 शक्यः, क्षुद्रकेण अपि प्रक्रममाणेन शक्यः विपुलः स्वर्गः आराधयितुम् । एतस्मै एव अर्थाय
 इदं श्रावणं श्रावितं, यथा क्षुद्रक-महाधनाः इदं पराक्रमेयुः ; अन्ताः (=प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) च मे
 जानीयुः ; चिरस्थितिकः च अयं प्रक्रमः भवतु ; विपुलम् अपि च वर्द्धिष्यते, +अवराधिकेन
 (=न्यूनाधिकतया) द्वयर्द्धं (=सार्द्धं कं) [वर्द्धिष्यते] । इदं च श्रावणं श्रावितं व्युपितेन
 २५६ (=षट्पञ्चाशदधिक-रात्रिशतद्वितय-व्युपितेन मया)’ । एवं देवानांप्रियः आह—
 ‘यथा देवानांप्रियः आह तथा कर्तव्यम् । रज्जुकाः आज्ञापयितव्याः—ते इदानीं जानपदम्
 आज्ञापयिष्यन्ति राष्ट्रिकान् (=जनपदशासकविशेषान्) च—मातापितृषु शुश्रूषितव्यं ; एवम्
 एव गुरुषु शुश्रूषितव्यं ; प्राणेषु दयितव्यं, सत्यं वक्तव्यं, शुष्म-धर्म-गुणाः (=उज्ज्वलः)
 प्रवर्त्तयितव्याः । एवं यूयम् (=महामाताः ?) आज्ञापयत देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन । एवम् एव
 आज्ञापयत हस्तारोहान्, कारणकान् (=कायस्थान् ; यद्वा, प्राड्विविकान्), युग्यचर्यान्
 (=रथारोहान्), ब्राह्मणान् (=अध्यापकान्) च यूयम्—“एवं निवेशयत (=अध्यापयत)
 अन्तेवासिनः यादृशी पुराणी प्रकृतिः (=पुरातनः सदाचारः=सनातनः धर्मः) । इदं शुश्रूषि-
 तव्यम्—अपचायना (=पूजा) या वा [मे] सर्वा मे आचार्यस्य, यथाचारिणः आचार्यस्य ।
 [एषा] ज्ञातिकैः यथार्हं ज्ञातिकेषु प्रवर्त्तयितव्या । एषा (=अपचायना) अपि अन्तेवासिषु
 यथार्हं प्रवर्त्तयितव्या यादृशी पुराणी प्रकृतिः । यथार्हं यथा इयम् आरोका (=दृढा) स्यात्,
 एवं यूयम् आज्ञापयत निवेशयत च अन्तेवासिनः । एवं देवानांप्रियः आज्ञापयति” ॥’

D—PILLAR EDICTS¹ OF AŚOKA

No. 24—First Pillar-Edict: Delhī-Toprā Version.

North face of the Pillar.

Originally TOPRĀ, Ambālā Dist., Panjāb; now Fīrūz Shāh's Kotlā, Delhi.

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 245 ff; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 119.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brahmi

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आहा [१*] सडुवीसति-
- 2 वस-अभिसितेन मे इयं धम्म-लिपि लिखापिता [१*]
- 3 हिदत्त-पालते दुसंपटिपादये अंनत्त अगाया धम्म-कामताया
- 4 अगाय पत्तीखाया अगाय सु[सू]याया अगेन भयेना
- 5 अगेन उसाहेना [१*] एस चु खो मम अनुसथिया
- 6 धंमापेखा धम्म-कामता चा सुवे सुवे वडिता वडीसति चेवा [१*]
- 7 पुलिसा पि च मे उक्सा चा गेवया चा मम्मिमा चा अनुविधीयंती
- 8 संपटिपादयंति चा अलं चपलं³ समादपयितवे [१*] हेमेवा अंत-

1 Aśoka's Pillars were found at Toprā (near the Sivālik), Mirāṭh (U.P.), Allahābād (U.P.), Rādhiah (Lauriā-Ararāj), Māthiah (Lauriyā-Navandgarh or Nandangarh) and at Rāmapurvā. The last three are in the Champāraṇ Dist., Bihār. The pillars at Toprā and Mirāṭh were brought to Delhi by Sulṭān Fīrūz Shāh (1351-88 A.D.) according to the Shams-i-Sirāj. The Allāhābad Pillar was originally at Kosām (ancient Kauśāmbī). Pillar-Edicts I, IV, V and VI refer to the king's 26th regnal year; but VI also to the 12th and VII to the 27th years.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references and story of discovery, see *ib.*, p. xv ff.

3 We may also separate च from पलं (= परम्).

- 9 महामाता पि [1*] एस हि विधि या इयं धंमेन पालना धंमेन विधाने
10 धंमेन सुखियना धंमेन गोती ति [11*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शा राजा एवम् आह ।—‘षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 244 B.C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । ऐह्य-पारत्नं (=ऐहिकपारत्निकं मङ्गलं) दुःसंप्रतिपाद्यं (=दुर्लभम्) अन्यत्र अग्रायाः (=तीव्रायाः) धर्मकामतायाः, अग्रायाः परीक्षायाः, अग्रायाः शुश्रूषायाः (=गुरुजनवश्यतायाः), अग्रात् भयात् (=पापभयात्), अग्रात् उत्साहात् । एषा तु खलु मम अनुशस्या धर्मापेक्षा धर्मकामता च ⁺श्वःश्वः(=अहरहः) वर्द्धिता वर्द्धिष्यते च एव । पुरुषाः (=राजपुरुषाः) अपि च मे उत्कर्षाः (=उत्कृष्टाः) च ⁺गेवकाः (=निकृष्टाः) च मध्यमाः च अनुविदधति [धर्मं], संप्रतिपादयन्ति च [ऐह्यपारत्नं]; [ते] अत्नं (=समर्थाः) चपत्नं [जनं] समादापयितुं (=धर्माय उत्साहयितुम्) । एवम् एव अन्त-महामाताः (=प्रत्यन्तसम्बन्धिः) अपि । एषा हि विधिः, या इयं धर्मेण पालना [प्रजानां], धर्मेण विधानं (=दण्डा-भिहारदानं), धर्मेन सुखना, धर्मेण गुप्तिः (=रक्षणम्), इति ॥

No. 25—Second Pillar-Edict: Delhi-Topra Version.

North face of the Pillar.

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII ; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 245 ff ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 120 f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

1²देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज

2³ हेवं आहा [1*] धंमे साधू [1*] कियं चु धंमे ति[1*] अपासिनवे⁴ बहु-कयाने

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ib.*, p. xv ff.

2 This is continuation of line 10 of the whole inscription on the Pillar (north face).

3 This is line 11 of the whole inscription.

4 A horizontal stroke is attached to the left side of the lower part of वे

- 3 दया दाने सचे सोचये [।*]⁵ चखु-दाने पि मे⁶ बहुविधे दिने [।*] दुपद-
 4 चतुपदेसु पखि-वाल्लिचलेसु विविधे मे अनुगहे कटे आ पान-
 5 दाखिनाये [।*] अनानि पि च मे बहूनि कयानानि कटानि [।*] एताये मे
 6 अठाये इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता हेवं अनुपटिपजंतु चित्तं-
 7 थितिका च होतू ती ति⁷ [।*] ये च हेवं संपटिपजीसति से सुकटं कंछती⁸ ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[†]देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘धर्मः साधुः । कियान् तु धर्मः इति ? अल्पासिनवं (=अल्पं पापं), बहु-कल्याणं [जनानां], दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौचकम् (=शुचिता) । चक्षुर्दानम्⁹ अपि मया बहुविधं दत्तम् । द्विपद-चतुष्पदेषु पक्षिवारिचरेषु [च] विविधः मया अनुग्रहः कृतः आ प्राण-दाक्षिण्यात् (=प्राणदानपर्यन्तम्) । अन्यानि अपि च मया बहूनि कल्याणानि कृतानि । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता—एवम् (=लेखानुसारेण) अनुप्रतिपद्यन्तां [जनाः], चिर-स्थितिका च [लिपिः] भवतु इति । यः च एवं संप्रतिपत्स्यते सः सुकृतं करिष्यति’ इति ॥

5 Cf. प्राणानाम् अनालम्भः etc. repeated over and over again ; cf. also PE VII line 18. Many of these are prescribed for the Buddhist laity in works like the *Sigālovāda-sutta* in the *Dīghanikāya*. Brahmanical writers consider these to be duties common to all the Varnas. Cf. अहिंसा सत्यमस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः । दानं दमो दया क्षान्तिः सर्वेषां धर्मसाधनम् ॥ *Yājñavalkya*, I, 122 ; also क्षमा सत्यं दमः शौचं दानमिन्द्रियसंयमः । अहिंसा गुरुशुश्रूषा तीर्थानुसरणं दया ॥ आर्जवं लोभशून्यत्वं देवब्राह्मणपूजनम् । अनभ्यसूया च तथा धर्मः सामान्य उच्यते ॥ *Vishnu*, 2, 7-8.

6 There is a vertical stroke at the bottom of मे.

7 Better omit ती

8 Read कंछति

9 Asoka seems to have pardoned culprits whose eyes had been ordered to be blinded by the court.

No. 26—Third Pillar-Edict : Delhī-Toprā Version.

North face of the Pillar.

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XVII; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 121f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1² देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं अहा [1*] कयानंमेव देखति इयं मे
- 2 कयाने कटे ति [1*] नो मिन³ पापं [दे]खति इयं मे पापे कटे ति इयं वा आसिनवे
- 3 नामा ति [1*] दुपटिवेखे चु खो एसा [1*] हेवं चु खो एस देखिये [1*] इमानि
- 4 आसिनव-गामिनि नाम अथ चंडिये निठूलिये कोधे माने इस्या
- 5 कालनेन व हकं मा पलिभसयिसं [1*] एस वाढ देखिये इयं मे
- 6 हिदतिकाये इयंमन मे पालतिकाये [11*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—“[जनः] कल्याणम् एव पश्यति—“इदं मया कल्याणं कृतम्” इति । नो मनाक् (=किञ्चिदपि) पापं पश्यति—“इदं मया पापं कृतम्” इति ; “इदं वा आसिनवं⁴ नाम” इति । दुष्प्रत्यवेद्यं (=दुर्लभ्यं) तु खलु एतत् (=पापम्) । एवं तु खलु [जनः] एतत् पश्येत्—“इमानि आसिनवगामोनि⁵ नाम—यथा

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *Ib.*, p. xvff.

2 This is line 17 of the whole inscription on the north face of the Pillar.

3 The Mirāṭh version appears to read मिना

4 आसिनव means परिसव of RE X (*supra*, pp. 31-32). It is the same as the Jain term अरहय which is derived from आ+लु, and indicates a variety of sin.

5 Cf. त्रिविधं नरकस्येदं द्वारं नाशनमात्मनः ।

कामः क्रोधस्तथा लोभस्तस्मादेतन्नयं त्यजेत् ॥ गीता १९।२१

चाण्ड्य' (=कोपनता), नैष्ठुर्य, क्रोधः, मानः (=दम्भः), ईर्ष्या¹; [एतेषां] कारणेन एव अहं मा (यद्वा, मां) परिभ्रंशयिष्यामि (=न [आत्मानं] धर्मभ्रष्टं करिष्यामि) ।' एतत् वाढं पश्येत्—“इदं मे ऐहिकाय इदम् अन्यत् मे पारत्तिकाय” ॥’

No. 27—Fourth Pillar-Edict : Delhi-Toprā Version

West face of the Pillar.

SENART and GRIERSON, *Ind. Ant.*, XXII.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 122f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंपिये पियदसि ल[†]ज हेवं आहा [!∗] सडुवीसति-वस-
- 2 अभिसितेन मे इयं धंम-लिपि लिखापिता [!∗] लजूका मे
- 3 बहूसु पान-सत-सहसेसु जनसि आयता [!∗] तेसं ये अभिहाले वा
- 4 दंडे वा अत-पतिये मे कटे [!∗] किति लजूका अस्वथ अभीता
- 5 कंसानि पवतयेवू जनस जानपदसा हित-सुखं उपदहेवू
- 6 अनुगहिनेवु चा [!∗] सुखीयन-दुखीयनं जानिसंति धंमयुतेन³ च
- 7 वियोवदिसंति जनं जानपदं [!∗] किति हिदतं च पालतं च
- 8 आलाधयेवू ति [!∗] लजूका पि लघंति पटिचलितवे मं [!∗] पुलिसानि पि मे
- 9 छंदंनानि पटिचलिसंति [!∗] ते पि च कानि वियोवदिसंति येन मं लजूका
- 10 चघंति आलाधयितवे [*] अथा हि पजं वियताये धातिये निसिजिमु
- 11 अस्वथे होति वियत धाति चघति मे पजं सुखं पलिहटवे

1 Cf. पैशुन्यं साहसं द्रोहः ईर्ष्यास्यार्थदूषणम् । मनु । ७।४८ ।

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references, see *ib.*, p. xvff.

3 Michelson takes धंम-युत to be a class of officials.

- 12 हेवं ममा लज्जूका कटा जानपदस हित-सुखाये [१*] येन एते अभोता
 13 अखथ संतं अविमना कंमानि पवतयेवू ति एतेन मे लज्जुकानं
 14 अ[१]महाले व दंडे वा अत-पतिये कटे [१*] इच्छितविये [हि] एसा [१*] किंति
 15 वियोहाल-समता च सिथ दंड-समता चा [१*] अव इते पि च मे आचुति [१*]
 16 बंधन-वधानं मुनिसानं तीलित-दंडानं^१ पत-वधानं तिनं दिवसा[नि] मे
 17 योते दिने [१*] नातिका व कानि निभूपयिसंति^२ जीविताये तानं
 18 नासंतं^३ वा निभूपयिता^४ दानं दाहंति पालतिकं उपवासं व कळंति [१*]
 19 इच्छा हि मे हेवं निलुधसि पि कालसि^५ पालतं आलाधयेवू ति [१*] जनस च
 20 वडति विविधे धंम-चलने संयमे दान-सविभागे ति [१*]

1 Senart and Bühler: तीलीत

2 Senart explains the passage: 'My officers will warn (निभूपयिसंति) them that they have neither more nor less (नातिकावकानि) to live (जीविताये तानं). Warned thus (निभूपयिता) as to the limit of their existence (नासंतं) they may give (दाहंति) alms (दानं) in view of their future life (पालतं), or may give themselves up to fasting (उपवासं वा कळंति).' Bühler explains: 'Their relations (नातिका) will make some of them (कानि) meditate deeply (निभूपयिसंति) and in order to save the life of those men (जीविताये तानं) or in order to make (the condemned) who is to be executed (नासंतं) meditate deeply (निभूपयिता), they will give gifts with a view to the next world or will perform fasts.'

3 नासंतं(=नाशान्त) has been taken by some scholars in the sense of Death, (one) whose nature or disposition (अन्त) is destruction (नाश)

4 Some versions have निभूपयितवे

5 The expression has been explained as 'during the time of their imprisonment' (Senart); 'even during their imprisonment' (Bühler); 'even in a limited time' (Lüders); 'though their hour of death is irrevocably fixed (their being no निभूति)' (Thomas); and 'even when the time (of respite) has expired' (Hultzsch).

Bahndarkar takes काल in the sense of जीवनकाल. Cf. कार="act of worship," in the *Divyāvadāna* (JBORS, IV, pp. 410-11).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवं आह ।—‘षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 244 B. C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता । रज्जुकाः मया बहुषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु जने (=जनेषु) आयाताः (=आयुक्ताः) । तेषां यः अभिहारः (=उपहारः) वा दण्डः वा [सः=अभिहारदण्डौ] आत्मपतिकः (=अभिहारदण्डदानविषये रज्जुकाः स्वाधीनाः) मया कृतः—किमिति ?—रज्जुकाः आश्वस्ताः अभीताः [च] [सन्तः] कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः, जनस्य जानपदस्य हितसुखम् उपदध्युः (=विदध्युः), [जनान्] अनुगृह्णीयुः च । [रज्जुकाः] सुखन-दुःखनं ज्ञास्यन्ति, धर्मयुतेन [जनेन] च व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति जनं जानपदम्—किमिति ?—[ते] इहर्त्यं च पारलिकं [मङ्गलं] च आराधयेयुः (=लभेरन्) इति । रज्जुकाः अपि रंधन्ते (=सोत्सुकाः भवन्ति) परिचरितुं माम् ; पुरुषान् (=राजपुरुषान् ; महामातान् ?) अपि मे छन्दज्ञान् [रज्जुकाः] परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते (=पुरुषाः) अपि च कांश्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुं (=तोषयितुम्) ¹ । यथा हि प्रजां (=अपत्यं) व्यक्तायै (=प्राज्ञायै) धार्त्र्यै निःसृज्य आश्वस्तः भवति [जनः] “व्यक्ता धात्री जागर्ति मे प्रजां सुखं प्रतिहर्तुम् (=रक्षितुं),” एवं मम रज्जुकाः [मया] कृताः जानपदस्य हितसुखाय । येन एते अभीताः आश्वस्ताः सन्तः अविमनसः (=हृष्टाः) कर्माणि प्रवर्तयेयुः इति, एतेन मया रज्जुकानाम् अभिहारः वा दण्डः वा आत्मपतिकः कृतः । एष्टव्यं हि एतत्—किमिति ?—व्यवहार-समता च स्यात् दण्ड-समता च । यावत् इतः अपि च मे आवृत्तिः (=आदेशः)—बन्धन-वद्धानां मनुष्याणां तीर्णदण्डानां (=प्राप्तदण्डानां) प्राप्त-वधानां त्रयः दिवसाः मया [बधरोधरूपं] यौतकं दत्तम् । [तेषां] ज्ञातिकाः वा कांश्चित् रज्जुकान्] निधाययिष्यन्ति (=हेतुप्रदर्शनेन प्रबोधयिष्यन्ति) जीविताय वा तेषां ; नश्यन्तं (=वध्यं) वा निधाययितुं (=लोकान्तरे तस्य सुखं भवेत् इति प्रतिबोधनेन प्रसादयितुं) दानं दास्यन्ति पारलिकम्, उपवासं वा करिष्यन्ति । इच्छा हि मे एवं—निरुद्धे अपि काले (=यौतकरूपे समये ; यद्वा, निरुद्धे अपि कारे [=पूजाकार्ये]) पारलिकम् आराधयेयुः इति । [एवं] जनस्य च वर्धते विविधं धर्म-चरणं संयमः दानसंविभागः ² [च] इति ॥

1 Or, पुरुषाः अपि मे छन्दज्ञाः [मां] (or छन्दज्ञे) परिचरिष्यन्ति । ते अपि च कांश्चित् रज्जुकान्] व्युपदेक्ष्यन्ति येन मां रज्जुकाः जाग्रति आराधयितुम् । According to Hultzsch चघति=शक्नोति

2 ऐहिकार्थदानात् पारलिकार्थदानस्य विभजनम् ; cf. धर्मसंविभाग in RE XI (*supra*, pp. 32-33).

No. 28—Fifth Pillar-Edict : Rāmpurvā Version

South face of the Pillar

RĀMPURVĀ, Champāraṇ Dist., Bihār.

HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 153f.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह [।*] सडुवीसति-[व]साभिसितेन मे
इमानि पि जातानि अबध्यानि कटानि [।*] सेयथ
- 2 सुके सालिक अलुने चक्रवाके हंसे नंदीमुखे गेलाटे जतूक अंवा-कपिलिक दुळि अनठिक-
मछे वेदवेयके
- 3 गंगा-पुपुटके संकुज-मछे कफट-सेयके पंन-ससे सिमले संडके ओकपिंडे पलसते
सेत-कपोते
- 4 गाम-कपोते सवे चतुपदे ये पटिभोगं नो एति न च खादियति [।*] अजका नानि
एळका च सूकली च गभिनी व
- 5 पायमीना व अवध्य पोतके च कानि आसंमासिके [।*] वधि-कुकुटे नो कटविये [।*]
तुसे सजीवे नो भापयितविये [।*]
- 6 दावे अनठाये व विहिसाये व नो भापयितविये [।*] जीवेन जीवे नो पुसितविये [।*]
तीसु चातुंमा[सी]सु तिस्यं पुंनमासियं
- 7 तिनि दिवसानि चावुदसं पंनडसं पटिपदं धुवाये च अनु-पोसथं मछे अवध्ये नो पि
विकेतविये [।*] एतानि येव
- 8 दिवसानि नाग-वनसि केवट-भोगसि यानि अंनानि पि जीव-निकायानि नो
हंतवियानि [।*] अठमि-पखाये चावुदसाये

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *ib.*, xviii f.

- 9 पंनडसाये तिसाये पुनावसुने तीसु चातुंमासीसु सुदिवसाये गोने नो निलखितविये [I*]
अजके एळके सूकले
- 10 ए वापि अने नीलखियति नो नीलखितविये [I*] तिसाये पुनावसुने चातुंमासिये
चातुंमासि-पखाये अखस गोनस
- 11 लखने नो कटविये [I*] याव-सडुवीसति-वसाभिसितेन मे एताये अंतलिकाये
पंनवीसति वंधन-मोखानि कटानि [II*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह । —‘षड्विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 244 B. C.)
मया इमानि अपि जातानि अवध्यानि कृतानि ; तद्यथा—शुकः, शारिका, अरुणः चक्रवाकः,
हंसः, नन्दीमुखः (=शारिकाविशेषः), गेलाटः, जतूकः, अम्बापिपीलिका, दुडिः (=कमठविशेषः),
अनस्थिक-मत्स्यः, वेदवेयकः, गङ्गापुपुटकः, सङ्कुच-मत्स्यः, कमठ-शल्यकौ, पर्न-शशः,
सुमरः (=मृगविशेषः), षण्डकः¹, औकपिण्डः (=मार्जार-मूषिकादयः), परस्वान् (=Pāli
पलासादो=गण्डकः), श्वेत-कपोतः, ग्रामकपोतः, सर्वे [च] चतुष्पदाः ये प्रतिभोगं न यन्ति न च
खाद्यन्ते । अजका एषा (=या) एडका च सूकरी च गर्भिणी वा पयस्विनी वा अवध्या, पोतकाः
च के[चित्=ये] ⁺आषारमासिकाः । वृद्धि-कुक्कुटः (=निलिङ्गीकृतः) नो कर्तव्यः । तुषः सजीवः
न दाहयितव्यः । दावः (=अरण्यम्) अनर्थाय वा विहिंसायै वा नो दाहयितव्यः । जीवेन जीवः
नो पोषितव्यः । तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु (=कार्तिकफाल्गुनाषाढपूर्णिमासु), ⁺तिष्यायां (=पौषे)
पूर्णमास्यां, त्रिषु दिवसेषु —चतुर्दशे पञ्चदशे प्रतिपदि[च], ⁺ध्रुवायाः (=ध्रुवत्वेन) च अनूपवसथं
(=उपवासदिनेषु) मत्स्यः अवध्यः, नो अपि विक्रेतव्यः । एतान् एव दिवसान् नागवने (=हस्ति-
क्षेत्रे), कैवर्त-भोगे (=जालिकग्रामे), ये अन्ये अपि जीव-निकायाः, [ते] नो हन्तव्याः ।
अष्टमी-पक्षे (=अष्टमीषु), चतुर्दश्यां, पञ्चदश्यां, तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, तिसृषु चातुर्मासीषु, सुदिवसे
(=पर्वदिने) गौः न निर्लेक्ष्यितव्यः (=निर्मुष्कीकर्तव्यः) । अजकः, एडकः (=मेषः), शूकरः, ये वा
अपि अन्ये निर्लेक्ष्यन्ते, [ते] न निर्लेक्ष्यितव्याः । तिष्यायां, पुनर्वसौ, चातुर्मास्यां, चातुर्मासीपक्षे
[च] अश्वस्य गोः [च] [दग्धशलाकया] लक्ष्णं नो कर्तव्यम् ॥ ⁺यावत्-षड्विंशति-वर्षाभि-
षिक्तेन² मया एतस्याम् अन्तरिकायां (=अत्रान्तरे) पञ्चविंशतिः बन्धनमोक्षाः [वन्दिनां] कृताः ॥

1 This shows (as suggested by other evidences also) that beef was taken by the Indians in the 3rd century B.C.

2 Aśoka seems to have ordered the release of prisoners on the anniversaries of his coronation.

No. 29—Sixth Pillar-Edict : Rāmpurvā Version

South face of the Pillar

HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 155.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1² देवानंपिये पियदसि लाज हेवं आह [।*] दुवाडस-वसाभिसितेन मे धंम-
लिपि लिखापित लोकस हित-सुखाये [।*] से तं अपहट
- 2 तं तं धंम-वडि पापोव [।*] हेवं लोकस हित-सुखे ति पटिवेखामि अथ इयं नातिसु
हेवं प्रत्यासनेसु हेवं अपकठेसु किमं कानि
- 3 सुखं आवहामी ति तथा च विदहामि [।*] हेमेव सब-[नि]कायेसु पटिवेखामि [।*]
सब-पासंडा पि मे पूजित विविधाय पूजाय [।*] ए चु इयं
- 4 अतन पचूपगमने से मे मोह्य-मुते [।*] सडुवीस[ति]-वसाभिसितेन मे इयं
धंम-लिपि लिखापित [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 258 B. C.) मया धर्मलिपिः लेखिता लोकस्य हित-सुखाय ; तत् (=ततः) तां अप्रहर्ता (=अनाशयिता=पालयिता) तां तां धर्म-वृद्धिं प्राप्नुयात् । “एवं लोकस्य हितसुखम्” इति प्रत्यवेक्षे—यथा इदं ज्ञातिषु, एवं प्रत्यासन्नेषु, एवम् अपकठेषु (=विप्रकठेषु=दूरस्थेषु)—कथं कांश्चित् जनान्] सुखम् आवहामि इति, तथा च विदहामि । एवम् एव सर्व-निकायेषु प्रत्यवेक्षे ।
⁺सर्व-पाषण्डाः अपि मया पूजिताः विविधया पूजया । यत् इदम् आत्मना प्रत्युपगमनं (=स्वयं गत्वा जनानां परिदर्शनं) तत् मे मुख्य-मतम् । षड्विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 244 B. C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता ॥’

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *Ib.*, p. xviii f.

2 This is line 12 of the inscription on the south face of the Pillar.

No. 30—Seventh Pillar-Edict : Delhi-Toprā¹

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 245ff; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 130ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

East face of the Pillar

- 1³ देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [१*] ये अतिकंतं
- 2 अंतलं लाजाने हुसु हेवं इच्छिषु कथं जने
- 3 धंम-वडिया वडेया नो तु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया
- 4 वडिथा [१*] एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [१*] एस मे
- 5 हुथा [१*] अतिकंतं च अंतलं⁴ हेवं इच्छिषु लाजाने कथं जने
- 6 अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया वडेया ति नो च जने अनुलुपाया
- 7 धंम-वडिया वडिथा [१*] से किंसु जने अनु[प]टिपजेया⁵ [१*]
- 8 किंसु जने अनुलुपाया धंम-वडिया वडेया ति [१*] [१]किंसु कानि
- 9 अभ्युंनमयेहं धंम-वडिया ति [१*] एतं देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं
- 10 आहा [१*] एस मे हुथा [१*] धंम-सावनानि सावापयामि धंमानुसथिनि
- 11 अनुस[१]सामि [१*] एतं जने सुतु अनुपटीपजीसति अभ्युंनमिसति

Round the Pillar

- 12 धंम-वडिया च बाढं वडिस[ति] [१*] एताये मे अठाये धंम-सावनानि सावापितानि
धंमानुसथिनि विविधानि आनपितानि य[था*] [पुलि*][स]⁶ पि बहुने जनसि

1 This edict is not found on the other Pillars.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

3 This is line 11 of the inscription on the east face of the Pillar.

4 Read अंतलं

5 प of ०पजेया is engraved above the line.

6 The restoration is due to Hultzsch.

- आयता ए ते¹ पलियोवदिसंति पि पविथलिसंति पि [1*] **लजूका** पि बहुकेसु पान-
सत-सहसेसु आयता [1*]ते पि मे आनपिता हेवं च हेवं च पलियोवदाथ
- 13 जनं धंम-यु[त] [1*] **[देव]ानंपिये पियदसि** हेवं आहा [1*] एतमेव
मे अनुवेखमाने धंम-थंभानि कटानि **धंम-महामाता** कटा धंम-[सावने*] कटे [1*]
देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा हेवं आहा [1*] मगेसु पि मे निगोहानि लोपा-
पितानि छायोपगानि होसंति पसु-मुनिसानं अंवा-वडिक्क्या लोपापिता [1*]
अठ[क्रोसि]क्यानि पि मे उडुपानानि
- 14 खानापापितानि निसि[ढ]या² च कालापिता [1*] आपानानि मे ब[हु]कानि तत
तत क[र]लापितानि पटीभोगाये पसु-मुनिसानं [1*] [ल][हु]के* [चु*] एस पटीभोगे
नाम [1*] विविधाया हि सुखायनाया पुल्लिमेहि पि लाजीहि ममया च सुखयिते
लोके [1*] इमं चु धंमानुपटीपती अनुपटीपजंतु ति एतदथा मे
- 15 एस कटे [1*] **देवानंपिये पियदसि** हेवं आहा [1*] **धंम-महामाता** पि मे ते
बहुविधेसु अठेसु आनुगहिकेसु वियापटासे पवजीतानं चेव गिहिथानं च सव-[पासं*]-
डेसु पि च वियापटासे [1*] संघठसि पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति हेमेव
वाभनेसु आ[ज]ीविकेसु पि मे कटे
- 16 इमे वियापटा होहंति ति **निगंठेसु** पि मे कटे इमे वियापटा होहंति नाना-पासंडेसु
पि मे [क]टे इमे वियापटा होहंति ति पटिविसिठं पटीविसिठं तेसु तेसु [ते][ते*]
[महा*]माता [1*] धंम-महामाता चु मे एतेसु चेव विया[प]टा सवेसु च अंनेसु
पासंडेसु [1*] **देवानंपिये पियदसि लाजा** हेवं आहा [1*]
- 17 एते च अंने च बहुका मुखा दान-विसगसि वियापटासे मम चेव **देविनं** च[1*] सवसि
च मे ओलोधनसि ते बहुविधेन आ[का]लेन तानि तानि तुठायतन[र]नि पटी...³ हिद
चेव दिसासु च [1*] **दालकानां** पि च मे कटे अंनानं च **देवि-कुमालानं** इमे
दान-विसगेसु वियापटा होहंति ति

1 Senart and Bühler read एते as one word.

2 Bühler : निसिडिया (=निषिदिया from नि+सद्), "rest-houses."

3 Bühler restored पटीपादयंति, "they point out." Hultzsch suggests पटीवेद-
यंति, "they are reporting".

- 18 धंमापदानठाये धंमानुपट्टिपत्तिये [१*] एस हि धंमापदाने धंम-पटीपत्ति च या इयं दया दाने सचे सोचवे मदवे साध[वे]¹ च लोकस हेवं वडिसति ति [१*] **देवानांपिये [पियदसि*] लाजा** हेवं आहा [१*] यानि हि [क]निचि ममिया साधवानि कटानि तं लोके अनूपटीपने तं च अनुविधियंति [१*] तेन वडिता च
- 19 वडिसंति च मातापित्सु सुसुसाया गुलुसु सुसुसाया वयो-महालकानं अनुपटीपत्तिया बाभन-समनेसु कपन-वलाकेसु आव दास-भटकेसु संपटीपत्तिया [१*] **देवान-पिये*** [पि*][य]दसि लाजा हेवं आहा [१*] मुनिसानं चु या इयं धंम-वडि वडिता दुवेहि येव आकालेहि धंम-नियमेन च निभत्तिया च [१*]
- 20 तत चु लहु से धंम-नियमे निभत्तिया व भुये [१*] धंम नियमे चु खो एस ये मे इयं कटे इमानि च इमानि जातानि अवधियानि [१*] अनानि पि चु बहु[कानि*] धंम-नियमानि यानि मे कटानि [१*] निभत्तिया व चु भुये मुनिसानं धंम-वडि वडिता अवहिंसाये भूतानं
- 21 अनालंभाये पानानं [१*] से एताये अ[थ]िये इयं कटे पुता-पपोतिके चंदम-सुलिथिके होतु ति तथा च अनुपटीपजंतु ति [१*] हेवं हि अनुपटीपजंतं हि[द]त-[पालं]ते आलथे होति[१*]**सतविसति** वसाभिसितेन मे इयं धंमलिवि लिखापापिता ति[१*] एतं **देवानंपिये** आहा [१*] इयं
- 22 धंम-लिवि अत अथि सिला-थंभानि वा सिला-फलकानि वा तत कटविया एन एस चिल-ठितिके सिया [१*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘ये अतिक्रान्तम् अन्तरं (=भूतकाले) राजानः अभूवन् [ते] एवम् ऐषिषुः—कथं जनः धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत ? नो तु जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या अवर्द्धिष्ट’ । एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘एतत् मे [मनसि] अभूत्—अतिक्रान्तं च अन्तरम् एवम् ऐषिषुः राजानः कथं जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत इति ; नो च जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या अवर्द्धिष्ट । तत् केनस्वित् जनः [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपद्येत ; केनस्वित् जनः अनुरूपया धर्मवृद्ध्या वर्द्धेत इति । केनस्वित् कां- [श्रित् जगान्] अभ्युत्तामयेयं धर्मवृद्ध्या इति’ । एतत् देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम्

1 Cf. PE II, lines 2-3, *supra*, pp. 56-57 ; also *Manu*, VI, 92.

आह ।—‘एतत् मे [मनसि] अभूत्—धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावयामि धर्मानुशस्तीः [च] अनुशास्मि । एतत् जनः श्रुत्वा [धर्मम्] अनुप्रतिपत्स्यते, अभ्युन्नंस्यति, धर्मवृद्ध्या च वाढं वर्द्धिष्यते । एतस्मै मया अर्थाय धर्मश्रावणानि श्रावितानि, धर्मानुशस्तयः विविधाः आज्ञप्ताः, यथा पुरुषाः अपि—बहौ जने आयताः (=व्यापृताः) ये ते—[धर्मं] पर्यवदेक्ष्यन्ति (=उपदेक्ष्यन्ति) अपि प्रविस्तारयिष्यन्ति अपि । रज्जुकाः अपि बहुकेषु प्राणशतसहस्रेषु आयताः । ते अपि मया आज्ञप्ताः—‘एवं च एवं च पर्यवदिशत जनं धर्मेयुतम्’ । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी एवम् आह—‘एतस्मिन् एव मया अनुवीक्ष्यमाणे धर्मस्तम्भाः कृताः, धर्ममहामाताः कृताः, धर्मश्रावणं कृतम्’ । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘मार्गेषु अपि मया न्यग्रोधाः (=वटाः) रोपिताः छायोपगाः (=छायाया उपकारकाः) भविष्यन्ति पशु-मनुष्याणाम् [इति]; आम्रवाटिकाः [च] रोपिताः । आष्टक्रौशिकानि (=अष्टक्रोशान्तराणि) अपि मया उदपानानि (=कूपाः) खानितानि, ⁺निःश्लिष्टकाः (=सोपानानि) च कारिताः । आपानानि (=जलदानगृहाणि) मया बहुकानि तत्र तत्र कारितानि प्रतिभोगाय पशुमनुष्याणाम् । लघुकः तु एषः प्रतिभोगः नाम । विविधया हि सुखनया पूर्वैः अपि राजभिः मया च सुखितः लोकः । इमां तु धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तिम् (=धर्माचरणम्) अनुप्रतिपद्यताम् [जनाः] इति एतदर्थाय मया एतत् कृतम्’ । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—‘धर्ममहामाताः अपि मे ते बहुविधेषु अर्थेषु आनुग्रहिकेषु व्यापृताः प्रव्रजितानां च एव गृहस्थानां च, ⁺सर्वपाषण्डेषु अपि च व्यापृताः । सङ्घार्थे (=बौद्धभिन्नुसङ्घार्थे) अपि मया कृतं—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; एवम् एव ब्राह्मणेषु आजीविकेषु ² [च] अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; निर्ग्रन्थेषु (=जैनेषु) ³ अपि मया कृतम् इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति ; नानापाषण्डेषु अपि मया कृतम्—इमे व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति ; प्रतिविशिष्टं प्रतिविशिष्टं (=विशिष्टेषु विशिष्टेषु सम्प्रदायेषु) तेषु तेषु [विषयेषु] ते ते महामाताः [व्यापृताः] । धर्ममहामाताः तु मे एतेषु च एव व्यापृताः, सर्वेषु च अन्येषु पाषण्डेषु’ । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह ।—‘एते च अन्ये च बहुकाः मुख्याः [राजपुरुषाः] दानविसर्गे (=अर्थिभ्यः दानप्राप्ते) व्यापृताः मम च एव देवीनां च ; सर्वस्मिन् च मे अवरोधने ते बहुविधेन आकारेण

1 One *yojana* (=8 *krośas*=9 miles) was considered a day's march of an army in ancient India.

2 I. e., the followers of Mañkhaliputta Gosāla, a staunch fatalist and a contemporary of Mahāvira and Buddha.

3 I. e., followers of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta i. e. Vardhamāna Mahāvira.

तानि तानि तुष्टायतनानि (=तुष्टिप्राप्ताणि=प्रार्थिनः) [अस्मभ्यं] प्रतिवेदयन्ति इह च एव [सर्वासु] दिशासु च । दारकाणां (=स्वपुत्राणाम्) अपि च मया कृतम् अन्येषां च देवीकुमाराणाम् इमे [महामात्राः] दानविसर्गेषु व्यापृताः भविष्यन्ति इति धर्मापदानार्थाय (=धर्मकार्याय) धर्मानुप्रतिपत्तये [च] । एतत् हि धर्मापदानं धर्मप्रतिपत्तिः च—या इयं दया, दानं, सत्यं, शौच-कं, मार्दवं (=मृदुत्वं), साधवं (=साधुत्वं) च—लोकस्य एवं वर्द्धिष्यते' इति । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'यानि हि कानिचित् मया साधवानि कृतानि, तानि लोकः अनुप्रतिपन्नः, तानि च अनुविधीयन्ते [लोकेन] । तेन [लोकाः] वर्द्धिताः च वर्द्धिष्यन्ते च—मातापितृषु शुश्रूषया, गुरुषु शुश्रूषया, वयोमहत्तकानाम् (=वयोवृद्धानां) अनुप्रतिपत्त्या (=सम्प्रतिपत्त्या), ब्राह्मणश्रमणेषु कृपण-वराकेषु (=दीनानाथेषु) यावत् दासभृतकान् सम्प्रतिपत्त्या' । देवानांप्रियः प्रियदर्शी राजा एवम् आह—'मनुष्याणां तु या इयं धर्मवृद्धिः [सा] वर्द्धिता द्वाभ्याम् एव आकाराभ्यां—धर्मनियमेन च, निध्यात्या (=धर्मसंबोधनेन) च । तत् तु लघुः सः धर्मनियमः, निध्यात्या एव भूयः [वर्द्धिता धर्मवृद्धिः] । धर्मनियमः तु खलु एषः, यत् मया इदं कृतं—इमानि च इमानि [च] जातानि अवध्यानि । अन्ये अपि च बहुकाः धर्मनियमाः ये मया कृताः । निध्यात्या एव तु भूयः मनुष्याणां धर्मवृद्धिः वर्द्धिता अविहिंसायै भूतानाम्, अनालम्भाय प्राणानां [च] । तत् एतस्मै अर्थाय इयं [धर्मलिपिः] कृता पौत्रपौत्रिकी चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकी (=चिरस्थायिनी) भवतु इति, तथा च अनुप्रतिपद्यन्ताम् [इमां धर्मलिपिं जनाः] इति । एवं हि अनुप्रतिपद्यमाने [धर्मे] ऐहल्यपारवं [मङ्गलम्] आराद्धं (=लब्धं) भवति । सप्तविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 243 B.C.) मया इयं धर्मलिपिः लेखिता' इति । एतत् देवानांप्रियः आह—'इयं धर्मलिपिः यत्न सन्ति शिलास्तम्भाः वा शिलाफलकानि वा तत् कर्तव्या, येन एषा चिरस्थितिका स्यात्' ॥

E—MINOR PILLAR-EDICTS OF AŚOKA

No. 31—Rummindeī Pillar-Inscription.¹

RUMMINDEĪ TEMPLE near PARARIYĀ, Nepalese Tarāī

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 1 ff ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 164**Language:** Prakrit**Script:** BrāhmīTEXT²

- 1 देवानपियेन पियदसिन लाजिन वीसति-वसामिसितेन
- 2 अतन आगाच महीयिते हिद बुद्धे जाते सक्क-मुनी ति[!*]
- 3 सिला-विगड-भीचा³ कालापित सिला-थमे च उसपापिते [!*]
- 4 हिद भगवं⁴ जाते ति लुंमिनि-गामे उवलिके कटे
- 5 अठ-भागिये च [!*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

¹ देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा विंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 250 B.C.) आत्मना(=स्वयम्) आगत्य महीयितम् (=पूजा विहिता), इह बुद्धः जातः शाक्यमुनिः इति ; शिलाविकृत-भित्तिकाः (=प्रस्तर-खचिताः इष्टक-प्राकाराः)⁵ कारिताः, शिलास्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ।

1 A spurious copy of this record has been discovered near Bhubaneswar in the Puri Dist., Orissa (*Pravāsī*, 1335 B.S.). *Rummin-deī* is the same as *Lumbini-devī*. The birth-place of Buddha was the holiest Buddhist *Tirtha*. Yuan Chwang refers to a pillar with a horse capital set up by Aśoka at the Lumbini garden.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I; for other references, see *ib.* pp. 164-65, notes.

3 Charpentier and Hultzsch make it सिला विगडभी चा (a stone bearing a horse?)

4 A *bhagavā*, is one possessing *īssarīya*, *dhamma*, *yasa*, *sirī*, *kāma* and *payatana*.

5 भित्तिका may possibly be भिचा through the intermediate form भित्तिया=*भित्त्या According to some, विगड=विकट.

इह भगवान् (=बुद्धः) जातः इति लुम्बिनीग्रामः उद्बलिकः (=तीर्थकररहितः) कृतः, आष्ट-
भागिकः (=शस्याष्टमांशरूपकरदः) ¹ च ।

No. 32—Nigālī Sāgar Pillar-Inscription

Western bank of the NIGĀLĪ SĀGAR TANK, near NIGLIVA, Nepalese
Tarāī

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 1 ff.; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 165

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 देवानंप्रियेन प्रियदर्शिन लाजिन चोदस-वसा[भिसितेन]
- 2 बुधस कोनाकमनस धुवे दुतियं वढिते [।*]
- 3 [वीसति-व*]साभिसितेन³ च अतन आगच महोयिते
- 4 [सिला-थभ*] [च*] [उस-*]पापिते⁴ [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियेण प्रियदर्शिना राज्ञा चतुर्दश-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 256 B. C.) बुद्धस्य
कनकमुनेः⁵ स्तूपः द्वितीयं (=द्विगुणं)⁶ वर्द्धितः । विंशति-वर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 250 B. C.)
च आत्मना आगत्य महोयितं, शिलास्तम्भः च उत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः) ॥

1 The normal rate was $\frac{1}{4}$ of the produce (Ghoshal, *Hindu Revenue System*, p. 58). For other interpretations, see Hultzsch, p. 165, n. 3. According to some scholars, *bali* here means extra cess over and above the king's grain-share of *bhāga*.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

3 Restoration due to Bühler.

4 Restoration due to Bühler.

5 Kanakamuni was a Pratyeka-Buddha, i. e. one who attained knowledge necessary to Nirvāṇa, but did not preach it to men. His stūpa was a Buddhist Tirtha and was visited by Yuan Chwang who also noticed the Aśokan pillar with an inscription. This record shows that the cult of the previous Buddhas was prevalent in the 3rd century B. C.

6 According to some, दुतियं=द्वितीयं वारम् which would imply that the stūpa had been once enlarged previously. But Aśoka's silence regarding the first enlargement then becomes inexplicable.

No. 33—Queen's Pillar-Edict

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 308f; BÜHLER, *Ib.*, XIX, p. 122 f;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. p. 158f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवानंप्रियषा वचनेना सवत महमता
- 2 वतविया [।*] ए हेता दुतियाये देवीये दाने
- 3 अंबा-वडिका वा आलमे व दान-[गहे] [व] [ए] [वा] [पि] [अ]ने
- 4 क्रीडि गनीयति ताये देविये पे [।*]नानि [हे]वं [ग*][न][तविये*]²
- 5 दुतीयाये देविये ति तीवल-मातु कालुवाकिये [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

¹देवानांप्रियस्य वचनेन सर्वत्र महामाताः वक्तव्याः ।—‘यत् अत्र द्वितीयायाः देव्याः
(=राज्ञ्याः) दानम्—आम्रवाटिका वा आरामः वा दानग्रहं वा, यत् वा अपि अन्यत् किञ्चित्
[दानं] गणयते (=गणितं भवति), तस्याः देव्याः तत् । एतानि एवं गणयितव्यानि —
“द्वितीयायाः देव्याः” इति “तीवर-मातुः कारुवाक्याः”³ ॥’

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

2 Hultzsch restores विनति (=विज्ञप्ति)

3 Cf. the name Tivara in later inscriptions ; see also *Book of the Kindred Sayings*, II, p. 128 ff. According to some, Kāruvākī belonged to the Vedic gotra of the Kārus ; others think Kāluvākī=Chāruvāk.

No. 34—Kausāmbī Pillar-Edict

On the Allāhābād Pillar

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 301 f; BÜHLER, *Ib.*, XIX, p. 122 ff;
BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, p. 120 ff, 141; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins.*
Ind., I, p. 159.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [देवानं*][पि]ये आनपयति [।*]कोसंबियं² महाम[र]त
- 2[स]म[ग]े [कटे] [।*] स[]वसि नो³ लहिये
- 3[संघं] [भ]खति⁴ भि[खु] व[र] भि[खु]नि वा [से] [पि]⁵ चा
- 4 [ओ*]दात[र]नि दुसानि [स]नंधापयितु अ[नावा]स[सि]⁶ [आ]व[र]सयि[ये]⁷ [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

¹देवानांप्रियः आज्ञपयति । कौशाम्ब्यां महामात्रः [एवं वक्तव्यः]‘...[सङ्घः]समग्रः
(=भेदविहीनः) कृतः । सङ्घे नो लभ्यः [दुश्चरितः भिक्षुः] । [यः] सङ्घं भङ्क्षयति भिक्षुः वा
²भिक्षुणी (=स्त्रीभिक्षुः) वा सः अपि च अवदातानि दूष्यानि (=पीतवासधारिणः
भिक्षोः अयोग्यानि) श्वेतवस्त्राणि) सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (=भिक्षुवासानर्हे स्थाने) आवास्यः
(=दूरीकर्तव्यः)’⁸ ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. Edicts Nos. 34-36 were probably issued after the Third Buddhist Council of Pāṭaliputra held under Aśoka's patronage.

2 Bühler and Boyer : ०बिय. Kausāmbī (mod. Kosam), the ancient capital of Vatsa, was on the Jumna in the Allāhābād Dist.

3 Bühler and Boyer : न

4 Bühler and Boyer : भोखति.

5 Boyer : [प]चा. He and Bühler add ओ at the end of the line.

6 Bühler : आन[पे]स and Boyer : आनावससि

7 Boyer : अवा०.

8 According to Buddhist tradition, Aśoka gave white robes to the heretical monks whom he expelled. *Sanḥabhedo* is the fifth of the six *abhiṭhānas* or deadly sins; see Childers, s. v.

No. 35—Sāñchī Pillar Inscription

SĀÑCHĪ, Bhopāl State, Central India

HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 160f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1
 2[य]॥ भे[त]²...[॥*] [सं*][धि] [स*]मगे कटे
 3 [भि*]खन[] च भि[खुनी]नं चा ति [पु]त-प-
 4 [पो*]तिके चं[द]म[सू]रि[यि]के [॥*] ये संघं
 5 भ[]खति³ भिखु वा भिखुनि वा ओदाता-
 6 नि दुस[]नि सनं[धापयि]तु अना[वा]-
 7 ससि वा[सा]पेतवि[ये] [॥*] इच्छा हि मे किं-
 8 ति संघे समगे⁴ चिल-तथतीके सिया ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

.....[तथा कर्तव्यं, येन सङ्घः केन अपि न] शक्यः भेत्तुम् । सङ्घः
 समग्रः कृतः भिक्षूणां च [स्त्री]भिक्षूणां च इति पौत्र-प्रापौतिकं चान्द्रमः-सौर्यिकं [च]॥ यः सङ्घं
 भङ्क्ष्यति भिक्षुः वा [स्त्री]-भिक्षुः वा [सः] अवदातानि दूष्यानि (=वसनानि)
 सन्निधाप्य अनावासे (=भिक्षुवासानर्हं स्थाने) वासयितव्यः । इच्छा हि मे—किमिति ?—
 सङ्घः समग्रः चिरस्थितिकः [च] स्यात् इति ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. This edict seems to have been addressed to the monks of the Kākanādaboṭa-mahāvihāra (cf. Sāñchī ins. of Chandragupta II, *infra*).

2 Possibly भेतवे ; cf. Sārnāth, I. 3.

3 Bühler and Boyer : भोखति.

4 Bühler and Boyer : संघस मगे.

No. 36—Sarnath Pillar-Edict

SARNATH, Benares Dist., U.P.

BOYER, *Journ. As.*, X, x, p. 119 ff ; SENART, *C. R.*, 1907, p. 25 ff ;
VENIS, *J. P. A. S. B.*, III, p. 1 ff ; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I,
p. 161f.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 देवा[नंपिये*]... ...
- 2 ए ल... ...
- 3 पाट² ये³ केन पि संघे मेतवे [1*] ए चुं खो
- 4 [भिख्] [वा] [भिख्]नि वा संघं भ[िखति]⁴ [से] ओदातानि दुस[ानि] [स]-
नंधापयिया आनावाससि
- 5 आवासयिये [1*] हेवं इयं सासने भिखु-संघसि च भिखुनि-संघसि च विन-
पयितविये [1*]
- 6 हेवं देवानंपिये आहा [1*] हेदिसा च इका लिपी तुफाकंतिकं हुवा ति संसलनसि
निखिता [1*]
- 7 इकं च लिपिं हेदिसमेव उपासकान'तिकं निखिपाथ [1*] ते पि च उपासका
अनु-पोसथं यावु

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I.

2 As has been suggested पाट may be the first two *aksharas* of the name
पाटलिपुत

3 Boyer restores न सकिये

4 This reading is due to Venis. Vogel and Senart : भिखति and Boyer :
भोखति

- 8 एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे [।*] अनु-पोसथं च धुवाये इकिके महामाते पोसथाये
 9 याति एतमेव सासनं विस्वंसयितवे आजानितवे च [।*] आवते च तुफाकं आहाले
 10 सवत विवासायाथ तुफे एतेन वियंजनेन [।*] हेमेव सवेसु कोट-विषवेसु एतेन
 11 वियंजनेन विवासापयाथा [॥*]¹

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺देवानांप्रियः

पाटलिपुत्र.....[तथा कर्तव्यं, येन न] शक्यः केन अपि सङ्घः भेत्तुम् । यः तु खलु भिक्षुः
 वा [स्त्री]भिक्षुः वा सङ्घं भङ्क्ष्यति, सः अवदातानि दूष्यानि सन्निधाप्य अनावासे आवास्यः ।
 एवं इदं शासनं भिक्षुसङ्घे च [स्त्री]भिक्षु-सङ्घे च [भिक्षवः] विज्ञपयितव्यम्' । एवं देवानां-
 प्रिय आह ।—'ईदृशी च एका लिपिः युष्माकम् अन्तिके भूयात् इति संसरणे (=आवासे ;
 यद्वा, पथि) निक्षिप्ता ; एकां च लिपिं ईदृशीम् एव उपासकानाम् अन्तिके
 निक्षिपत । ते अपि च उपासकाः अनूपवसथं (=उपवासदिनेषु) [शासनान्तिकं] यायुः
⁺एतत् एव शासनम् (=एतस्मिन् एव शासने) [आत्मनः] विश्वासयितुम् । अनूपवसथं च
⁺ध्रुवायाः (=ध्रुवत्वेन) एकैकः (=प्रत्येकं) महामातः उपवसथाय याति² एतत् एव शासनं
 [आत्मानं] विश्वासयितुम् आह्वातुं (=ज्ञातुं, बोद्धुं) च । यावत्कं [स्थानं व्याप्य] च युष्माकम्
 आहारः (=प्रदेशः), सर्वत्र विवासयत यूयं [राजपुरुषम्] एतेन व्यञ्जनेन (=अनुशासनानु-
 सारेण) । एवम् एव सर्वेषु कोट-विषयेषु (=दुर्गरक्षित-प्रदेशांशेषु) एतेन व्यञ्जनेन विवासयत ॥

1 The edict was addressed primarily to the Mahāmātrās possibly of Pāṭali-putra. It was made available to monks and nuns (*bhikkhu-bhikkhunī*), to lay worshippers (*upāsaka-upāsikā*) and to officers and the people of the districts (*āhāra*) and sub-divisions (*vishaya*). According to some, *samsalana* is some locality, office, or assembly hall.

2 I. e., goes for the *uposatha*-day service which is held on the full-moon day, the fourteenth day of the dark fortnight and the eighth days of the bright and dark fortnights. It is to the Buddhists a day of religious observance and abstinence from sensual enjoyments, as the Sunday is to the Catholics, and lay worshippers on that occasion make vows to keep the ten *Silas*. On the two *uposatha* days of the 14th and 15th, all monks assemble in the monastery and the *Pāti-mokkha* is read out section by section. See Childers, s. v. *Upasatho*.

F—STONE-SLAB¹ EDICT OF ĀSOKA

No. 37—Bairāṭ Inscription

Originally BAIRĀṬ, near Bhābrū, Jaipur State, Rājputānā; now R. A. S. B., Calcutta.

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 165ff; HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 172f.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 पि(प्रि)यदसि लाजा मागधे संघं अभिवादे[त्]नं आहा अप[ि]वाधतं च
फासुविहालतं चा [1*]
- 2 विदिते वे भंते आवतके हसा बुधसि धंमसि संघसी ति गालवे चं प(प्र)सादे
च [1*] ए केचि भंते
- 3 भगवता बुधे[न] भासिते सवे से सुभासिते वा [1*] ए चु खो भंते हमियाये दिसेया
हेवं सधंमे
- 4 चिल-[ठि]तीके होसती ति अलहामि हकं तं व[ि]तवे [1*] इमानि भंते [धं]म-
पलियायानि विनय-समुकसे
- 5 अलिय-वसाणि अनागत-भयानि मुनि-गाथा मोनेय-सूते उपतिस-प(प्र)सिने
ए चा लाघुलो-
- 6 वादे मुसा-वादं अधिगिच्य भगवता बुधेन भासिते एतानि भंते धंम-
पलियायानि इच्छामि
- 7 किंति बहुके भिखु[प]ाये चा भिखुनिये चा अभिखिनं सु[ने]यु चा उपधालयेयू चा [1*]
- 8 हेवंमेवा उपासका चा उपासिका चा [1*] एतेनि भंते इमं लिखा[प]यामि अभिपेतं
मे जानंतू ति [11*]

1 Cf. *silā-phalaka* (stone-slab) in PE VII, 1. 22.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For other references, see *Ib*, p. xxv; Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 374, note 3. This edict and the reference to Āśoka's visit to Buddhist holy places prove that he was certainly a Buddhist.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शी राजा मागधः (=मगधदेशीयः) सङ्घम् (=बौद्धभिक्षुसङ्घम्) अभिवाद्य आह—
अपाबाधतां (=स्वास्थ्यं) च सुखविहारतां च । 'विदितं एव, [हे] भवन्तः¹, यावत् अस्माकं बुद्धे
धर्मे सङ्घे इति गौरवं (=श्रद्धा) च प्रसादः (=अनुरागः) च । यत् किञ्चित्, [हे] भवन्तः, भग-
वता बुद्धेन भाषितं सर्वं तत् सुभाषितम् एव । यत् तु खलु, [हे] भवन्तः, अस्माभिः दृश्यते एवं
सद्धर्मः (=बौद्धधर्मः) चिरस्थितिकः भविष्यति इति, अहमि अहं तत् वक्तुम् । इमे, [हे] भवन्तः,
धर्मपर्यायाः (=धर्मग्रन्थाः)—विनयसमुत्कर्षः, आर्यवंशाः, अनागतभयानि, मुनिगाथा, मौनेय-
सूत्रम्, उपतिष्यप्रश्नः, यः च राहुल-वादः मृषावादम् अधिकृत्य भगवता बुद्धेन भाषितः²—
एतान्, [हे] भवन्तः, धर्मपर्यायान् इच्छामि—किमिति ?—वहुकः भिक्षुपादः [स्त्री]भिक्षवः च
अभीक्ष्णं (=पुनः पुनः) शृण्वन्तु च उपधारयेयुः च । एवम् एव उपासकाः च उपासिकाः च ।
एतेन, [हे] भवन्तः, इमां [धर्मलिपिं] लेखयामि, अभिप्रेतं मे जानन्तु इति' ॥

G—CAVE INSCRIPTIONS OF ASŌKA

Nos. 38, 39 & 40—Barābar Hill Cave Inscriptions

BARĀBAR HILL, Gayā Dist., Bihār

SENART, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 168ff ; BÜHLER, *Ib*, XX, p. 361f ;
HULTZSCH, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, p. 181f.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT³

I

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवाडस-वसा[भिसितेना]

2 [इयं] [निगोह]-कुभा दि[ना] [आजीविकेहि] [॥*]

II

1 लाजिना पियदसिना दुवा-

1 See *infra*, p. 80, note 1.

2 The first work is differently identified with the *Dhammachakkapavattana-sutta*, *Pātimokkha*, *Tuvaṭṭhakasutta* (*Suttanipāṭa*), *Sappurisasutta* (*Maj. Nik.*) *Sigālovādasuttanta* (*Dīgha-Nik.*) and *Atthavasavagga* (*Ang. Nik.*). The last of these seems to be actually intended by Asoka; see *J. D. L.*, XX. *Aliyavasāni* = *Ariyavaṃsa* (*Ang. Nik.*, II); *Anāgatabhayāni* (*ib.*, III); *Munigāthā* = *Munisutta* (*Sut. Nip.*); *Moneyasute* = *Nālakasutta* (*ib.*); *Upatisapasine* = *Rathavinitasutta* (*Maj. Nik.*); *Lāghulovāda* = *Rāhulovādasutta* (*ib.*)

3 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I. For references see *Ib*, p. xxviii.

- 2 डस-वसाभिसितेना इयं
- 3 कुभा खलतिक-पवतसि¹
- 4 दिना [आजीवि]केहि [॥*]

III

- 1 लाजा प्रियदसी एकुनवी-
- 2 सति-वसा[भि]सिते [॥*] ज[लघो]-
- 3 [सागम]थात [मे] इ[यं] [कुभा]
- 4 सुपि[ये]ख[लतिकपवतसि*] [दि]
- 5 ना [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन (c. 258 B. C.) इयं न्यग्रोध-गुहा दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः । II—राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना द्वादशवर्षाभिषिक्तेन इयं गुहा खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता आजीविकेभ्यः । III—राजा प्रियदर्शी एकोनविंशतिवर्षाभिषिक्तः (c. 251 B. C.) । जल-घोषागमार्थतः (?=वर्षार्थाय) मया (=राज्ञा प्रियदर्शिना) इयं गुहां सुप्रिये खलतिक-पर्वते दत्ता ॥

H—OTHER MAURYA INSCRIPTIONS

Nos. 41, 42 & 43—Nāgarjuni Hill Cave Inscriptions of Daśaratha (c. 220 B.C.)

NĀGARJUNĪ HILL, Gayā Dist., Bihār.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 364; Lüders, *List*, Nos. 954-56.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT²

I

- 1 वहियक[१] कुभा दपलथेन देवानंपियेना

1 The Khalatikapārvata (Barābar Hill, or possibly the whole group of hills) is mentioned in the *Mahābhāṣya* under Pāṇini, I.2. 52. Barābar has been called Pravaraḡiri in an inscription of Maukharī Anantavarman.

2 From the facsimile in *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1. Pl. I. For other references, see Lüders.

- 2 आनंतलियं अभिषितेना [आजीविकेहि]
- 3 भदंतेहि¹ वाष-निषिदियाये निषिटे
- 4 आ-चंदम-पूलियं [॥*]

II

- 1 गोपिका कुभा दषलथेना देवा[न]पि-
- 2 येना आनंतलियं अभिषितेना आजी-
- 3 विके[हि] [भदं]तेहि वाष-निसिदियाये
- 4 निसिठा आ-चंदम-पूलियं [॥*]

III

- 1 वडधिका कुभा दषलथेना देवानं-
- 2 पियेना आनंतलियं अ[भि]षितेना [आ]-
- 3 [जी]विकेहि भदंतेहि वा[ष-निषि]दियाये
- 4 निषिठा आ-चंदम-पूलियं [॥*]²

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—वहियका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेण (=अभिषेकवर्षे) आजीविकेभ्यः [तल]भवद्भ्यः (=महनीयेभ्यः) वर्षा-निषद्यायै (=वर्षा-वासाय) निस्सृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् । II—गोपिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तल]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्यायै निस्सृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् । III—वडधिका [इति] गुहा दशरथेन देवानांप्रियेण आनन्तर्येण अभिषिक्तेन आजीविकेभ्यः [तल]भवद्भ्यः वर्षा-निषद्यायै निस्सृष्टा आ-चान्द्रमः-सौर्यम् ॥

1 Both भन्त and भदन्त appear to be derived from भवत्. For the āgama of द, cf. Pāli सदत्थ=Sanskrit स्वार्थ. Some scholars think भदन्त=भद्रान्त (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Ins.*, p. 4f).

2 In some cases, the word आजीविकेहि has been chiselled away in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī inscriptions. This may have been done at the time of Maukhari Anantavarman who gave one Barābar cave to Kṛishṇa and two Nāgārjunī caves to Siva and Pārvatī.

No. 44—Taxila Fragmentary Aramaic Inscription of a Maurya King.

TAXILA (=Takshaśilā), Rāwalpiṇḍi Dist., Panjāb

E. HERZFELD, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX. p. 251.

Language } Aramaic of about the first half of the 3rd
Script } Century B. C.

TEXT¹

- 1 ut
- 2 l ^akmyrty 'l...
- 3 kynvta² 'l...
- 4 a^rk_n zv shkynvta²...
- 5 v labvhy³ huh⁴...
- 6 hvptykhty znh⁵...
- 7 zk bhvv¹n_rrh⁶...
- 8 hvbshtv ^krzy hut...
- 9 mran Prydr...⁷

1 From the eye-copy in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, with the help of Herzfeld's transcript. The second half of all the lines is lost. The Indian Kharoshthī script was derived mainly from Aramaic.

2 They may be the same word, meaning "dwellings" and possibly we have to restore a *sh* at the end of l. 2

3 The first two words mean "and to his father"

4 According to Herzfeld, the word with *hu*^o may be one belonging to the moral sphere of ideas, like the Zoroastrian "good thoughts, good words, good deeds." Cf. the Buddhist idea of *ayiro atṭhaṅgiko maggo*, such as *sammā diṭṭhi*, etc.

5 The word means "this"

6 If this be an Indian word, it may be the same as बहुव्रीहि

7 I. e., *mārāna Priyadar[shi*]*, "our lord Priyadarśī". Herzfeld takes the title to refer to Aśoka Maurya. It is however known that Chandragupta was also called प्रियदर्शन; the record (palaeographically assigned to the first half of the 3rd cent B. C.) may therefore belong to Chandragupta Maurya. But if reference is to be found to the Buddhistic *ayiro atṭhaṅgiko maggo*, the possibility of the record being one of Aśoka is greater.

- 10 h..... lkvt/h¹...
 11 vap bnvhy²...
 12 Imran Prydrsh³...

CHAPTER III

MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS

No. 45—Mahāsthān Fragmentary Stone Plaque Inscription.

MAHĀSTHĀN, Bogrā Dist., Bengal.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 85; B. M. BARUA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, 1934, p. 57 ff.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of circa 3rd century B. C.

TEXT⁴

1 नेन [l*] स[*]वगिय[ī]नं [तल दन स-] ।⁵ सप दिन । [सु]-

1 Herzfeld is inclined to supply *vm* in the lacuna and to read *vmlkvth*, "and his Queens" or less probably "his kingdoms".

2 The line means, "and also his sons".

3 I. e., *li-mārāna Priyadarsh[i*]*, "to our lord Priyadarśi".

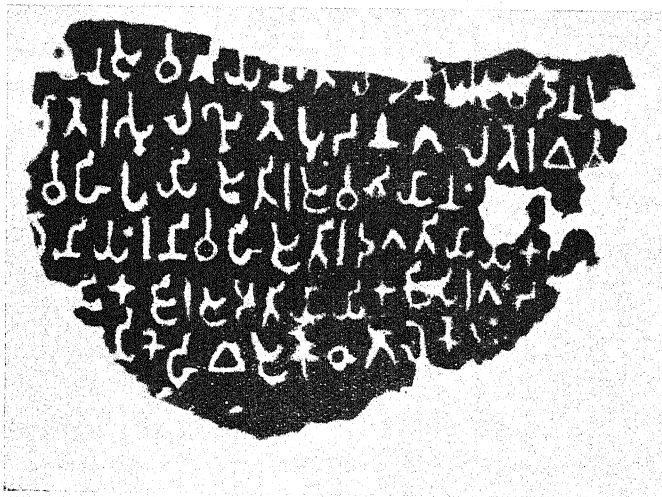
4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Some of the सs here look like ष.

5 The *daṇḍas* are unnecessary. Cf. Kālsī R E XIII, अठवषा । मिषित । षा, etc.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXI).

1. Mahāsthān Plaque Inscription (Bk. I, No. 45). Photo print.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXI).

2. Mahāsthān Plaque Inscription (Bk. I, No. 45). Rubbing.



From *Journ. Dep. Let.*, IV.

Piprahwa Vase Inscription (Bk. I, No. 46).

- 2 [म]ाते¹ । सुलखिते पुडनगलते² । ए[त]'
 3 [नि*]वहिपयिसति । संवगियानं [च] [दि*]ने * *
 4 [धा] नियं । निवहिसति । दग-तिया[ः]यके* *
 5 ***[यि]कसि । सुअ-तियायिक[सि]³ पि । गंड[केहि*]
 6 *** [यि]केहि⁴ एस कोटागले कोसं***
 7 *****

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[...महामात्राणां वच]नेन । षड्वर्गीयाणां (यद्वा, संवर्गीयानां)⁵ तिलः दत्तः, सर्षपं [च] दत्तम् । सुमात्रः (=तदाख्यः पुरुषः) सुलक्ष्मीतः (=ऋद्धिमतः) पुण्ड्र-नगरतः एतत् निवाहयिष्यति ; षड्वर्गीयेभ्यः च दत्तं...धान्यं निवक्ष्यति । [उ]दकात्ययिकाय (=तन्निवारणाय), देवात्ययिकाय (यद्वा, अग्न्यात्ययिकाय), शुकात्ययिकाय अपि, गरुडकैः (=मुद्राभिः) धान्यैः [च] एषः कोष्ठागारः क्रोषः [च परिपूरणीयौ] ।

1 Bhandarkar : गलदनस । दुमदिन-[महा]माते ; Barua : तलदनस । दुम् दिन समाते. Barua translates : By this (अनेन) [token], should there be any oil or tree given to the Shadvargikas, (the person concerned) shall cause that to be conveyed from Sumā, Sulakshmi and Puṇḍranagara.

2 Puṇḍranagara, "city of the Puṇḍras", was probably the older name of Puṇḍravardhana, identified with Mahāsthān, the find-spot of the record.

3 Bhandarkar : द[]गातियायिके [देवा]तियायिकसि सु-अतियायिकसि ; Barua : दगातियायिके [अग्नि]तियायिकसि. The last part of the first word may have been ०केसि. The word आत्ययिक means "emergency."

4 Bhandarkar : [धानि]यिकेहि ; Barua : [काकनि]यिकेहि. The Pāli literature speaks of धन-कोष्ठागार (treasury), धान्य-कोष्ठागार (granary) and वस्तु-कोष्ठागार (general stores).

5 Bhandarkar : संवर्गीयानां, "of the Samvāṅgiya people"; Barua : षड्वर्गिकानां, "of persons of the Shadvargika sect of the Buddhists". Samvarga however might have been the name of a locality.

No. 46—Piprahwā Buddhist Vase Inscription

PIPRĀHWĀ¹, Bastī Dist., U.P.

BÜHLER, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 387ff; FÜHRER, *An. Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv.*, N. W. P. and Oudh, 1898, p. 3; PEPPE, *J. R. A. S.*, 1898, p. 576 f; SMITH-DAVIDS-HOEY, *ibid*, p. 586ff; BLOCH, *ibid*, 1899, p. 42 f; DAVIDS, *ibid*, 1901, p. 398; PISCHEL, *Z. W. M. G.*, LVI, p. 157 f; *Sitz. Preuss. Ak. Wiss.*, 1905, p. 526; LEVI, *Jour. des Savants*, 1905, p. 540ff; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1905, p. 679ff; *ibid*, 1906, p. 149ff; THOMAS, *ibid*, p. 452f; SENART, *Jour. As.*, X, vii, p. 132ff; BARTH, *Jour. des Savants*, 1906, p. 541ff; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 105ff; BARTH, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVI, p. 117ff; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 931.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 3rd century B.C.

Metre: Irregular

TEXT²

1 सुकृति-भतिनं³ स-भगिनिक्कं स-पुत-दलनं⁴ [॥*]

इयं सलिल-निधने⁵ बुधस भगवते सक्रियानं⁶ [॥*]⁷

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सुकृति-भक्तयोः सभगिनीकयोः सपुत्र-दारयोः ।

इदं शरीर-निधानं बुद्धस्य भगवतः शाक्यानां ॥

1 Within half a mile of the Nepāl border, in the north-eastern extremity of the Bastī Dist.

2 From the facsimile in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV.

3 According to scholars, Sanskrit सुकृति-भ्रातृणां (according to some सुकृति०).

It is generally translated "of the brothers of Sukirti"; but some scholars think that सुकृति indicates Lord Buddha himself. It may be suggested that सुकृति-भतिनं indicates "of Sukirti and Bhakti."

4 I.e., "with sons and wives".

5 I.e., "receptacle of corporeal remains or relics (of Buddha)".

6 The inscription is incised around the vase; यानं has been engraved above the line owing to want of space. The word is generally taken to be the same as Sanskrit शाक्यानां. Fleet however took it to be the same as Sanskrit स्वकीयानां, "of the relatives."

7 Absence of signs for lengthened vowels in the record led some scholars to

No. 47—Sohgaurā Copper-plate Inscription

SOHGAURĀ, Gorakhpur Dist., U.P.

SMITH and HOERNLE, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1894, p. 85ff; BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, 1896, p. 261 ; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1907, p. 510ff; BARUA, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XI, p. 32ff; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, X, 54ff; K. P. JAYASWAL, *Ep. Ind.* XXII, p. 2 ; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 937.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brahmi of *circa* 3rd century B.C.

TEXT¹

- 1 सवतियान महमगन² ससने मनवसिति-क-
- 2 ड [1*] सि[fi]ल माते उ(व?)सगमे व एते दवे कोठगलनि [1]
- 3 ति[य]वेनि-माथुल-चचु-मोदाम-भलकन व-³
- 4 ल कयियति अतियायिकय [1*] नो गहिग(त?)वय [11*]

believe that it is much anterior to Aśoka. The argument is by no means conclusive. Lengthened vowels are usually neglected in early records. It is moreover too small a record for any clear indication on the point. Thomas recognised in the record a very irregular Āryā stanza, while Fleet wanted to scan the line as उपगीति or उद्गीति.

1 From the facsimile in *J.R.A.S.*, 1907. (plate facing p. 510). This record is supposed by scholars to be pre-Aśokan or even pre-Maurya. The *aksharas* व (l. 1, let. 2), व or उ (l. 2, let. 6), ड (l. 2, let. 1), medial *i* in ति (l. 1, let. 18), यि (l. 4, let. 3), etc. may suggest that it is later than Aśoka. Above the lines are two three-storeyed (?) structures together with the tree-in-railing, lotus-bud and moon-on-mount symbols.

2 ति looks like सि. Read महमतन. Fleet translates: 'Notice for all the three great roads for vehicles!'

3 Bühler: छल (=चारं, collection); Jayaswal: छलि-कयियति (क्षरी = to be distributed). Bühler translates: 'These two storehouses with three partitions (तिघ-वनि), (situated) even in famous Vaṃśagrāma (Bansgaon, 6 miles west of Sohga-urā), require the storage of loads (भारक) of Madhu[ka], parched grain (लाज)-cummin-seed and Amba for times of urgent need.' Fleet: 'At the junction called Manavaśi, these two storehouses are prepared for the sheltering (वाराय) of loads of commodities of Tiyaṇi=Tryavenī, Mathurā and Chañchu'. Barua:

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

श्रावस्तीयानां महामात्राणां शासनं मानवाशीति-कटात् । श्रीमान् ऊषाग्रामः (यद्वा, वंशग्रामः) (=तदाख्यग्रामद्वयस्थितौ) एव एतौ द्वौ कोष्ठाग्रौ [यौ महामात्रौः] त्रिकवेणी-माथुर-चञ्चु-मयुदाम भल्लकानां [ग्रामानां] वरं (=शस्यादि-वितरणं) कार्यते आत्ययिकाय (=दुर्भिक्षादि-निवारणाय) । नो ग्रहीतव्यं (=अवरोद्धव्यं ; यद्वा, ग्राह्यं गवे=पशुभ्यः ग्रहणीयम्) ॥

No. 48—Inscription¹ on the Silver coins ofSophutes² (=Saubhūti)

(circa 330-300 B.C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 7; RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, p. 3f.*First side*³

Head of the king or a warrior to right, in close-fitting helmet, bound with wreath; wing on cheek-piece.

Second side

Cock standing to right; Caduceus in left upper field; inscription in Greek characters in right:—

[ΣΩ]φΥΤΟΥ (=Sophutou=of Sophutes).

‘These two storehouses of fodder and wheat (तिन-यवनि for तियवनि) and loads of ladles, canopies, yoke-pins and ropes are used in times of urgent need.’ Jayaswal: ‘only to the tenants (सीरि-मात्र), only on the advent of drought (उष्मागमे), storehouses of Triveni”, etc.

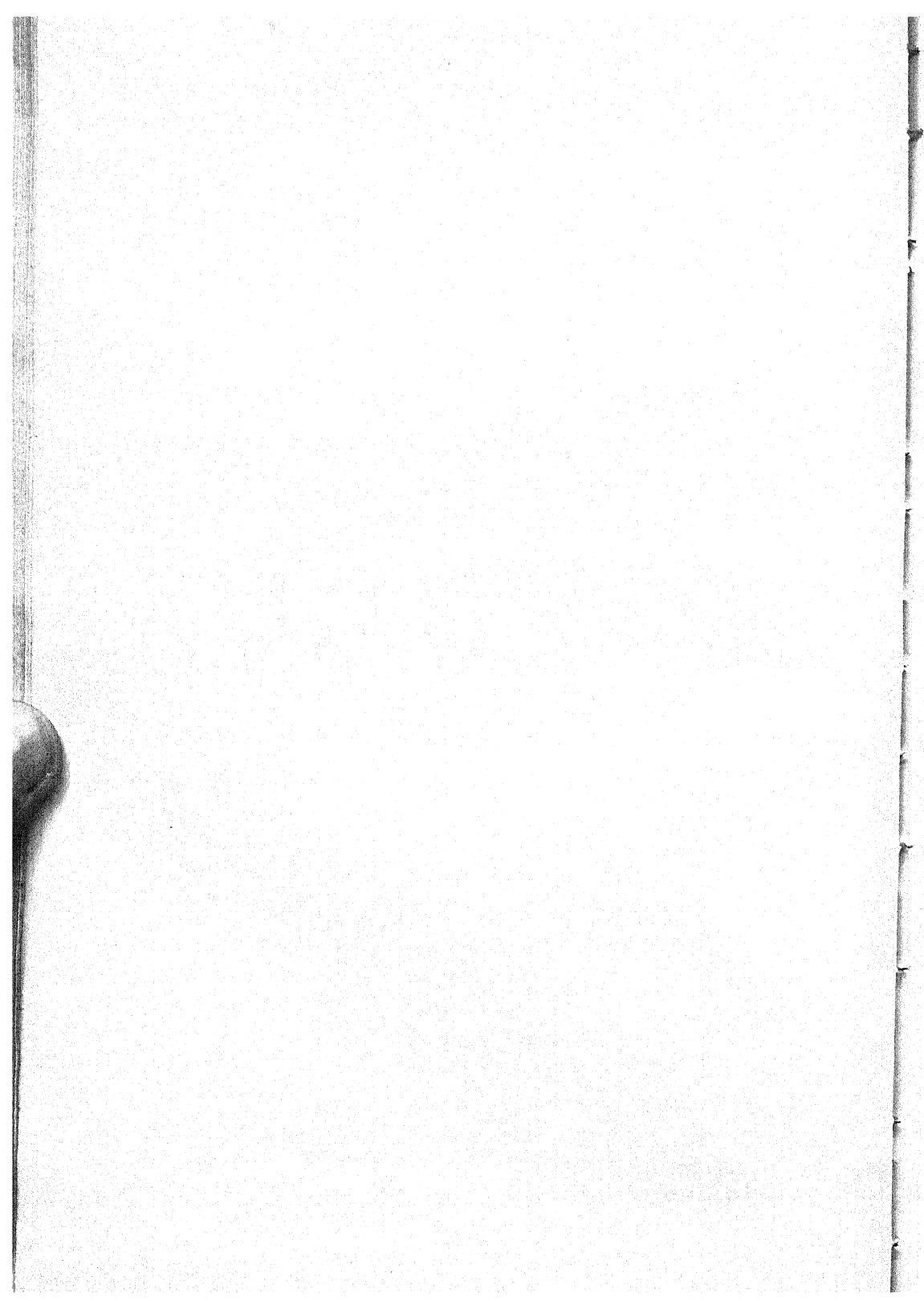
1 Though the characters are not actually “inscribed” on coins, many numismatists refer to the coin-legends as “inscription” which would then mean any writing; cf. Rapson, *Catalogue*, p. 1ff.

2 At the time of Alexander’s invasion Sophutes ruled a district on the banks of the Akesines (=Asiknī=Chenāb). “These coins, apparently copied from an issue of Seleukos Nikator, evidently were struck when he invaded India in 305 B.C., and Sophutes presumably submitted to him. The portrait of Sophutes is that of an elderly man. He must have been young when he met Alexander in 326 B.C., according to Plutarch. Probably Seleukos was not allowed to advance far beyond the Hydaspes (Jhelam), which formed the eastern boundary of the dominions of Sophutes.”—Smith, *loc. cit.* See, however, *C. H. I.*, pp. 338, 414, 463, 623. Strabo calls him a *nomarkh* possibly because he had offered allegiance to Alexander.

3 From representation in Smith’s *Catalogue*, Plate I, No. 1.

BOOK II

Inscriptions of the Post-Maurya
Period down to the
Gupta Age



CHAPTER I

Northern India

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF INDIGENOUS DYNASTIES AND CONNECTED RECORDS.

(i) Central and Western India

No. 1—Barhut Buddhist Pillar Inscription of the time of the Śūngas.

BARHUT¹, Nāgaudh State, Central India.

CUNNINGHAM, *Stupa of Bharhut*, p. 128f; No. 1, Plates XII and LIII; R. L. MITRA *Proc. A.S. B.*, 1880, p. 58ff; HULTZSCH, *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 138f. and Plate; Z. D. M. G., XL, p. 60, No. 1; *Ind. Ant.*, XXI, p. 227, No. 1; BARUA and SINHA, *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 1f; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 687.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of circa 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT²

- 1 सुगनं³ रजे रजो गागी-पुतस विसदेवस
- 2 पौतेण गोति-पुतस⁴ आगरजुस⁵ पूतेण
- 3 वाञ्छि-पुतेन धनभूतिन कारितं तोरनां
- 4 सिला-कमंतो च उपणं [॥*]

1 The name is also written Bharhut, Bhārhut and Bharaut.

2 From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 139, and *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. V, No. 20. Lower part of the *akshara* व is here of the triangular shape.

3 Cunningham and Mitra took it to stand for श्रुद्ध-राज्ये, "in the kingdom of Srughna".

4 Cunningham equated it with Sanskrit कौत्सीपुत्रस्य.

5 Cunningham and Mitra equated it with Sanskrit अग्रराजस्य.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

शुङ्गानां राज्ये राज्ञः गार्गी-पुत्रस्य विश्वदेवस्य¹ पौत्रेण गौरी-पुत्रस्य अङ्गारयुतः पुत्रेण
वातसीपुत्रेण धनभूतिना कारितं तोरणं, शिलाकर्मन्तः (=प्रस्तर-निर्मित-प्राकारादिः)
च उत्पन्नः ॥

No. 2—Besnagar Garuḍa Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhāgabhadra.—Regnal Year 14.

BESNAGAR², Gwalior State, Central India.

VOGEL, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1908-09, p. 126 ; RAPSON, *Ancient India*, p. 157 ; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XXIII, p. 104 ; RAYCHAUDHURI, *Early History of the Vaishnava Sect*, p. 99ff ; LUDERS, *List*, No. 669.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 2nd-1st century B.C.

TEXT³

Part I

- 1 [दे]वदेवस वा[सुदे*]वस गरुडध्वजे अयं
- 2 कारिते इ[अ] हेलिओदोरेण भाग-
- 3 वतेन दियस पुत्रेण तख्खसिलाकेन
- 4 योन-दूतेन [आ]गतेन महाराजस⁴
- 5 अंतलिकितस उप[*]ता सक्कासं रजो

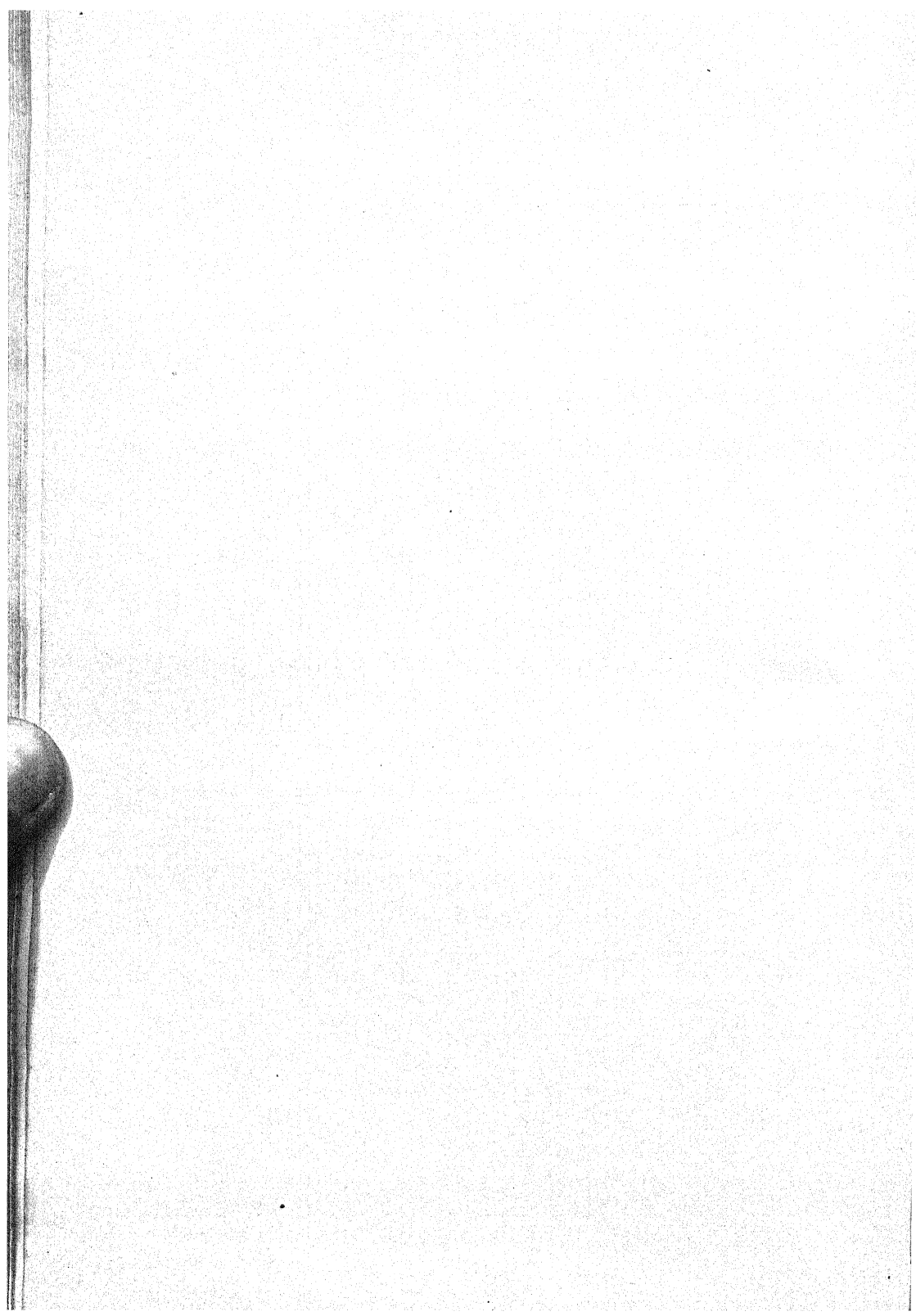
1 King Viśvadeva appears to have been the feudatory of a Later Śuṅga king of Vidiśā.

2 Ancient Vidiśā, capital of Akara or Daśārṇa (East Mālwa).

3 From the facsimile in *Mem. A. S. I.*, No. 1, pl. II, and *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1908-09. For several papers on this record, see *J. R. A. S.*, 1909 and 1910.

4 Note the difference between the epithets of the Indian king and the Greek king. Titles like महाराज, राजातिराज and महाराजाधिराज were popularised by the foreigners. Many coins of the Indo-Greek king Antialkidas have been found in the Panjāb. Bhāgabhadra may be identified with Bhadraka, the fifth Śuṅga king according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.

[illegible]



6 [को]सीपु[त्र]स¹ [भ]गभद्रस त्वातारस²

7 वसेन च[तु]र्दसेन³ राजेन वधमानस⁴ [॥*]

Part II

1 त्रिनि अमृत-पदानि [इअ*] [सु]-अनुष्ठितानि

2 नेयंति [स्वर्गं] दम चाग अप्रमाद⁵ [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—देवदेवस्य वासुदेवस्य गरुड-ध्वजः (=शिखरस्थ-गरुडमूर्तिसनाथः शिलामयः ध्वज-स्तम्भः) अयं कारितः इह हेलियोदोरेण (Heliodoros) भागवतेन (=वैष्णवधर्मान्तर्गत-भागवतमार्गानुसारिणा) दियस्य (Dion) पुत्रेण ताक्षशिलाकेन (=तक्षशिला-निवासिना) यवन-दूतेन आगतेन महाराजस्य अन्तलिक्तितस्य (Antialkidas) उपान्तात् (=समीपात्) सकाशं राज्ञः कौतसी-पुत्रस्य भागभद्रस्य त्वातुः वर्षेण चतुर्दशेन राज्येन [च] वर्द्धमानस्य । II—क्षीणि अमृत-पदानि इह खनुष्ठितानि नयन्ति स्वर्गं—दमः त्यागः अप्रमादः [च] ॥

No. 3—Ghosuṇḍī Stone Inscription of King Sarvatāta.

GHOSUṆḌĪ, near Nagari, Chitorgaḍh Dist., Rājputānā

Kavirāja SHYĀMAL DĀS, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, LVI, pt. i, p. 77 ff ;

K. P. JAYASWAL, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 27 ; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 6.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of *circa* 2nd half of the 1st century B.C.

TEXT⁶

1 [कारितो अयं राज्ञा भागव*][ते]न⁷ गाजायनेन पाराशरी-पुत्रेण स-

1 Some scholars read कासीपुत्रस.

2 This word which is a translation of the Greek word *Soteros* and found on the coins of the Indo-Greek kings shows that a Greek (possibly Heliodoros himself) was responsible for the draft of the record.

3 Read ०दसेन.

4 D. R. Bhandarkar reads in this line : वासिना मफ[दि]से नङ्गराजे नवध[मा]नुसा[सनाय*]

5 Cf. *Mbh.*, XII. V, 43, 22 : दमस्त्यागोऽप्रमादश्च एतेष्वमृतमाहितम् ।

6 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, with the help of the facsimile and text of the Hāthibādā inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 203 f.

7 व is clear before ते in the Hāthibādā record.

- 2 [र्वतातेन अश्वमेध-या*]जिना¹ भगव(द्*)भ्यां² संकर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां
 3 [अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वरा*]भ्यां³ पूजा-शिला-प्राकारो नारायण-वाटका⁴ [॥*]

Nos. 4, 5 & 6—Baḍvā Stone Pillar (Yūpa) Inscriptions of the Maukharis.—Kṛita Year 295 (=238A.D.)

BADVĀ, Kotāh State, Rājputānā.

A. S. ALTEKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 52.

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT⁵

No. 1.

- 1 सिद्धं [*] क्रितेहि⁶ २०० (+*) ६० (+*) ५ फ[*]ल्लुगण-शुक्लस्य⁷ पञ्चे⁸ दि०

1 The Hāthibādā inscription supplies सर्वतातेन अश्वमेधयाजिना after पाराशरी-पुत्रेण. Sarvatāta has been supposed to be a Kāṇva king. He however seems to have been a local ruler.

- 2 cf. ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य धर्मस्य यशसः श्रियः ।

ज्ञानवैराग्ययोश्चैव पराणां भग इतीक्ष्णा ॥ विष्णुपुराण १६।५।७३

- 3 The Hāthibādā inscription supplies अनिहताभ्यां सर्वेश्वराभ्यां after वासुदेवाभ्यां.

4 Read ०वाटिका, *I. e.*, a stone-enclosure for the place of worship (or, an enclosure for the Sālagrāma) called the Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā. The enclosure is supposed to be the structure now known as Hāthibādā at Nagari.

- 5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

6 Read कृतैः. The passage means कृतेषु २६५ वर्षेषु अतीतेषु, "when 295 years of the Kṛita era had passed away." It has been supposed that the era was invented (कृत) by astronomers or founded by king Kṛita. It was an era of Skytho-Parthian origin, brought by the Mālavas from their original home in the Jhang Dist., Panjāb, to Rājputānā before the time of Śaka Usavadāta (c. 118-23 A.D.). It was then known as the era used by the Mālava tribe. With the growth of the tradition of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī (capital of the country later called Mālava), who is no other than Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (c. 375-414 A.D.) conqueror of Mālava from the Śakas, the era was gradually connected with Vikrama and was eventually known as the Vikrama Saṃvat beginning from 57 B.C. It should be noted that the use of an era was popularised in India by the Skytho-Parthians and Kushānas.

- 7 Read : फाल्गुन

- 8 Read पञ्चमे. दि is the abbreviated form of दिवसे

श्री-महासेनापतेः¹ मोखरेः² बल-पुत्रस्य बलवर्द्धनस्य यूपः [*] त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गवां सहस्रं [१०००]⁴ [*]

No. 2.

1 सिद्धं [*] कृतेहि⁵ २०० (+*)६०(+*) ५ फ[ा]ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चे⁶ दि० श्री-महासेनापतेः मोखरेः² बल-पुत्रस्य सोमदेवस्य यूपः [*] त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गव[ां] सहस्रं [१०००]⁴ [*]

No. 3.

1 कृतेहि⁵ २००(+*)६०(+*) ५ फ[ा]ल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चे⁶ [दि० श्रीमहा-सेनापतेः] [मो]खरे-
2 बल-पुत्रस्य² बलसिंहास्य⁷ यूपः⁸ [*] त्रिरात्र-संमितस्य दक्षिण्यं³ गवां सहस्रं⁴ [१०००] [१*]

1 Read श्री० The title *Mahāsenāpati* was sometimes used by feudatory rulers. Bala may have been subordinate to the Śaka king of Ujjain.

2 Read मौखरेः बलस्य पुत्रस्य. It is improbable that Bala's three sons were Mahāsenāpati at the same time.

3 Read दक्षिणा. त्रिरात्र-संमित=त्रिरात्र is a sacrifice.

4 Altekar : सहस्रं(सं). There is a symbol after सहस्रं in all the three inscriptions—triangle at the head of a vertical line. It may indicate the number 1000.

5 Read कृतैः

6 Read फाल्गुण-शुक्लस्य पञ्चमे

7 Read ०सिंहस्य

8 Altekar : यूप(प):

(ii) MADHYADESA AND EASTERN INDIA

No. 7—Parkham Image Inscription

PARKHAM, now Mathurā Museum.

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. I.*, A. R., XX, p. 41, plate VI; VOGEL, *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum*; STEN KONOW, *Ind. Ant.*, 1909, p. 147; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, 550f; *ibid.*, VI, 173ff; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, 1919, pp. 29-32; *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV, Calcutta University, 1921, p. 47ff; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, 1919; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 150.

Language: Prakrit**Script:** Brāhmī of circa 2nd-1st century B.C.¹TEXT²(Right side) [म*][नि]भद पुगरिका³ * * * रजो⁴ [।*](Between the legs) अठ * * * * पि [।*]⁵(Left side) कुनिकतेवासिना गोमितकेन कतो [।*]⁶

1 Jayaswal and his followers believed that the image is a portrait statue of the Śaiśunāga king Kuṇika Ajātaśatru. After the publication of Chanda's learned article in *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, Jayaswal's theory may be passed over in silence. That the Parkham and Patna images represent Yakshas has been conclusively proved by Gangoly.

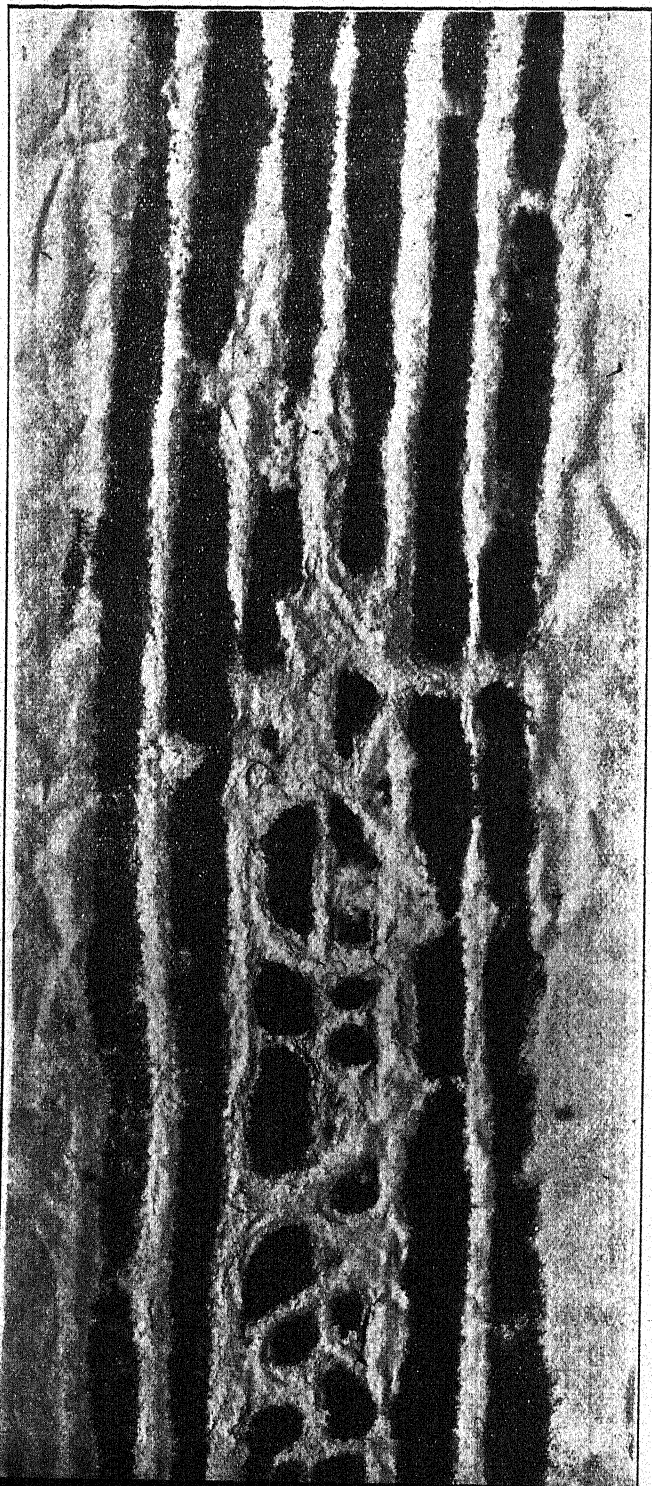
2 From facsimiles in *J.B.O.R.S.* and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*

3 Vogel and Chanda read पुगरिना; but in that case the last *akshara* is only half the size of the other *aksharas*. The reading intended may be पुगरिकाये or पुगरिकासु or पुगरिकानं. पुगरिका may be Sanskrit पुष्करिका; but the name of Parkham may suggest an original like पुष्करकाम.

4 The *akshara* before र has been suggested by some to be ग. It may possibly also be read as ख. The reading intended may be नागरज or यखरज

5 The *akshara* after अठ may be पि. The reading intended seems to be अठ-पियेन थपितो

6 Different readings:—Vogel: ...[नि] भदपुगरिना[क]...; ग अठ...पि; ... कुनि[क]तेवासिना [गोमितकेन] कता. Sten Konow: ओम् भदपुगरिका ग रज; अठ...हे... Jayaswal: निभद प्रशेनि अजा*शतु राजो सिरि; ४ थू (=१०) दो (=१०) ४ हि (=८); कुणिकशेवासिनागो माग[धा]नं राजा.



Paina Image Inscription II (Bk. II, No. 8).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

मणिभद्रः पुगुरिकायां (यद्वा, पुगुरिकासु, पुगुरिकायां) यक्ष-राजः (यद्वा, नाग-राजः) ।
अर्थप्रियेण (?) स्थापितः । कुनिकान्तेवासिना गोमित्रकेण कृतः ॥

No. 8—Pāṭnā Image Inscriptions

PĀṬNĀ, Bihār.

CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. R.*, XV, p. 2 f; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, V, p. 88 ff; 214 f; 516 ff; R. D. BANERJI, *ibid*, p. 210 ff; SMITH and BARNETT, *ibid*, p. 512 ff.; H. P. SASTRI, *ibid*, p. 552 ft.; R. P. CHANDA, *Ind. Ant.*, March, 1919; *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV.; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *ibid*; O. C. GANGOLY, *Mod. Rev.*, Oct., 1919; LUDERS, *List*, Nos. 957-58

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of *circa* 1st century A.D.

I¹

[यखे]² अचछनीवीके³ (=यक्षः अत्यक्षयनीविकः?)

II

यखे⁴ [स]वटनंडे⁵ (=यक्षः संवृतनन्दः ; यद्वा, संवर्तनन्दः ? यद्वा, ०आनन्दः ?)

1 From the photographs, facsimiles and eye-copies in *J. B. O. R. S.*, V. and *Journ. Dep. Lett.*, IV. The triangular form of व in वी, the curved horizontal arms of क in के and न in नं, the developed slanting form of च—all go to show the unsoundness of the theory of Jayaswal and his followers that the statues are of two Śaiśunāga emperors and that the *aksharas* are pre-Mauryan. These are evidently much later images of Yakshas. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 67) assigns them stylistically to the 2nd century B. C. Cunningham assigned them to the 1st century A.D., apparently on palaeographic grounds. I am inclined to rely more on palaeographic than on stylistic grounds.

2 Only the upper part of these two *aksharas* are clear, the ground line of य, as also the lower part of ख, being obscured by the horizontal lines.

It must be noted that Cunningham the earliest decipherer of the inscription read यखे. Later writers have read भगे, भग or गते and have tried to explain away the difficulties of such readings.

3 Cunningham : अचुसनीगीक; Jayaswal : अचो छोनीधीरी; Barnett : अचेछनी-वीके; Chanda : अचछनीवीक; Majumdar : लेच्छै[वि*] ४०(+*) ४. In my opinion Jayaswal and Majumdar are beside the mark.

4 Jayaswal : सप or सव

5 Jayaswal : ०खते (or ०खेते) वट(or वेट)-नंदी; Chanda : यख स(?)वटनंदि; Majumdar : यखे सं वजिनां ७०

No. 9—Ayodhyā Stone Inscription of Dhana[deva]

AYODHYĀ, Fyzābād Dist., U. P.

J. D. RATNAKARA, *Nāgarī-prachārīnī-Patrikā*, V, pt. 1. pp. 99-104; G. H. OJHA, *ibid*, p. 201 ff.; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J.B.O.R.S.*, X. pp. 202-08; *ibid*, XIII, pp. 247-49; N. K. BHATTASALI, *Mod. Rev.*, February, 1925, p. 202; A. BANERJĠ-SASTRI, *ibid*, January, 1925, p. 59; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, VII, pts. I and II, pp. 160-63; D. R. SAHNI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 57.

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of *circa* 1st century A.D.

TEXT¹

1 कोसलाधिपेन द्विरश्वमेध-याजिनः सेनापतेः² पुष्यमित्रस्य षष्ठेन³ कौशिकी-
पुत्रेण धन...⁴

2 धर्मराज्ञा⁵ पितुः फल्गुदेवस्य केतनं⁶ कारितं [॥*]

1 From the facsimile in *J. R. O. R. S.*, XIII. The equalization of the upper verticals of consonants except ल, the constant use of *serif* and the angular forms of म, ज, प, फ, स, ल and ष show beyond doubt that the record cannot be much earlier than the first century A. D.

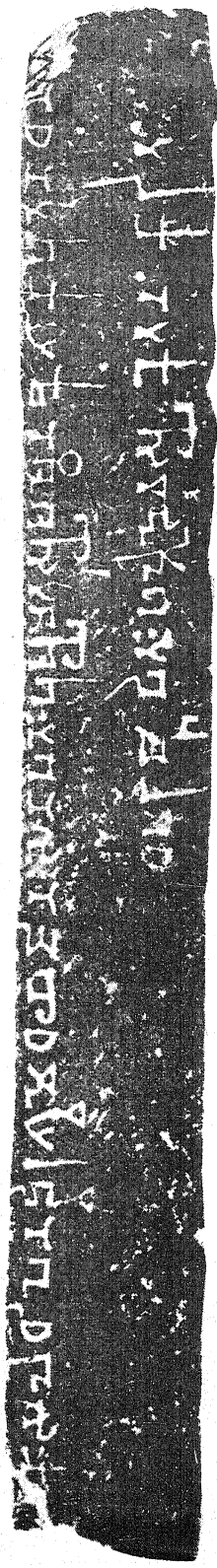
2 Pushyamitra's horse-sacrifice is referred to in the *Mahābhāshya* and the *Mālavikāgnimitra* which also styles him as *Senāpati*. The title appears to have been popular even after Pushyamitra's accession to the throne.

3 I.e., sixth in descent from Pushyamitra either from the side of the father or from that of the mother. This interpretation is supported by the palaeography of the record. Sanskrit usage would require पुष्यमित्रात्; but the language of the record is influenced by Prakrit. The interpretation "Sixth brother of Pushyamitra" is out of the question.

4 We may have धनदेवेन, धनदेन, धनकेन, धननन्दिना, धनभूतिना, धनमित्रेण, धनदत्तेन or धनदासेन. But the father's name फल्गुदेव makes the possibility of धनदेवेन a little better. He was apparently a local ruler of the Ayodhyā region.

5 Read धर्मराजेन. धर्मराज्ञा can only be supported if *anityatva* of *samāsānta-vidhi* is accepted.

6 A building (for the accommodation of an image of the deceased); or, a structure or pillar (ध्वजस्तम्भ) on the cremation ground in memory of Phalgudeva.



Courtesy : B. C. R. S. (J. B. O. R. S., X).

Ayodhya Inscription of Dhanadeva (Bk. II, No. 9).

No. 10—Pabhosā Cave Inscriptions of the time of Ūdāka.—Regnal Year 10.

PABHOSĀ, near Kosām, Allāhābād Dist., U. P.

HOERNLE, *J.P.A.S.B.*, 1887, p. 104; A. FÜHRER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 242f; LUDERS, *List*, Nos. 904-05.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of about the end of the first century B.C.¹

No. I

(on the rock outside the cave)

TEXT²

- 1 राज्ञो गोपाली-पुत्रस
- 2 बहसतिमित्रस³
- 3 मातुलेन गोपालिया-
- 4 वैह[?]दरी-पुत्रेन [आसा]⁴

1 Führer assigns the records to the 2nd or 1st century B. C. and Bühler to circa 150 B.C. The characters have however some peculiarities in common with the inscriptions of the Sakas of Mathurā. They exhibit angular forms of *aksharas* and also the *serif*; cf. क in ll. 1-2, न in l. 2, etc., in No. I. Note also the developed sign for medial *i*, and the curved base of न and developed medial *u* in No. 2.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

3 He appears to be the king whose coins have been discovered at Rāmnagar (ancient Ahichchhatra, capital of Pañchāla), Bareilly Dist., U. P. and Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī, capital of Vatsa), Allāhābād Dist., U. P. See Smith, *Catalogue*, pp. 146, 155, 185. This king may possibly be identified with Brihaspatimitra, king of the Magadhas, mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st cent. B. C.). For two names of Mitra kings on the Bodhgayā rail pillars and on coins found at Kumrahar (Gayā Dist.), see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 327.

4 These redundant letters of the name have been afterwards erased.

- 5 आसाढसेनेन लेनं
 6 कारितं ऊदाक[स]¹ दस-
 7 म-सवछरे * * पि * त² अरहं-
 8 [त*]† [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः गोपाली-पुत्रस्य बृहस्पतिमित्रस्य मातुलेन गोपालिका-वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन
 लयनं (=गुहावासः) कारितम् ऊदाकस्य दशम-संवत्सरे.....अर्हतां [सुपरिग्रहे = ०ग्रहाय] ॥

No. II

(inside the cave)

TEXT³

- 1 अधिच्छत्राया राज्ञो शौनकायन-पुत्रस्य⁴ वंगपालस्य
 2 पुत्रस्य राज[†] तेवणी-पुत्रस्य भ्रागवतस्य⁵ पुत्रेण
 3 वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण अ[†*]षाढसेनेन कारितं [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अधिच्छत्रायाः (=अहिच्छत्रायाः⁶) राज्ञः शौनकायनी-पुत्रस्य वंगपालस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः
 त्रैवणी-पुत्रस्य भागवतस्य पुत्रेण वैहिदरी-पुत्रेण आषाढसेनेन कारितं [लयनम्] ॥

1 Führer: उदा०. स is partially preserved. Udāka was apparently a king of the Kosam region. He has been identified with the Suṅga king who succeeded Vasumitra. This record however cannot be placed so early as the 2nd century B.C.

2 Führer : कश्शपीयानं ; but the last letter is certainly त, not न ; या is different in shape from या in 1. 3; शश is doubtful and resembles द or the upper part of त. The reading may be: १० वपिफ(छ?)त०

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

4 Read शौनकायनी. Faint traces of a medial i are visible. The metonymics may have something to do with the matriarchal state of ancient non-Aryan society. But they are certainly directly connected with Indian polygyny. A metonymic distinguished a person from the issues of his many step-mothers.

5 Read भाग०.

6 The more popular अहिच्छत्र is a Prakritized form of अधिच्छत्र.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDO-GREEKS¹No. 11—Inscription on some coins of Demetrios
(c. 190—160 B.C.)²SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 9, No. 1³*First side.*⁴

Bust of King to right, diademed, wearing elephant's scalp.

Second side.

Young Herakles⁵ standing, facing, crowing himself with right hand, and holding club and lion's skin with the left ; monogram ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(right) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ (= *basilēōs*)(left) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (= *Demetriou*).⁶

1 The Bactrian Greeks(=Yavanas) were a factor in Indian politics from the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. to that of the 2nd century A. D. ; but they had gradually to give way to the Skytho-Parthians from about the last quarter of the 1st century B. C. Sometimes several Indo-Greek kings of more than one royal house ruled contemporaneously from their capitals at places like Kāpiśi, (capital of Kāpiśa=Kafiristan), Pushkarāvati (Charsadda), Takshaśilā, and Śākala (Sialkot). Duplication of kings and their relation or contemporaneity are sometimes suggested on the basis of similarity or dissimilarity of coin types. But they may be due to local or other reasons. See *supra* p. 86, n. 1 ; *infra*, p. 109, n. 3.

2 About the middle of the 3rd cent. B. C., Diodotus I, governor of Bactria, revolted against the Seleukidan emperor of Syria. Diodotus was succeeded by Diodotus II whose successor was Euthydemus. Demetrios, son of Euthydemus and son-in-law of Antiokhos II (the Seleukidan emperor who had given him a daughter when the independence of Bactria was recognised), conquered portions of Northern and Western India including probably Kābul, the Panjāb and Sind about 190 B. C. The scalp of the Indian elephant refers to conquests in India.

3 For the coins noticed in these pages, consult also other Catalogues, such as the British Museum Cat. of Gardner and the Punjab Museum Cat. of Whitehead and also works like those of Cunningham.

4 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate I, No. 9.

5 Herakles (=Roman : Hercules) is the Greek god of strength.

6 *Basilēōs Demetriou*=[coin] of king Demetrios.

No. 12—Inscription on some oblong Copper Coins of Pantaleon (c. 160-155 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 10, No. 1

*First side*²

Leopard,³ standing to right, in incuse square; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ] (= *basilēōs*)

(below) ΠΑΝΤΑΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ (= *Pantalēontos*)

Second side

Female figure⁴ to left, dancing, clad in loose robe and trousers,⁵ with long ear-rings; flower in right hand⁶; no monogram; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

(right) रजने

(left) पतलवस

(=राज्ञः पन्तलेवस ।)

1 Pantaleon was king of the North-Western part of India about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. The oblong shape and Brāhmī script are peculiarly Indian. He was probably related to Agathokles. (c. 155-135 B. C.), Antimakhos (c. 150-135 B. C.) and Apollodotus I (140-120 B. C.) all possibly belonging to the house of Demetrios. The provenance and script of Pantaleon's coins show that he ruled over a wide area for a short time. The suggestion that Pantaleon and Agathokles were kings of Western Paropanisadae and Arakhosia (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 546) is rendered doubtful by their use of Brāhmī.

2 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate II, No. 1. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of king Pantaleon."

3 Maneless lion, according to Smith.

4 Māyā, mother of Buddha in the nativity scene, according to Foucher (*J. R. A. S.*, 1890); but dancing girl according to others.

5 The dress is described as "oriental costume" by Whitehead.

6 Possibly the lotus flower held in the hand is the play-thing called *tilā-kamala*.

No. 13—Inscription on some Coins of Eukratides (c. 175-155 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 13, No. 29

*First side*²

Bust of King to right, diademed and with helmet in the shape of high crowned *Kausia* (flat cap), adorned with ear and horn of bull and crest; astragalus border; inscription in Greek characters:—
(above in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(=*basilēōs mēgalou*)

(below) ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ (= *Eukratidou*).

Second side

The Dioskuroi³ standing, facing, each holding a long spear, and wearing a sword; monogram E and Y combined; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) रजस महत्कस

(below) एउक्रतिद[स]

(=राज्ञः महतः एउक्रतिदस्य ।)

1 Eukratides became lord first of Bactria and then of North-Western India. He was contemporary with the early kings of Euthydemus's line and wrested many parts of the Kabul Valley and N. W. India from the latter.

2 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate II, No. 9. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of the great king Eukratides."

3 The Greek twin Gods Kastor and Pollux like the Indian *Aśvinikumāras*. They were typically represented as horsemen and were patrons of games and equestrian exercises, Kastor being a horse-tamer and Pollux a boxer.

Nos. 14—Shinkot Steatite Casket Inscriptions of the time of Menander

(c. 115-90 B.C.)—Regnal years * and 5

SHINKOT, Bajaur Tribal Territory¹

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV, p. 7

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshthī²

TEXT³

Group I

A

(on the rim of the lid)

... ...मिनेद्रस⁴ महरजस कटिअस दिवस ४(+*) ४(+*) ४(+*)१ (+*)१⁵
प्र[ण]-[स]मे[द]...

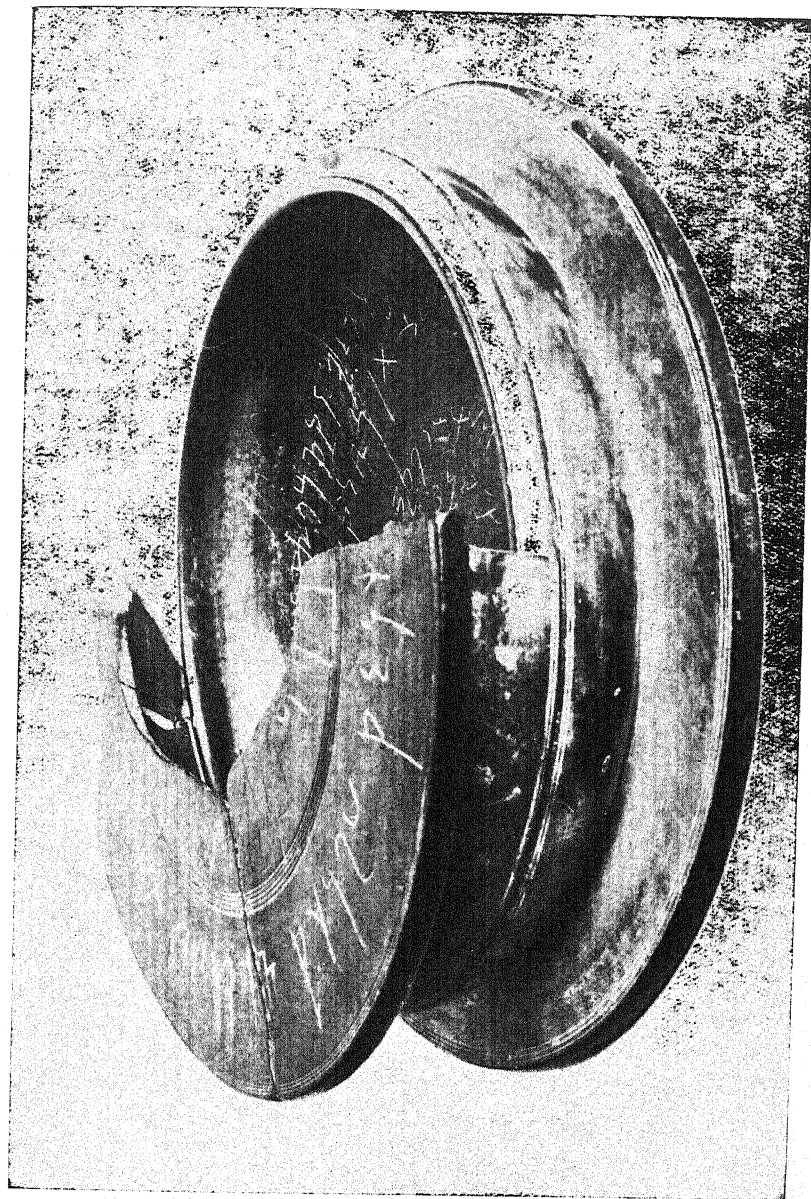
1 The place is about 20 miles west of the Panjkora-Swat confluence beyond the borders of the North-West Frontier Province.

2 In Gr. I the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes; but in Gr. II the writing is shallow and the letters are smaller in size. The first has ण with a rounded head, the second has an acute angle. The letter न in Gr. I has a long sweep in its top curve as in the Aśoka edicts; in Gr. II however the curve has taken an angular or hook-like appearance as in the inscription of the Kushan period. The letter स of the first Group is generally of the closed type as in Aśokan edicts and Greco-Bactrian coin-legends; while in Gr. II the letter shows a gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop as in the records of the Śaka period. These characteristics have led Majumdar to think that there is a gap of more than 50 years between the two Groups. He places Gr. I in the 2nd and Gr. II in the first century A.D. But the observations are inaccurate; cf., e.g., स in B, ण in C, न in D, l. 3, etc. Apparently Viryakamitra died soon after the *pratishthā* of the casket which was neglected, but the worship was established by his successor after a few years. The seemingly meaningless subscript र is a later sign; it indicates a modification in the pronunciation of the superscript consonant. See *infra*, p. 104, note 1.

3 From plates in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIV.

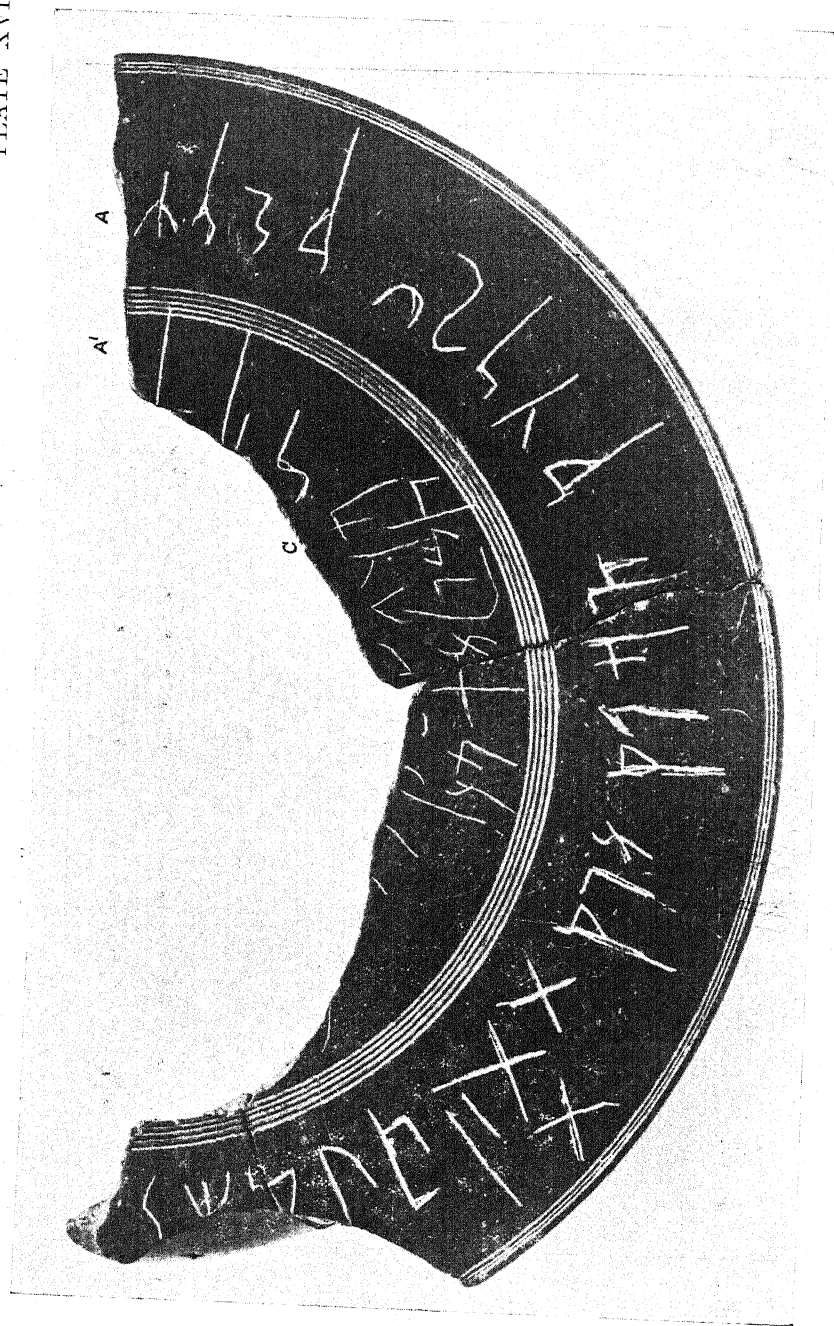
4 The date portion at the beginning is lost. Note the perfect Indianisation of the name.

5 The third figure is inscribed below the line. It is to be noted that the number 14 is here not expressed as in Brāhmī with 10 and 4. The month names were popularised in Indian epigraphy by foreigners.



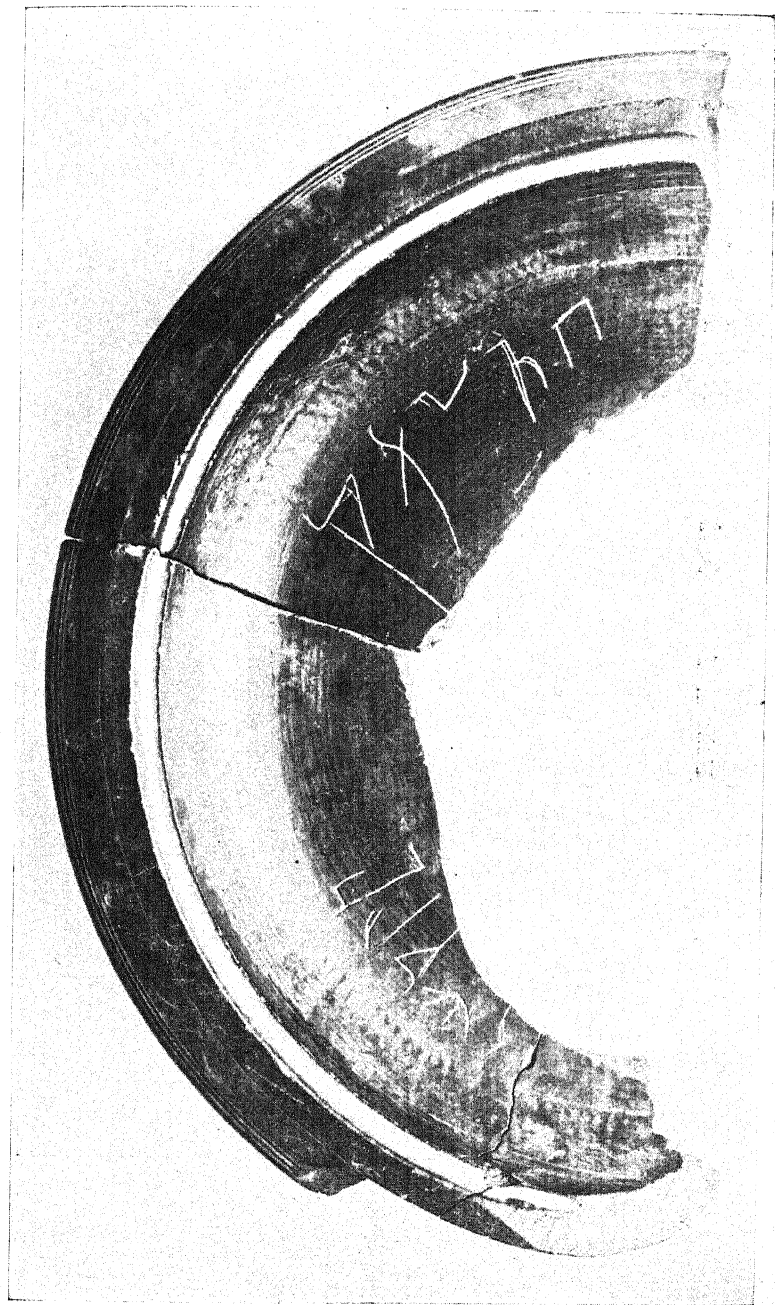
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXIV).

Slinkot (Bajaur) Relic Casket (Bk. II, No. 14).



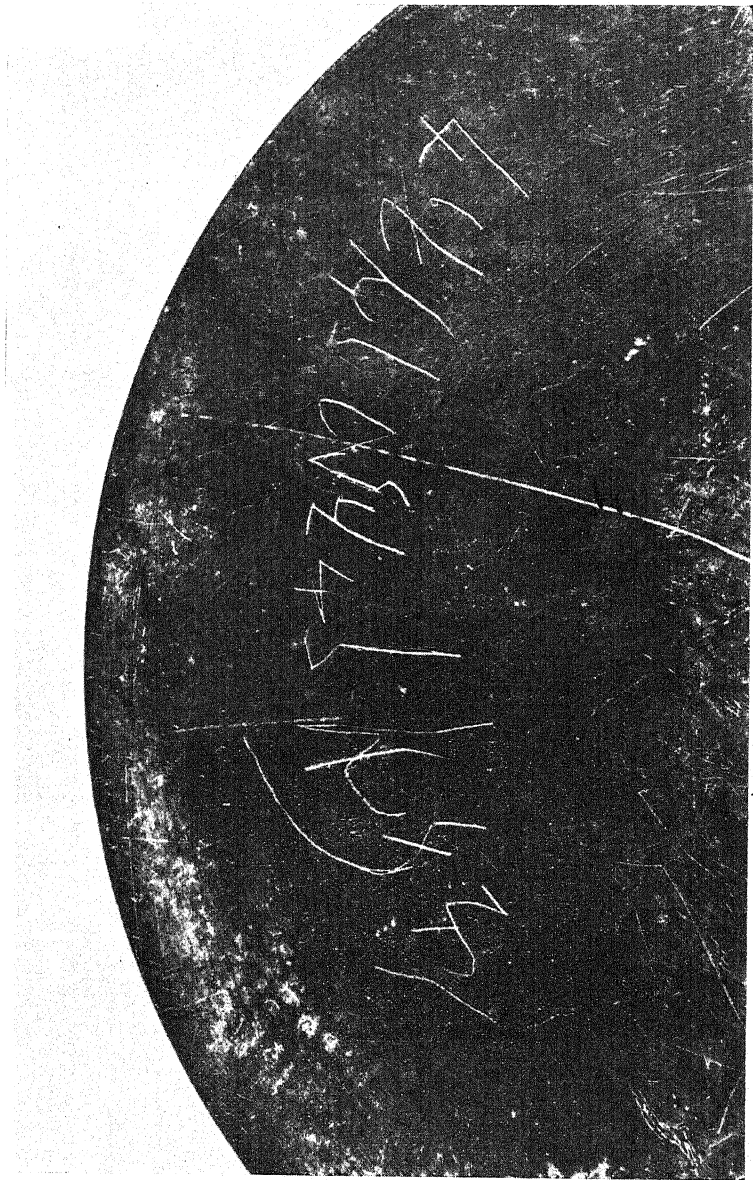
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXIV).

Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II, No 14. Sections A, A' & C.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXIV).

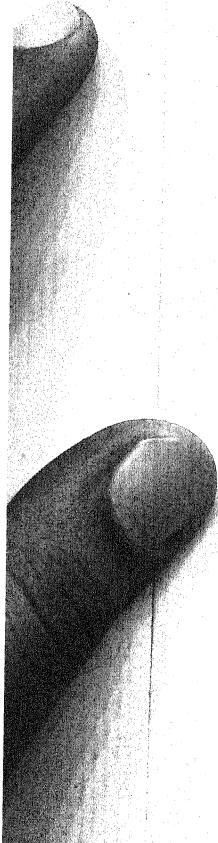
Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription (Bk. II, No. 14). Section A².



*Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXIV),
Shinkot (Bajaur) Casket Inscription of Menander (Bk. II, No. 14), Section E.*



PLATE XIX



A₁

(in the centre of the lid)

.. ...[प्रति*][थवि]त [1*]

A₂

(inner face of the lid)

प्राण-समे[द] [शरिर*] [भगव*][तो] शकिमुनिस [1*]

B

(inside of the casket)

वियकमित्रस¹ अप्रच-रजस [1*]

Group II

C

(centre of the lid)

1 विजय[मित्रे]ण²...

2 पते प्रदिथविदे

D

(inside of the casket)

- 1 इमे शरिर पल्लुगभुद्रओ न सकरे अतित [1*] स शरिअत्ति कलद्रे नो³ शओ न पिंडोयकेयि पित्ति ग्रिणयत्ति [1*]
- 2 तस ये पत्ते अपोमुअ [1*] वषये पंचमये ४(+*)१ वेथस्स मसस दिवस पंचविश्रये इयो
- 3 प्रदिथवित्ते विजयमित्रेन अप्रचरजेन भगवतु शकिमुणिस सम-स[]बुधस शरिर [1*]

1 The additional stroke at the foot of स may indicate that the *akshara* is स्य. Viryakamitra appears to have been a feudatory of Menander. प्राणसमेत refers to the Buddhist belief that Buddha's relics could perform miracles.

2 Vijayamitra, successor of Viryakamitra, has been identified with the king of that name whose coins bearing legends in Brāhmī and Kharoshthī characters and belonging to the first century B. C. have been discovered in Taxila. ए is clear, but ignored by Majumdar. There were at least two *aksharas* after ए, the lower parts of which are visible. 3 Majumdar: न

E

(on the back of the casket)

विशिपलेन अण्णकतेन लिखिते [1*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

Gr. I: A [संवत्सरे]...मीनेन्द्रस्य महाराजस्य कार्तिकस्य [मासस्य] दिवसे १४ प्राणसमेतं [शरीरं] A¹ [भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः] प्रतिष्ठापितम् । A₂ प्राणसमेतं शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः । B वीर्यकमिलस्य अप्रत्यग्राजस्य (=महाराजासम-राजस्य=सामन्तस्य । यद्वा, अपत्यराजस्य) ॥ Gr. II: B विजयमिलेण...पालं प्रतिष्ठा-पितम् । C इदं शरीरं⁺ प्ररुग्ण-भूतकं (=भग्नं भूतं) न सत्कारेण आदृतम् । तत् शीर्ष्यति कालतः, [अत्र कः अपि] न श्रद्धः (=श्रद्धालुः) न [च] पिण्डोदकानि पितृन् ग्राहयति । तस्य एतत् पालम् अवमुक्तम् (यद्वा, अवमुच्य) ; वर्षके पञ्चमके ५ वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे पंचविंशके इह [पुनः] प्रतिष्ठापितं [च] विजयमिलेण अप्रत्यग्राजेन भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य [नवं] शरीरम् [अस्मिन् पाले] । E विशिपलेन आज्ञाकृता (=आज्ञाकारिणा) लिखितम् ॥

No. 15—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Menander (c. 115-90 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 22*First side*²

Bust of king to right, helmeted; inscription in Greek charac-
ters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (=basilēōs sōteros)

(below) ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ (=Mēnandrou)

1 He has been identified with the Yona (=Yavana or Greek) king Milinda who became a disciple of the Buddhist teacher Nāgasena, according to the *Milinda-pañho* which places him 500 years (i. e. in the 5th century) after Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* that occurred in 544 B. C. according to the Ceylonese tradition. Milinda's capital was at Sākala (modern Sialkot in the Panjab). He possibly ruled about the end of the second century B.C. The name is found as Milindra in the *Avadāna-kalpalatā* of Kshemendra and the Tibetan Tangyur collections (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 4n.).

2 From Smith's *Catalogue*, Pl. V, No. 1. The Greek inscription means :
“[coin] of king Menander, the Saviour.”

Second side

Pallas Athene¹ to left, holding aegis in left hand and hurling thunder-bolt with right hand ; monogram ; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above) महरजस त्तरस

(below) मेन्द्रस

(=महाराजस्य दातुः मेन्द्रस्य ॥)

No. 16—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Strato I² and his mother Agathokleia the Queen-regent (c. 90-85 B.C.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 21

*First side*³

Bust of queen to right, bare-headed ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) BA[ΣΙΑΣΣΗΣ] [ΦΕ]ΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ (=basilisses thēotropou)⁴

(below) ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΑΣ (=Agathoklēias)

Second side

Herakles seated to left on rock ; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above) [महरजस] [त्तर]स भ्रमिकस

(below) [स्त्र]तस

(=महाराजस्य दातुः धार्मिकस्य स्त्रतस्य ॥)

1 The Greek goddess of prosperity, strength and wisdom (=Roman : Minerva.)

2 He ruled probably in Eastern Panjāb from about 85 to about 30 B.C. He is supposed to have been the son of Menander and to have been ousted by Heliokles (c. 130-80 B.C.) from Nikaea (*C. H. I.*, I, p. 699). This Heliokles need not have been the son or the immediate successor of Eukratides.

3 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate IV, No. 11.

4 It is interesting that the obverse refers to the queen-regent and the reverse to the minor king. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of Queen Agathokleia true to the gods." She may have been daughter of Agathokles and wife of Menander.

No. 17—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Antialkidas (c. 110-80 B.C.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 15, No. 1

*First side*²

Bust of King to right, diadem ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΕΦΟΡΟΥ (= *basilēōs nikēphorou*)

(below) ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ (= *Antialkidou*)

Second side

Throned Zeus³ to left, laureate, holding long sceptre in left hand ; and, in right hand, a small figure of Nike⁴ who holds palm and a wreath, towards which the forepart of a small elephant⁵ to left, with bell round neck, extends its trunk ; monogram ; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above) महरजस जयधरस

(below) अन्तिअलिकितस

(=महाराजस जयधरस अन्तियलिकितस्य ॥)

1 Antialkidas belonging to the house of Eukratrides ruled in the Taxila region about the end of the second century B.C.. He is mentioned in the Besnagar inscription of the 14th year of Bhāgabhadra who must be placed some years later than Pushyamitra (c. 184-148 B.C.) and Agnimitra (c. 148-140 B.C.) and possibly after their two successors who ruled for 17 years according to the Purāṇas. He might have sought assistance of the Vidiśā king against the aggression of the great conqueror Menander, king of Sākala and a scion of the rival house of Euthydemus.

2 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate III, No. 1. On some copper specimens modified later forms of *sigma* and *omega* are noticed.

3 Roman Jupiter, the prototype of Indian Indra.

4 The Greek goddess of victory ; cf. the title जयधर. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of the victorious king Antialkidas."

5 The elephant which reminds us of Indra's Airāvata possibly indicates an approach to the identification of Zeus with Indra.

No. 18—Inscription on some Coins of Hermaios¹ (c. 20-30 A.D.) and his queen Kalliope

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 31

*First side*²

Busts of King and Queen to right, both diademed; inscription in Greek characters:—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΣΡΜΑΙΟΥ (= *basilēōs sōteros Ērmaiou*)

(below) ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΣ (= *kai Kalliopes*)

Second side

King helmeted and diademed, on prancing horse to right, with bow and spear at his back; monogram; inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महरजस ततरस हेरमयस

(below) कलियपय

(=महाराजस्य तातुः हेरमयस्य कलियपायाः [च] ॥)

1 He seems to have belonged to the house of Eukratides and to have ruled in the first half of the first century A. D. He was the last Greek king of the Kabul region and was supplanted by the Parthians, probably by Gondopharnes. These joint issues may indicate a union of the rival houses of Eukratides and Euthydemus.

2 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate VI, No. 11. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of king Hermaios, the saviour, and of Kalliope."

No. 19—Inscription on some Copper Coins of Hermaios and of the Kushāṇa yavuga Kujula Kasa¹ (c. 25-55 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 33

*First side*²

Bust of Hermaios to right, diademed; inscription in Greek characters:—

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ [ΣΤΗΡΟ]ΣΣΥ³ ΕΡ[ΜΑΙΟΥ] (= *basilēōs sterossu Ērmaiou*)

Second side

Herakles facing, diademed; with right hand he holds club resting on ground, and with left hand lion's skin; circular inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

कुजुल-कसस [कृषन-यवु]गस धर्मथितस⁴

(=कुजुल-कसस्य कुषाण-यवुगस्य [कुषाणवंशीय-नायकस्य] धर्मस्थितस्य ॥)

1 He has been identified with Kadphises I. *Yavuga* is supposed to be a Turkish word meaning "prince". The Kushāṇas gradually ousted the Greeks and the Skytho-Parthians from the sovereignty of the Kabul region and the North-Western part of India. The joint issues may indicate that Kadphises I at first accepted the nominal suzerainty of the Greeks of Kabul. They may be similar to the coins of the East India Company issued in the name of Shāh 'Alam II (Whitehead, *Cat.*, II, Nos. 2864-67). In Kabul the Greeks were supplanted by the Parthians and the Parthians by the Kushāṇas. Kadphises I did not conquer the region of the Indus.

2 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate VI, No. 14.

3 Read ΣΟΤΗΡΟΣ. ΣΥ was regarded by Cunningham as a prefix to the king's name. The Greek inscription means: "[coin] of king Hermaios the saviour;" but in some cases *sōtēros* is wrongly translated by महत्स.

4 On Kadphises' own coins (see *infra*) we sometimes get सच-धर्म-ठितस (=सत्य-धर्मस्थितस्य) which possibly refers to his devotion to the religion of Buddha.

No. 20—Swāt Relic Vase Inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros

A Paṭhān village in the Swāt Valley; now Panjāb Museum.
F. W. THOMAS, *Fest. Ernst Windisch*, p. 362; STEN KONOW,
Corp. Ins. Ind., II, i, p. 4

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshṭhī of *circa* 1st century B.C.

TEXT¹

१ थेउदोरेन मेरिदर्खेन प्रतिठविद्र इमे शरिर शक-मुणिस भगवतो बहु-जण- [हिति]ये^२ [॥:]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

⁺थेवदोरेण ⁺मेरिदर्खेण (=विषयपतिना=प्रदेशशासकेन; Greek *meridarkhes*)

प्रतिष्ठापितम् इदं शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) शाक्यमुनेः (=बुद्धस्य) भगवतः बहुजन-हिताय ॥

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE SKYTHO-PARTHIANS AND THE KUSHĀNAS

(i) Inscriptions Dated in the Older Skytho-Parthian
Reckoning and Connected Records.

No. 21—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Maues (c. 90 B.C.-20 A.D.)³

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 39

*First side*⁴

Zeus standing to left, clad in himation; grasping long sceptre

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

2 Thomas: ०जतिष्ठितिये; Konow: ०जणस्तितिये

3 This date of Maues is based on the supposition that he is the same as Moga of the Taxila record (*infra*). It is also possible to suggest that Maues of most of these coins was the grandfather of Moga (=Maues II). In that case, Maues I may be identical with Yin-Mo-fu king of Ki-pin (=Kafiristan and parts of N.W. India) of the Chinese and may be the founder of the early Skytho-Parthian (=Vikrama?) era. Maues imitated the coin-types of Demetrios and Strato I.

4 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, plate VIII, No. 2.

with left hand ; right arm extended ; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above, in semicircle) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΜΑΥΟΥ (= *Mauou*)

Second side

Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand ; palm bound with fillet in left hand ; monogram in right field ; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above, in semicircle) रजदिरजस महत्स

(below) [मो]अस¹

(= राजातिराजस्य महत्तः मोयस्य [=मोगस्य] ॥)

No. 22—Inscription on Some Silver coins of Azes I² (c. 10-35 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 43

*First side*³

Zeus standing to left ; right hand extended ; long sceptre with fillet in left hand ; inscription in Greek characters⁴ :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou*)

(below) ΑΖΟΥ (= *Azou*)

1 Another Indian from of the name is *Moga*. The Greek inscription means "[coin] of Maues, the great king of kings." The title is derived from the Persian title *Khshāyathiyānam Khshāyathiya* of Old Pers. inscriptions.

2 He possibly succeeded Maues=*Moga* in the Gandhāra region and conquered Eastern Panjāb from Hippostratos.

3 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, plate VIII, No. 9. On some specimens the square *omicron* is noticed.

4 The Greek inscription means "[coin] of Azes, the great king of kings."

Second side

Winged Nikē standing to right, holding out wreath in right hand, and palm with fillet in left hand; monogram to right; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above) महरजस रजरजस महतस

(below) अयस

(=महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महतः अयस्य ॥)

No. 23—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Azilises¹

(c. 30-40 A.D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 49

First side

King on horse-back to right, with lance; inscription in Greek characters :—

(above) ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ

(=basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou)

(below) ΑΖΙΛΙΣΟΥ (=Azilisu)²

Second side

Pallas Athene to left, thunder-bolt in right hand and aegis in left hand; monogram to left and Kharoshthī अ in right field; inscription in Kharoshthī characters :—

(above) महरजस रजरजस महतस

(below) अयिलिषस

(=महाराजस्य राजराजस्य महतः अयिलिषस्य ॥)

1 He was succeeded by Azes II (c. 35-75 A.D.). Aspavarman was a *strategos* (=सेनापति or governor) first under Azes II and then under Gondopharnes, while his nephew Sasa under the latter and Pakores.

2 The Greek inscription means "[coin] of Azilises, the great king of kings."

No. 24—Mathurā Lion-Capital Inscriptions of the
time of Rañjuvula (c. 1-15 A.D.) and Śodāsa
(c. 10-25 A.D.)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā (Muttra) Dist., U.P.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *J. R. A. S.*, N. S., XXVI, pp. 542-44;
F. W. THOMAS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 141 ff; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II., i, p. 48.

Language: Prakrit

S c r i p t: Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

Group I

A (i)

- 1 महत्त्व[त्]वस रजुलस
- 2 अग्रमहेषि अयसिअ
- 3 कमु[स]अ³ धित्त
- 4 खर्(र्ह?)ओस्तस युवरज
- 5 मत्त नददि(सि?)अकस[ए?]⁴

1 From the Plates in *Ep. Ind.*, IX, and *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The seemingly unnecessary subscript *r* modifies the sound of the superscript consonant.

2 The first section may be and has been differently interpreted: "By the Chief Queen of the Great Satrap Rājūla, daughter of Ayasī Komūsā (masc.), mother of the Heir Apparent Kharaosta, Nandasi-Akasā (by name)" (Thomas); "The chief queen of the Mahākshatrapa Rajula, Ayasia Komuia, the daughter of the Yuvarāja Kharaosta, the mother of Nada Diaka" (Konow). *Kshatrapa* is from Old Pers. *Khshathrapāvan*, a provincial governor. The relation between the Mahākshatrapa and the Kshatrapa was something like that between the Rājan and the Yuvarāja ruling at the same time from the same station or from different stations. Rājūla and Rañjuvula are different forms of the same name.

3 Konow: कमुइअ. Kharraosta is from Old Pers. *khshathra-osta*, the blessing of sovereignty. Konow identifies him with Kharaosta son of Arta.

4 Konow: नद दिअकस [तये].

A (ll. 6-16)



A (ll. 1-5)



E (ll. 1-2); E'



E''

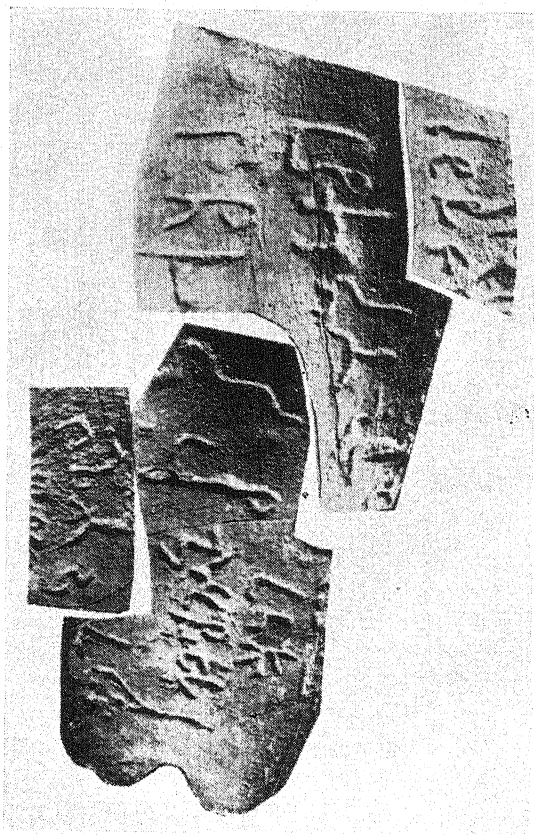


E (ll. 3-4)

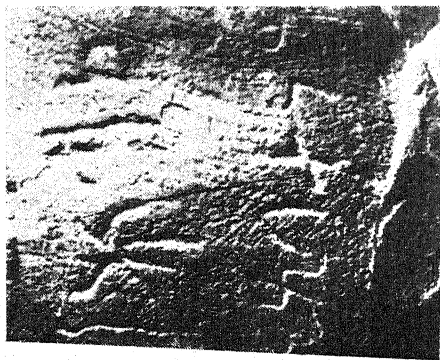
Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24).—Sections A, E & E''.

B; C; D.



M



J

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Pl. II, No. 24).—Sections I, C, D, J & M.

A (ii)

- 6 सध मल अबुहोल[ए]
 7 पित्तमहि पिइग्रस्त्रिअ¹ अ-
 8 ल हयुअरन सध हन धि[ल]²
 9 अत्तेउरेन होरक-प³-
 10 रिक्वेरेन इअ प्रह्वि-प्रत्ते-
 11 श्रे निसिमे⁴ शरिर प्रत्तिठवित्तो
 12 भक्कवत्तो शकमुनिस बुधस
 13 म(?)किहि(?)रयस⁵ शप [अ]भुसवित(?)⁶
 14 शुव च सधरम च चत्तु-
 15 दिश्रस सधस सर्व-
 16 स्तिवन्न परिग्रहे [॥:]⁷

C

- 1 कलुइ अ-
 2 वरजो [॥:]

D

- 1 नउलुदो [॥:]

- 1 The two words are in a half compound.
 2 Konow takes Hana to be the daughter of Hayuara.
 3 Konow and Lüders think होरक=होरमुर्त, a Skythic rendering of दानपति.
 4 Bühler explained निसिम (=निःसम) as an equivalent to स्तूप, and Thomas as निस्सीम,^a स्तूप outside the सीमा.

5 Konow : मुकि[त्रि]रय, etc., "after having performed solemnities over the illustrious king Muki (=Maues) and his horse." Thomas : म (म?)किटे(हि?)र(?)य; Indrajī : मुकिहितय (=मुक्तिहिताय). The reading and interpretation of 1.13 is doubtful.

6 Thomas : सशपए भुसवेति ? (=शाश्वतं भूयात् इति).

7 Konow reads section E after A.

Group II

B

- 1 महच्छतवस
- 2 वज्रुलस्य¹ पुत्र²
- 3 शुडसे क्षत्रवे³

E

- 1 खर्(हँ)ओस्तो युवरय
- 2 खलमस कुमर
- 3 मज कनिठ
- 4 समनमोत्त-

E (b)

- 1 क करित

K and L

- 1 अयरिअस
- 2 बुधत्तेवस
- 3 उत्तएन अयिमित(स?)-

H

- 1 गुहविहरे

H(a)

- 1 धमदन (?)

F

- 1 बुधिलस नकरअस
- 2 भिखुस सर्वस्तिवत्तस [1*]

1 Read रजुल०

2 Konow reads section C here.

3 Konow reads section D here.

F (l. 1)



K; L.



G



F (l. 2); G; J (l. 3); K; L (l. 3)

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., II).

Mathurā Līṃ Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24).—Sections F, G, J, K, & L.

I; J; M (l. 3); Q (l. 2).



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Bk. II, No. 24).—Sections I, J, M & Q.

G

- 1 महत्त[व]वस्य कुसुलअस पदिकस मेव(?)किस
- 2 मियिकस क्षतवस पुयए [॥*]

E (a)

- 1 कमुइओ [॥*]

Group III

M

- 1 क्षतवे शुडिसे
- 2 इमो पद्वि-
- 3 प्रवेथ्रो

I

- 1 वेयउदिर्न¹ कधवरो बुसप-
- 2 रो कध-
- 3 वरो
- 4 वियउ-

J (1 and 2)

- 1 वै * * * * * पलिङ्गिन (?)²
- 2 निसिमो करित नियत्तिलो

J (3)

- 1 सर्वस्तिवत्तन परि(?)ग्रहे

N

- 1 अयरिअस बुधिलस नकरकस भिखु-
- 2 स सर्वस्तिवत्तस पप्र-

1 वेयउ seems to be the same as वियउ in I, line 4.

2 Konow reads here उर्वरपरेण पलिङ्गिन, limited by Urvarapara. Thomas however notes that 7 or 8 aksharas before पलि are quite obscure owing to the stone having peeled away. Thomas: पलिष्टे(?)न

- 3 न महसधिअन प्र-
4 म(?)अ-वितवे खलुलस [॥*]

O

- 1 सर्वबुधन पुय [॥*] धमस
2 पुय [॥*] सघस पुय [॥*]

P

- 1 सर्वस सकस्त-
2 नस पुयए [॥*]

Q

- 1 खर्दअस
2 क्षलवस [॥*]

R

- 1 र(त?)क्षिलस
2 क्रोनिनस [॥*]

J (a)

- 1 खलशमु-
2 शो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

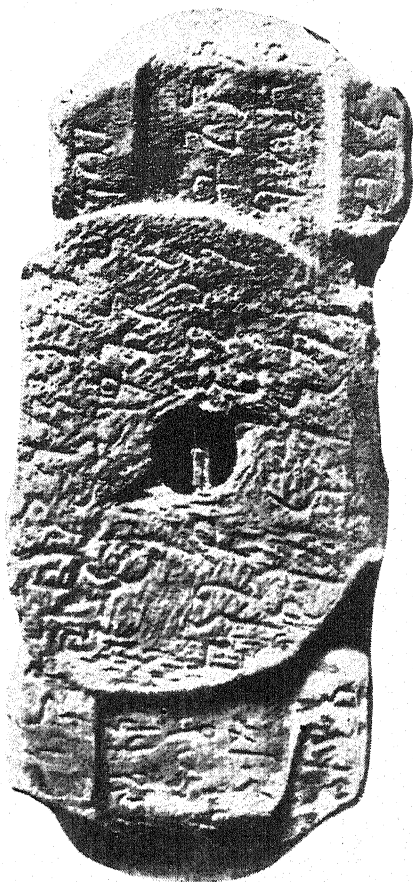
Group I: A (i). महाक्षत्रपस्य राजूलस्य अग्र-महिषी, आयसेः कोमुसाः दुहिता, खरवस्तस्य युवराजस्य माता [या, तथा] नदसियकसया—

A (ii). सार्द्धं मात्रा आबुहोल्या, पितामह्या पिशपस्या, भ्रात्रा हयुरेण, सार्द्धं हन [इति] दुहिता, आन्तःपुरेण¹ होरका-परिवारेण (=अन्तःपुरस्य स्त्रीसङ्घेन [च]) अस्मिन् पृथिवी-प्रदेशे (=स्थाने) निःसीमे (=स्तूपबहिःस्थे परंतु तत्संलग्ने तत्स्वत्वके च) शरीरं (=देहावशेषः) प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः बुद्धस्य; मृग्याधिराजस्य अश्मा (?=सिंहशिखरः शिला-स्तम्भः)¹ अभ्युत्सर्पितः (=उत्थापितः); स्तूपः च सङ्घारामः च [अभ्युत्सर्पितः = कारितः] चातुर्दिशस्य सङ्घस्य सर्वास्तिवादानां (=०वादिनां) परिग्रहे (=०ग्रहाय) ॥

1 Cf. शक्ति=शाक्य (No. 14) and भक्वतो=भगवतः (passim.)

N; O; P; Q; R,

O

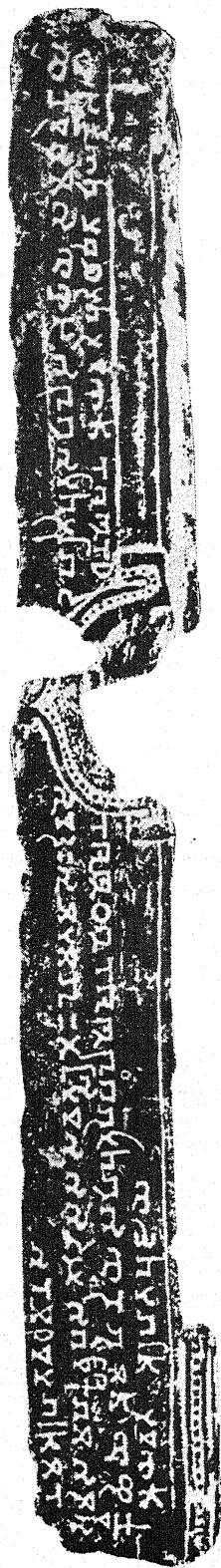


J'

Q (1. 2)

Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Corp. Ins. Ind., II).

Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions (Pl. II, No. 24 .—Sections J', N, O, P, Q & R.



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., II).

Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription (Bk. II, 25).

C कालुयी अवरजः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

D नवलूदः [इति च नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

Group II: B महाक्षत्रपस्य राज्ञस्य पुत्रे शोडाशे क्षत्रपे [शासति],

E खरवस्तः युवराजः, खलमसः कुमारः, मजः कनिष्ठः [च इति] समनुमोद-

E(b) काः [वक्ष्यमानस्य धर्मदानस्य] ; कारितम्

K and L आचार्यस्य बुद्धदेवस्य [शिष्येण] उदयेन आजिमित- (यद्वा, आयिमेः)

H, H (a). गुहाविहारे धर्मदानम्

F बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय (=नगर-वास्तव्याय)¹ भिक्षवे सर्वास्तिवादाय (=तस्य परिग्रहाय);

G महाक्षत्रपस्य कुसुलुकस्य (कूसुलुक-पुत्रस्य ?) पतिकस्य, मेवकेः (मेवकि-पुत्रस्य ?)
मियिकस्य [च] पूजायै ।

E(a) कामूयीयः [इति नवकर्मिकः?] ।

Group III: M क्षत्रपे शोडासे [शासति] अयं पृथिवी-प्रदेशः

I, J (1&2).—विजयोदीर्गम् [इति] स्कन्धावारः, पुसापुरम्[इति] स्कन्धावारः, विजयोर्व
...परीक्षिणा (= तदाख्यपुरुषेण) निःसीमः (=स्तूपवहिःस्थः परंतु तदधीनः तत्स्वत्वकः च)
कारितः, निर्यातितः (=दत्तः) [च]

J (3). सर्वास्तिवादानां (=०वादिनां) परिग्रहे,

N आचार्याय बुद्धिलाय नागरकाय भिक्षवे, प्राग्राणां माहासाङ्गिकानां प्रामाण्यवित्त्वे²
+ खलूराय (?=मल्लभुवे=निकषसदृशाय) ॥

O सर्व-बुद्धानां पूजा । धर्मस्य पूजा । सङ्घस्य पूजा ।

P सर्वस्य शक-स्थानस्य (= शकदेशस्य । Skythia, Indo-Skythia)³ पूजायै ।

Q, R खर्दकस्य क्षत्रपस्य [पूजायै] । रक्षितस्य, कोणिनस्य [च] [पूजायै] ॥

J (a) खलशमुशः [इति नवकर्मिकः ?] ।

1 Possibly Nagara or Nagarahāra, modern Jalālābād. We may also have:
आचार्याय बुद्धदेवाय (=तस्य परिग्रहाय) उदयेन...धर्मदानम् । बुद्धिलाय...सर्वास्तिवादस्य
[पूजायै] ।

2 I.e., "with reference to the knowledge of proof of the vanguard of the
Māhāsāṅghikas (a Buddhist sect that was antagonistic to the sect of the Sarvāsti-
vādins)." Konow makes प्रमां इपयितुम्, to teach the truth.

3 Fleet makes स्वकस्थान and Majumdar शकस्थान. Some take सर्व as a proper
name.

No. 25—The Mathurā Votive Tablet of the time of Śoḍāsa—Year 72(=A. D. 15?)

Kaṅkāli Tīlā at MATHURĀ

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 199; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 59; *Ep. Ind.*, IX, pp. 243-44.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

1 नम अरहतो वर्धमानस² [1*]

2 ख[र]मिस महच्छत्रपस शोडासस स[]वत्सरे ७०³ (+*)२ हेम[]त-मासे २
दिवसे ६ हरिति-पुलस पालस भयाये सम(न*)-स[]विकाये⁴

3 कोद्धिये अमोहिनिये सहा पुवेहि पालघोषेन पोठघोषेन धनघोषेन आर्यवति⁵
[प्र]तिथापिता [1*] प्रिय***⁶

1 From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

2 Vardhamāna, Jina or Mahāvira was the 24th Jain tīrthaṅkara. An arhat is described as सर्वज्ञो जितरागादिदोषस्त्वैलोक्यपूजितः । यथास्थितार्थवादी च देवोर्हन् परमेश्वरः ॥ Vardhamāna was the actual founder of Jainism. The name Kaṅkāli-tīlā means the mound of Kaṅkāli, one of the 64 Yoginis according to Jain works.

3 Bühler suggested that the first figure of the date may be 40 (see, however, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 55, n. 2 where he gives up that view) or 70. It is 40 according to Rapson (*C.H.I.*, I, p. 575). Though it may be confused with the figure for 40 on the Kshatrapa coins (*Ind. Pal.*, Taf. ix, Col. v.), there is no doubt that it is the same figure for 70 which is found in Kushāṇa inscriptions (*op. cit.*, Col. vii); see also *this very figure* in the plate for the record No. 42 of the same Mathurā series (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 212) where Bühler definitely reads it as 70. Most scholars (*Ep. Ind.* XXI, p. 257, n.) now agree that the figure is to be read as 70. For the controversy between Rapson and Lüders, see *Acta Orientalia*, X, p. 118f; XI, p. 260f.

4 The restoration is due to Bühler.

5 Bühler : आर्यवती. The name seems to refer to the figure of the Ārya or Arhat on the Āyāgaśilā.

6 Bühler : प्राय* भ* The reading intended seems to be प्रियक्स कृति.

4 आयवंति¹ अरहत-पूजाये [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अर्हते वर्धमानाय । स्वामिनः (=प्रजापालकस्य) महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य संवत्सरे [द्विसप्ततितमे] ७२ हेमन्तमासे [द्वितीये] २ (=चातुर्मासिकस्य हेमन्तर्ताः द्वितीये मासे)² दिवसे [नवमे] ६ हारीती-पुत्रस्य पालस्य भार्यया श्रमण-श्राविकया (=जैनभिक्षु-शिष्यया) कौत्स्या (=कौत्सीगोत्रजया) अमोहिन्या सह पुत्रैः पालघोषेण, प्रौष्ठघोषेण, धनघोषेण [च] आर्यवती (= जैनानां आयागपटाख्या पूजाशिला) प्रतिष्ठापिता ।.....आर्यवती अर्हत-पूजायै ॥

No. 26—Mathurā Stone Inscription of the time of Śoḍāsa.

Dowson, *J.R.A.S.*, N. S., V, p. 188, No. 29; CUNNINGHAM, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, III, p. 30; H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 247

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī.

TEXT³

- 1 स्वामिस्य महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य⁴ गजवरेण ब्राह्मणेन शैशव-सगोत्रेण [पुष्कर]-
- 2 रणि इमाषां यमड-पुष्करिणीं पश्चिमा पुष्करणि उदपानो आरामो स्तम्भो इ[मो*]
- 3 [शिला]पट्टो च... ... [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

स्वामिनः महाक्षत्रपस्य शोडासस्य गजवरेण (=कोषाध्यक्षेण) ब्राह्मणेन शैशव-सगोत्रेण पुष्करिणी—आभ्यां यमल-पुष्करिणीभ्यां पश्चिमा (=पश्चिमायां दिशि स्थिता) पुष्करिणी, उदपानः (=कूपः), आरामः, स्तम्भः, अयं शिलापट्टः च [कारितः] ॥

1 Bühler : आर्यवती

2 The ancient Indian year was divided into three seasons, viz., *grīshma* (Chaitra-Vaiśākha-Jyāishṭha-Ashāḍha), *varshā* (Śrāvaṇa-Bhādra-Āśvina-Kārttika) and *hemanta* (Mārgaśīrsha-Pauṣa-Māgha-Phālguna), each ending with a *chāturmāsī* (*supra*, p. 63). Here is a compromise between the Greek (p. 102, n. 5) and Indian (cf. *Sātavāhana* inser., *infra*) systems of dating.

3 From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, III.

4 Possibly Śoḍāsa and Soṇḍāsa were two forms of the name ; cf. Rājūla = Rañjuvula.

No. 27—Taxila Copper Plate Inscription of Patika—Year 78. (= A.D. 21?)

THUPKIA, near Taxila.

DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, XX, p. 221ff.; Bhagawanlal INDRAJI, *ib.*, 1894, p. 551ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 55f.; KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 28

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT³

First Side

- 1 [संवत्स]रये² अठसततिमए २०(+*)२०(+*)२०(+*)१०(+*)४(+*)४ महरयस
महतस [मो]गस प[ने*]मस³ मसस दिवसे पंचमे ४(+*)१ एतये पूर्वये क्षहर[स]⁴
- 2 चुहसस च क्षत्रपस लिअको कुसुलुको नम तस पुत्रो [पति][को*]
तखशिलये नगरे [।*]उतरेण प्रचु-देशो क्षेम नम [।*] अत्र
- 3 (दे*)शे⁵ पतिको अप्रतिठवित भगवत शकुनिस शरिरं (प्र*)[तिथ][वेति]⁶
[सं]घरमं च सर्व-बुधन पुयए मत-पितरं पुयय[तो]
- 4 क्षत्रपस स-पुत्र-दरस अयु-बल-वर्धिए भ्रतर सर्वे [च] [जतिग]-[व*]धवस⁷ च
पुययंतो [।*] महदनपति पतिक सज उव[भ]ए[न*]⁸
- 5 रोहिणिमित्तेण य इम[मि?] संघरमे नवकमिक [॥*]

1 See *supra*, No. 21. From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i; *Ep. Ind.*, IV.

2 The conjunct त्स is read by some as त्स,

3 The restoration is due to Dowson. The Greek month Panemos is roughly equivalent to the Indian Āshāḍha.

4 Bhagwanlal and others: क्षहर[त्स]. In that case, the meaning would be: the Kshaharāta and the Kshatrapa of Chukhsa (mod. Chach N. W. of Taxila).

5 The restoration is due to Bühler.

6 The restoration is due to Dowson.

7 The restoration is due to Bühler. Read वंधव च

8 See F. W. Thomas in *Goettingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1931, p. 6. Konow who found the word जउववए, by the Jāiva order, after Patika's name, has accepted (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 257, note 6.) this reading and the translation of the passage as "the great gift-lord Patika together with the उपाध्याय Rohinimitra who is overseer of works in this सङ्घाराम". The original suggestion was जउ ववए=जयः वर्यते.

Second Side

6 पतिकस चक्षप लिखक [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके अष्टसप्तति[त]मके ७८ महाराजस्य महतः मोगस्य [Maues] ⁺पनेमस्य (=यवनानां मासविशेषस्य; Greek: Panemos) मासस्य दिवसे पञ्चमे ५—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ =पूर्वोक्त-दिवसे] क्षहरस्य बुद्धस्य च [देशस्य] क्षत्रपस्य, लिखकः कुमुलकः नाम [यस्य], तस्य पुत्रः पतिकः । तक्षशिलायां नगरे, उत्तरेण प्राच्य-देशः (=उत्तरस्थविभाग-पूर्वांशः) क्षेमः नाम । अत्र देशे पतिकः अ-प्रतिष्ठापितं भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं (=देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति सङ्घारामं च—सर्व-बुद्धानां¹ पूजायै, मातापितरौ पूजयन्, क्षत्रपस्य सपुत्रदारस्य आयुर्बलवृद्धये, भ्रातृन् सर्वान् च ज्ञातिक-बान्धवान् च पूजयन्—महादानपतिः पतिकः, सार्द्धम् उपाध्यायेन रोहिणीमित्रेण यः अस्मिन् सङ्घारामे नवकर्मिकः (=निर्माणसंस्कारादिकार्यनियुक्तः) ॥

पतिकाय क्षत्रपः लिखकः (=पतिकमुद्दिश्य क्षत्रपेण लिखकेन फलकः अयं प्रेषितः) ॥

No. 28—Takht-i-Bāhī² Stone Inscription of Gondopharnes—[Regnal] year 26; Year 103 (= A.D. 46?)

DOWSON, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1871; *J. R. A. S.*, 1875, p. 376ff; 1877, p. 144ff; CUNNINGHAM, *Trübner's Record*, June, 1873 (*Ind. Ant.*, II, p. 242); *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, V, 1875, p. 58ff; SENART, *Journ. As.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 144ff; BOYER, *ibid.*, 1940, X, iii, p. 457ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 282; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 62.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshthī

TEXT³

1 महरयस गुदुव्हरस⁴ वष २०(+*)३(+*)१(+*)१

1 According to Buddhist conception, there are many past Buddhas and one future Buddha.

2 There is no absolute certainty that the stone was discovered at Takht-i-Bāhī. It was possibly found at Shāhbāzgarhī. Both the places are situated in the same neighbourhood, Shāhbāzgarhī is 6½ miles east and Takht-i-Bāhī about 8 miles northwest of Mardān in Yūsufzāi.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

4 Two *aksharas* are erased between दु and व्ह

- 2 संब[त्सरए] [ति]शतिमए १(×*)१००(+*)१(+*)१(+*)१ वेशखस मासस दिवसे
 3 [प्रठमे] [पुजे] (ब*)[ह]ले पत्ते व[वि?]लसमिस [वो(गो?)]यणस
 4 [परि]वर शध-दण स-पुत्रस केणमिर(स?)वोअणस
 5 एभुण¹ कप² * * * * * स पुत्रए [।*] महु-
 6 पिदु पुत्रए [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

महाराजस्य गुदुव्हरस्य [राज्य]-वर्षे [षड्विंशे] २६, संवत्सरके [च] त्रिशत[त]मके
 (=त्र्यधिक-शततमे) १०३, वैशाखस्य मासस्य दिवसे प्रथमे पुण्ये बहुले पत्ते वलस्वामिने
⁺वोयनस्य परिवारः (=प्राकारः ; यद्वा, क्षुद्र-वासगृहं) श्रद्धा-दानं—सपुत्रस्य केनमिर-वोयनस्य,
⁺एभुन (=कुमार?) कप...स्य [च] पूजायै ; मातापितोः पूजायै (=समाननाय) ॥

No. 29—Inscription on some Coins of
 Gondopharnes (c. 19-50 A.D.)³

SMITH, *Catalogue* p. 54

*First side*⁴

King diademed on horseback to right; monogram to right; inscription in Greek⁵ characters:—

1 Boyer read एभुन and saw in this word the name of a prince. Konow reads एभुण^१ which is according to him a Khotani word meaning कुमार

2 Konow, who ignores the fact that some 8 letters are lost between प and स, reads Kap[sha]sa, as he thinks that there are traces of a श or प under प. He identifies Kapsha with Kadphises I. The stone however, as noticed by Cunningham, was used as a *Sila* (a flat stone for grinding condiments on) and some letters are apparently lost owing to the rubbing by the muller. The reading of ll. 3-5 is doubtful in many places.

3 See No. 28. He was a Parthian king of Southern Afghanistan, but later conquered the Indus Valley. He is known from Christian traditions to have been a contemporary of Saint Thomas.

4 From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate IX, No. 8.

5 *Sigma* has a developed form. "Of Undopherres, the great king of kings."

BACIAEΩ [C] [BACIAEΩN] [MEΓAΛOY] YN ΔOφ[EPPOY]
 (= *basilēōs basilēōn mēgalou Undophērrou*)

Second side

Pallas Athene standing to right, with spear and shield¹; monogram to right; Kharoshthī monogram reading मि and वं (?); inscription in Kharoshthī characters:—

(above) महरज-रजतिरज-[वतरस] [देवव्रतस²]

(below) [गु]दव्ह(?)रस

(=महाराज-राजातिराज-वातुः देवव्रतस्य + गुन्दुपर्णस्य ॥)

No. 30—Inscription on some Copper Coins of Kujula Kadphises I (c. 25-55 A.D.)³

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 65f.

First side

Bust of Hermaios⁴ diademed; very corrupt inscription in Greek⁵ characters intended for:—

KO ϐANO KOZOUΔO-KA ΔφIZOY (= *Koshano Kozoulo-Kadphizou*)⁶

1 Not the aegis, usually represented as bordered with serpents and set with the Gorgon's head and signifying a life-charm.

2 The reading देवव्रत is due to Rapson, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 286. Some specimens clearly read गुदुव्हरस (*C II. I.*, Pl. VIII, No. 51) व्ह was formerly read फ.

3 See *supra*, No. 19. He possibly ruled over the region extending from the Jaxartes to the borders of the Indus region.

4 On some coins the head resembles very closely that of Augustus in his later years (circa 12 A.D.). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

5 Note the peculiar character ϐ indicating *sh* and the letter U for Y.

6 I.e., "[coin] of Kozoula-Kadphises, the Kushāna." Some coins have the Greek inscription:—

KO ϐANCY ZAOOY KOZAA KA ΔAφEΞ (= *Khoshansu Zaoou Kozola Kadaphes*) and the Kharoshthī inscription:—खुषनस यउअस कुयुल-कप्सस सचध्रमठितस (=कुषाणस्य

Second side

Herakles standing, facing; right hand resting on club, lion-skin over left arm; inscription in Kharoshthi characters:—

[कुजुल-कस]स कुषण-यवुगस [धर्मस्थितस]

(=कुजुल-कसस्य कुषाण-यवुगस्य धर्मस्थितस्य ॥)

No. 31—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Wema Kadphises II¹ (c. 55-75 A. D.)

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 68

*First side*²

Upper part of king diademed to right, emerging from clouds, without the usual cap or helmet; flames arising from his shoul-

यवुगस्य कुजुल-कसस्य सत्यधर्मस्थितस्य). See Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 66, No. 6. According to Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, 1892, p. 66) the full Kharoshthi legends on some coins are:—

- (a) महरयस रयरयस देवपुत्रस कुयुल-कर-कसस (महाराजस्य राजराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुजुल-कर-कसस्य);
- (b) कुयुल-कर-कसस महरयस रयतिरयस (=कुजुल-कर-कसस्य महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य);
- (c) महरजस महतस कुषण-कुयुल-कसस (=महाराजस्य महतः कुषाण-कुजुल-कसस्य);
- (d) महरजस रजतिरजस कुयुल-कसस (=महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य कुजुल-कसस्य).

The title देव-पुत्र is of Chinese origin. Kujula Kara Kadphises is however usually supposed to be different from Kujula Kadphises I.

1 He was the successor of Kujula-Kadphises I and extended his dominions over a large portion of Northern India.

2 From representation in Smith's Catalogue, Plate XI, No. 5.

3 On some copper coins we have: king diademed, wearing high cap and long coat, standing to left, with right hand over altar; trident with battle-axe to left in left field; monogram in right field.

ders; club in the right and elephant-goad in the left hand; monogram behind the head; inscription¹ in Greek characters :—

BACIAEYC OOHMO KAΔΦICHC (= *basilēus Ooemo Kadphises*),

Second Side.

Two-armed Siva, facing, head to left, with hair in spiral top-knot, and a skin² over left arm; grasping combined trident and battle-axe in right hand; monograms to right and to left; inscription³ in Kharoshthī characters :—

[महरजस*] [रज]दिरजस सर्वलोग-इश्वरस महिश्वरस त्रिम-कथिफशस⁴ [व्रतरस*]
(=महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य सर्वलोकेश्वरस्य माहेश्वरस्य [यद्वा, महीश्वरस्य] त्रिम-
कथिफशस्य तातुः ॥)

1 On some copper coins the Greek legend is OOHMO KA ΔΦICHC BACIAEYC BACIAEΩN CωTHP MEΓAC (= *Ooemo Kadphises Basileus Basileōn Soter Mēgas*). Note the developped form of the Greek letters. He seems to be the ruler referred to in the so-called *Soter Megas* coins. They were issued possibly by one or more kings who contended for sovereignty during the troubled period following Wema's death. The ins. means "[Coin] of king Ooema Kadphises."

2 Cf. Siva's name कृत्तिवास.

3 On some copper coins we have :—Siva two-armed, standing, facing, in front of bull standing to right; holding trident in right hand.

4 The subscript *r* is used to modify the pronunciation of व

No. 32—Panjtār Stone Inscription of a Kushāṇa King¹. —Year 122 (=A.D. 65?.)

PANJTĀR (74°31' E, 3414' N), below the Mahābān Range.

CUNNINGHAM, *J.A.S.B.*, XXIII, 1854, p. 705, Pl. 4; *ib.*, XXXII, 1863, pp. 141, 145, 150; *A.S.I.*, V, p. 616f., Pl. XVI, 4; SENART, *J.A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 130, no. i; IX, XIII, 1899, p. 535; BÜHLER, *Academy*, 1896, no. 1252, p. 368; *W.Z.K.M.*, X, p. 173; R. D. BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXVII, 1908, pp. 31, 44; FLEET, *J.R.A.S.* 1913, p. 1010 f; 1914, p. 372; p. 1002f; STAEL HOLSTEIN, *ib.*; 1914, pp. 81n, 758f.; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *List*, No 47; KONOW, *S.B.A.W.*, 1916, p. 802f.; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV., p. 134; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 70.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT²

- 1 सं १(×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) १(+*) १ श्रवणस मसस दि प्रढमे
१ महरयस गुषणस रज[मि]
2 स्पसुअस³ प्रच-[देशोः]*⁴ मोइके उरुमुज-पुत्रे करविदे शिवथले तल दे मे⁵
3 दनमि तरक १(+*) १ [१]* पचकरे ए(रो?)व अमत⁶ शिवथल रम * * म*.

1 We may identify this king with Kadphises II who is known to have extended his arms in the interior of India. The non-mention of the king's name indicates that the record was engraved soon after the Kushāṇa conquest, when the people were not yet familiar with their new king's name.

2 From Cunningham's eye-copy in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The original stone is missing, and the reading especially of line 3 is doubtful.

3 The first *akshara* may also be read as स्पे, क or के.

4 The eye-copy suggests the restoration.

5 Cunningham : खल दे मे; Konow च मे.

6 Cunningham : हमुख.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे द्वाविंशत्यधिक शततमे] १२२ श्रावणस्य मासस्य दि[वसे] प्रथमे १, महाराजस्य
कुषाणस्य राज्ये + स्वसुवस्य प्राच्यदेशः (=पूर्वभागः) मोयिकेन उरुमुज-पुत्रेण कारितः
शिवस्थलं (=शिवमन्दिर-युक्तं क्षेत्रम्?) । तत्र द्वौ मे (=मोयिकस्य?) दाने (=प्रदत्त-
वस्तुमध्ये) तरुकौ (=वृक्षौ) २ [स्तः] । पुण्यकरं नवम् अमृतं (=चिरस्थितिकं)
शिवस्थलम्.....

No. 33—Kalawān Copper-plate Inscription

—Year 134 (=A.D. 77?)

KALAWAN, near Sirkap (Taxila), Rawalpindi Dist., Panjab.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 259.

Language: Prakrit

Script: Kharoshthi

TEXT¹

1 संवत्सरये १ (X*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) ४ अजस¹ श्रावणस्य मासस्य
दिवसे त्वेविशे २० (+*) १ (+*) १ (+*) १ इमेण लुण्णेण चंद्रमि उअसिअ

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

2 See *infra*, No. 34. According to Marshall, the expression अजस or अयस means "of the era of Azes." Fleet pointed out the absence of royal titles and rejected the theory. Konow at first proposed to take it as an equivalent of Sanskrit आद्यस्य, "of the first (Śrāvaṇa)," there having been two in the year including the intercalary one. He also showed that it cannot stand for आर्यस्य in the language of the Kharoshthi inscriptions. He now wants to explain अयस as meaning "of Azes," i.e. in the year so-and-so, Azes style (i.e. of the era used by Azes). The suggestion is not convincing. The reading सक १६१ in the Taxila silver vase inscription (*infra*, No. 36) to which Konow refers is problematical, and I do not think अयस is satisfactorily explained even if we accept the

- 2 धर्मस ग्रहवतिस धित भद्रवलस भय छ[?]डशिलए शरिर प्रइस्तवेति गहथू-
 3 वमि सध भद्रुण नंदिवढणेण ग्रहवतिण सध पुत्तेहि शमेण सइतेण च ।धतुण च
 4 ध्रमए सध षण्णएहि रजए इद्रए य³ सध जिवणंदिण शमपुत्तेण अयरिएण य⁴
 स[वै]स्ति-
 5 वअण परिग्रहे रठ-णिकमो पुयइत सर्व-स्वत्वण⁵ पुयए [।*] णिवणस प्रतिअए
 होतु [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरके [चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३४ अयस्य [Azes] श्रावणस्य मासस्य दिवसे
 त्रयोविंशे २३—अनेन क्षणेन चंद्राभी [इति] उपासिका, धर्मस्य गृहपतेः दुहिता, भद्रपालस्य
 भार्या, छत्रशिलके शरीरं (=भगवतः बुद्धस्य देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति गृहस्तूपे⁶-सार्द्धं
 भ्रात्रा नन्दिवर्धनेन गृहपतिना, सार्द्धं पुत्राभ्यां शमेन सजितेन च, दुहिता च धर्मया, सार्द्धं
 स्नुषाभ्यां लज्जया इन्द्रया च, सार्द्धं जीवनन्दिना शम-पुत्रेण आचार्याणां च सर्वास्तिवादानां
 (=वादिनां) परिग्रहे, राष्ट्रनिगमौ (=जनपदं नगरं च) पूजयित्वा, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै । निर्वाणस्य
 प्रत्याये (=लाभाय) भवतु ॥

reading. The original of No. 36 has no trace of any letter before क, though the photograph shows another क before it. For another date क ४००, see Majumdar, *Guide*, II, p. 92. क seems to stand for कले = काले. The style, e.g., of the Taxila copper plate of Patika which reads संवत्सरए अठसत्तमिए ७८ महूरयस महंतस मोगस पनेमस मसस दिवसे पंचमे would prove that अयस also refers to a king, but he is not called a महूरय and महंत. Raychaudhuri seems to be right in comparing these dates with the *atīta-rājya* years of Govindapāla and Lakshmanasena. Azes II lost the region to foreigners who were as yet not wellknown to or favoured by the public. Cf. the Belkhārā inscription, and *supra*, No. 32. The founder of this Skytho-Parthian era is not known; but I do not think it possible to connect its origin with Azes on the strength of the word अजस or अयस.

3 Read च

4 Read अयरिअण च.

5 The Sanskrit word is सत्त्व or सत्व ।

6 I. e., "in the *Stūpa* (a conical or bell-shaped shrine containing a relic) in her house."



Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI).

Kalawān C. P. Inscription (Bk. II, No 33).



No. 34—Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription of a Kushāna King—Year 136 (=A. D. 79 ?)

TAXILA, Rāwalpīṇḍī Dist., N. W. F. P.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.* XIV, p. 295 ; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 77

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Kharoshthī.

TEXT¹

- 1 स १(×*)१०० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) ४ (+*) १ (+*) १ अयस अषडस
मसस दिवसे १० (+*) ४ (+*) १ इश दिवसे प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धनु[ओ] उर[स]-
- 2 केण इंतव्हिअ-पुत्तण² बहलिण³ णोअचए णगरे वस्तवेण [।*] तेण इमे
प्रदिस्तवित भगवतो धनुओ धमर-
- 3 इए⁴ तक्षि(ल*)ए तणुवए बोसिसत्व-गहमि⁵ महरजस रजतिरजस देवपुत्तस
खुषणस अरोग-दक्षिणए
- 4 सर्व-बुधण पुयए प्रचग-बुधण⁶ पुयए अरह(त*)ण पुयए सर्व-स(त्व*)ण पुयए
मत पितु पुयए मितमच-जति-स-
- 5 लोहि(त*)ण पुयए अत्वणो अरोग-दक्षिणए णि[व]णए [।*] होतु अ[य]दे
सम-परिचगो [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे षट्त्रिंशदधिकशततमे] १३६ अयस्य [Azes] आषाढस्य मासस्य दिवसे
[पञ्चदशे] १५—अस्मिन् दिवसे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः (= देहावशेषाः) औरशकेन

1 From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For references, *ib.*, p. 70f. See *supra* No. 33.
The King may have been an issuer of the *Soter Megas* coins (p. 125, n. 1)

2 May be लोतव्हिय०.

3 Some take Urasaka as a proper name and Bahalia as belonging to Balkh.

4 Dharmarāja is an epithet of Buddha. A Dharmarājikā seems to be a Stūpa with Buddha's relics.

5 Bodhisattva is one who is destined to be a Buddha in future. Gautama was a Bodhisattva in his previous births and also before his enlightenment.

6 Read ब्रचेग० See *supra*, p. 71, n. 5; p. 121, n. 1

(=उरशा-देशीयेन) इन्तप्रिय-पुत्रेण (यद्वा, °पुत्राणां=तत्स्थानजातानां [केनचित्]) बाहलिकेन नवाचले (?) नगरे वास्तव्येन । तेन इमे प्रतिष्ठापिताः भगवतः धातवः धार्मराजिके (=धर्म-राजिका-स्तूपे) तत्तशिलके (यद्वा, °शिलायां)[†] तनुवके (=स्वकीये) बोधिसत्त्व-गृहे—महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कुषाणस्य आरोग्यदक्षिणायै (=आरोग्य-दानप्राप्तये), सर्वबुद्धानां पूजायै, प्रत्येकबुद्धानां पूजायै, अर्हतां पूजायै, सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै, मातापितोः पूजायै, मित्रामात्य- (=°स्वगृहवासि° ; यद्वा, प्रतिवेशि°) ज्ञाति-सलोहितानां (=°रक्तसम्बन्ध-युक्तानां) पूजायै, आत्मनः आरोग्यदक्षिणायै निर्वाणाय [च] । भवतु आयातः सम्यक्-परित्यागः ।

No. 35—Khalatse Stone Inscription of Uvimikastu^(?)

—Year 187 (? = A. D. 130 ?)

KHALATSE, Ladakh, Kāshmīr.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 81

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Kharoshthī.

TEXT¹

1 सं १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) + २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) ४ (+*)
[१ (+*) १ (+*) १]

1 महरजस उविमिकस्तु(वटु?)सस² [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे सप्ताशीत्यधिकशततमे] १८१ महाराजस्य उविमिकस्तुसस्य (यद्वा, उविमिकस्तोः स) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The record appears to be incomplete.

2 Konow reads उविम-कव्विसस and identifies the king with Wema Kadphises II. But his reading and interpretation are doubtful. The second *akshara* may also be read as च, रि or ति and the third as द or दे. The fifth *akshara* is doubtful. The date may be year 184. The identity of the alien king mentioned in the record cannot be settled in the present state of our knowledge.

No. 36—Taxila Silver Vase Inscription of Jihonika—Year 191 (= A. D. 134 ?)

SIRKAP (Taxila), Rāwalpiṇḍī Dist., Panjāb.

STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 82

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Kharoshthī.

TEXT¹

1 क² १ (×*) १०० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*)
१ महरज* * * * स³ पुत्स जिहोणिकस चुख्सस क्षत्तपस [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

का[ले] (=संवत्सरे) एकनवत्यधिकशततमे] १६१ महाराजस्य [मणिगुलस्य ?] पुत्स्य
जिहोणिकस्य चुख्सस्य (=चुखसाख्य-प्रदेशस्य)⁴ क्षत्तपम्य (=राजाधीन-प्रदेशशासकस्य) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

2 क appears to have the same value as सं. It may, as formerly suggested by Konow, be an abbreviation of कले=Sanskrit काले, "in the year." I do not think we can restore सक (=शक). See *supra*, p. 127, n. 2.

3 Konow restores महरज-भ्रत-मणिगुलस. Jihonika has been identified with the Satrap Zeionises of the coins, who was son of the Satrap Manigala and is supposed to have been a contemporary of Azes II. This Jihonika was apparently the son of a Mahārāja and may have been the grandson of Zeionises.

4 See *supra*, No. 27. Chukhsa is identified with the Plain of Chach near Taxila.

(ii)—INSCRIPTIONS DATED IN KANISHKA'S RECKON-
ING AND CONNECTED RECORDS

Nos. 37-39—Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscrip-
tions of Kanishka I (c. 78-102 A.D.)

Year 3 (= A. D. 81 ?).¹

SĀRNĀTH, near Benares, U.P.

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 173ff.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

No. 1

TEXT²

- 1 महारजस्य कणिष्कस्य सं ३ हे ३ दि २० (+ *)२
- 2 एताये पूर्वये भिन्नुस्य पुष्यबुद्धिस्य सद्धयेवि-
- 3 हारिस्य भिन्नुस्य बलस्य लेपिटकस्य
- 4 बोधिसत्वो छत्रयष्टि [च] प्रतिष्ठापितो
- 5 वाराणसिये भगवतो च[]कमे सहा मात[]*
- 6 पितिहि सहा उपद्धयायाचर्येहि⁴ सद्धयेविहारि-
- 7 हि अंतेवासिकेहि च सहा बुद्धमितये लेपिटिक-
- 8 ये सहा क्षत्रपेण⁵ वनस्परेन खरपल्ला-

1 Kanishka I was the founder of an era, that is to say, his regnal year was continued by his successors for some reason (e. g., assumption of power by the successor during the life time of the predecessor owing to the latter's prolonged illness, infirmity due to old age, etc.). This era seems to be the other early Indian era (beg. 78 A.D.), known as Śaka owing to its constant use by the west Indian Śakas. Traditions assigning Kanishka to the 2nd century A.D. probably refer to Kanishka II of the Ara inscription. Kanishka I's dates range between years 1 and 23.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

3 Vogel: उपद्धयायाचरेहि.

4 Actually however Vanaspara was the Kshatrpa and Kharapallāna the Mahākshatrpa (*supra*, p. 112, n. 2). They were ruling over the easternmost province (including the Benares region) of Kanishka's empire.

- 9 नेन च सहा च च[तु]हि परिषाहि सर्वसत्त्वनं
10 हितसुखार्थं [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य [राज्य]-संवत्सरे [तृतीये] ३ हेमन्त-[मासे तृतीये] ३ (=पूर्णिमा-
न्तमाघे) दिवसे [द्वाविंशे] २२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां (= तिथौ पूर्वोक्तदिवसस्य)¹ भिक्षोः पुण्यवृद्धेः
सार्द्धविहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य । Pāli सद्धि०) भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य (=त्रिपिटकविदः)
बोधिसत्त्वः (=बोधिसत्त्वस्य विग्रहः) छत्रयष्टिः च [शिलामयौ] प्रतिष्ठापितौ वाराणस्यां भगवतः
चङ्क्रमे (=गन्धकूटीविहारालिन्दे)—सह मातापितृभ्यां, सह उपाध्यायाचार्यैः सार्द्ध-विहारिभिः
अन्तेवासिकैः (=शिष्यैः) च, सह बुद्धमितया त्रैपिटक्या, सह क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण खरपल्लानेन
च, सह च चतसृभिः परिषद्भिः²—सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् ॥

No. 2

TEXT³

- 1 भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वो प्रतिष्ठापितो ।³
2 महाक्षत्रपेन खरपल्लानेन सहा क्षत्रपेन वनस्परेण ॥⁴

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः प्रतिष्ठापितः महाक्षत्रपेण खरपल्लानेन, सह
क्षत्रपेण वनस्परेण ॥

No. 3

TEXT⁵

- 1 महाराजस्य क[णिष्कस्य] सं ३ हे ३ दि २०(+*) [२*]
2 एतये पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य बलस्य त्रैपिट[कस्य*]
3 बोधिसत्त्वो छत्रयष्टि[च] [प्रतिष्ठापितो ।*]⁶

1 Expressions like एतस्यां पूर्वायां, एतस्य पूर्वायां, एतस्यां दिवसपूर्वायां, etc. suggest that पूर्वा was used in the sense of तिथि, क्षण or घटिका.

2 The four classes of Buddhists are Bhikshu, Bhikshuṇī, Upāsaka and Upāsikā.

3 A short slanting stroke is visible after त्रै. Vogel thinks that one or two letters are lost here. It is possible that the sign actually signifies half-stop.

4 Two short slanting strokes are found below न. They probably indicate full-stop.

5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

6 This word is lost with the exception of the medial *i* of ति.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] ३ (=तृतीये) हे ३ (=हेमन्तर्तोः मासे तृतीये)
दि २२ (=दिवसे द्वाविंशे)—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भिक्षोः बलस्य त्रैपिटकस्य बोधिसत्त्वः
छत्रयष्टिः च प्रतिष्ठापितौ ॥

No. 40—British Museum Stone Inscription of Kanishka I— Year 10 (=A. D. 88 ?).

H. LÜDERS, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 240

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्ध ['] [॥*] महाराजस्य देव[पुत्रस्य]
- 2 काणिष्कस्य² सवत्सरे [१०]³
- 3 अि २ दि ६ एतये पूर्वये]
- 4 उत्तरायं न[व]मिकायं [हा]-⁴
- 5 [म्य]न्दत [॥*] प्रियतां⁵ देवि ग्राम[स्य] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे [दशमे] १० ग्री[ष्म-मासे द्वितीये] २
(=पूर्णिमान्तवैशाखे) दि[वसे नवमे] ६ एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] उत्तरायां नवमिकायां
(=उत्तरनवमिकाग्रामे ; यद्वा, नवमिकाग्रामस्य उत्तरांशे) हर्म्यं दत्तम् । प्रियतां देवी ग्रामस्य ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, IX.

2 The अनुस्वार should have been engraved on the following *akshara*.

3 There seems to be no space for another figure after 10.

4 The reading हार्म्य is not beyond doubt.

5 The अनुस्वार above अि should have been on the preceding *akshara*.

6 There was no unanimity regarding the beginning of a season, as the two *Paurṇamāsīs* that follow those referred to above, p. 63, were also recognised by some as *Chāturmāsīs*. It must however be noticed that the universal custom of the Buddhists was to observe *Varshā* from the day following the *Ashāḍhī Pūrṇimā* up to the *Kārttikī Pūrṇimā* (Childers, *op. cit.*, s.v. *vasso, vassūpanāyikā*).

No. 41—Sui Vihār Copper-plate Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 11 (=A. D. 89 ?)

SUI VIHAR, a ruined *Stūpa*, near Bahāwalpur

DOWSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1869, p. 477f ; BAYLEY, *ibid*, 1870, p. 65 ; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 324ff ; Bhagawānlāl INDRAJĪ, *ibid*, XI, p. 124f ; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Sir Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume*, III, i (1922), p. 459ff ; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 141

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Kharoshthī.

TEXT¹

- 1 महरजस्य रजतिरजस्य देवपुत्रस्य क[निष्कस्य] संव[त्स]रे एकदशे सं १० (+*)^१
दइसिंकस्य^२ मस[स्य] दिवसे^३ अठविशे दि २०^४ (+*) ४ (+*)^४
- 2 [अद्य]त^५ दिवसे भिन्नुस्य नगदत्तस्य ध[र्म]-कथिस्य^६ अचर्य-दमत्त-शिष्यस्य
अचर्य-भवे-प्रशिष्यस्य^७ यठि^८ अरोपयत् इह द[म]ने

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i.

2 Read दइसिंकस्य as the name of the month is Daisios. Daisios roughly corresponds to the Indian Jyāishṭha.

3 Read दिवसे

4 The figure for 20 is clear. The reading 10 in *C. I. I.* is possibly a misprint.

5 This word was read अत्ते by Bayley, अन्त by Dowson, अत्त by Indrajī, व्यत्त by Hoernle and Majumdar, and उत्त by Bühler (*ZDMG.*, XLIII, p. 133) and Johansson, (*Actes du huitième Congrès des Orientalistes*, III, ii, p. 128, n.1). Read अत्त

6 मे looks like ख

7 Read भव.

8 The word indicates monumental pillars which are even now called *lāṭh*. Majumdar suggests that there is reference to a relic of Nāgadatta, i e. the pillar contained the corporeal relics of Nāgadatta. Konow suggests यष्टिम् आरोपयत्:

- 3 विहरस्वमिणि¹ उपसिक [ब]लनंदि-[कु]टिंबिनि बलजय-मत च इमं यठि-प्रतिठनं
 ठप[इ]चं अनु परिवरं ददरिं²[।*] सर्व-सत्वनं
 4 हित-सुखय भवतु [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकादशे सं ११ दैसिकस्य
 (=दैसिकाख्यस्य । Makedonian : Daisios) मासस्य दिवसे अष्टाविंशे³दि २८—अत दिवसे
 भिक्षोः नागदत्तस्य धर्मकथिनः (=धर्मतत्त्वव्याख्यातुः) आचार्य्य-दमतात-शिष्यस्य आचार्य्य-
 भव-प्रशिष्यस्य यष्टिम् आरोपयति इह दमने विहारस्वामिनी [इति] उपासिका—बलनन्दि-कुटु-
 म्बिनी (=०भार्या), बलजय-माता च इदं यष्टि-प्रतिष्ठानं स्थापयित्वा (=विहाय⁵=यष्टिपीठात्
 अधिकं)अनु (=तदनु=साम्प्रतं) परिवारं (=प्राकारं) ददाति । सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखाय भवतु ॥

No. 42—Zeda Inscription of Kanishka I

—Year 11 (=A. D. 89?).

Zeda, near Uṇḍ, Panjāb.

CUNNINGHAM *A. S. I.*, 1875, p. 57f.; SENART, *J. A.*, VIII, xv, 1890, p. 135ff.; BOYER, *ibid.*, X,iii, 1904, p. 466ff., E. THOMAS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1877, p. 9, n. 1; BÜHLER, *ibid.*, 1894, p. 535; BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, pp. 46, 72; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 1 ff.; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 145.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Kharoshthī.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सं १० (+*)^१ अषडस मसस दि २० उतर-फगुणे^५ इशे जुणमि

1 Read स्वमिनि.

2 Read ददति

3 Or, यष्टिपीठं कारयित्वा, if we have आरोपयतः in l. 2

4 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. The stone is rough and damaged; the reading and interpretation of ll. 2-3 therefore are uncertain in many places.

5 In Āshāḍha, the *Nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī falls on the 5th-8th days of the Śukla paksha. The month therefore seems to have been Pūrṇimānta. See *supra*, No. 28.

- 2 खदे(रो?)¹ कुए [वेरो]डस² मर्मकस³ कणिष्कस रजमि [तोय]द⁴ च भुइ दणमुख
हिपेअधिअस⁵ स[र्वस्ति]वदतिवधस पु[ज?]ने लिअक-
- 3 स ज[त्त?]पस⁶ उप[क]चअ म[हु] [।*] कत दण अनुग्र[हेण] [बुध]स⁷ संधमित-
रजस [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

सं[वत्सरे एकादशे] ११ आषाढस्य मासस्य दि[वसे विंशे] २० ⁺उत्तरफल्गुने (=उत्तर-
फल्गुन्यां नक्षत्रे)—अस्मिन् क्षणे खातः कूपः वेरोडस्य मर्मकस्य, कणिष्कस्य राज्ये । तोयदा
(=प्रपा ?) च भूयः दानमुखं (=दानवरं =दानं) हिपेयधियस्य सर्वास्तिवादातिवर्धाय
(=वृद्धये)—पूजने (=पूजायै) लियकस्य क्षलपस्य, उपकृत्यायाः (=तदाख्यायाः) [दातुः] मातुः
[च] । कृतं दानम् अनुग्रहेण वृद्धस्य (=वौद्धस्थवियस्य ?) सङ्घमितराजस्य ॥

1 Cunningham read चनं उस्फ, Senart भनं उक, Boyer खनं उस्फ, Lüders खरो
कुए ; खदे कुए is Konow's reading corresponding to Sanskrit खातः कूपः .

2 Cunningham read खरडस, Senart * चस, Boyer मु*चस, Lüders वेर(रो?)-
डस, and Majumdar वेमडस. Konow reads मुरोड and connects it with Saka मुरुण्ड,
“master”, “lord”.

3 Cunningham read मर्डकस and Boyer and Lüders मर्डकस. Konow takes मर्मक
to be an older form of the Khotani-Saka word *malysaki*, i.e. *malzaki* which is
possibly equivalent to गृहपति.

4 Cunningham read the passage धर्य ददभस इदमुखस्तपे अ दे अस ...,
Senart...ददभइ द[न]मुख* [पे अधिअ]स [दअदअस] ति[ध]..., Boyer :
तोयदलभइ दनमुख सपेअधिअ ससशुपे सति बुधे. Konow translates, “and moreover a
water-giver, the gift of Hiپea Dhia for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda.”

5 Konow finds in it a Greek name like Hippeos, Hippias.

6 Boyer: क्षलपस ; Senart: क्षहरस.

7 Boyer read पुनर्वधसे सधमितस दन, “gift of Samghamitra, in order to in-
crease his merit”.

No. 43—Mānikiala Stone Inscription of Kanishka I—Year 18 (=A.D. 96?).

MĀNIKĪĀLA, Rāwalpiṇḍī Dist., Panjāb.

PRINSEP, *J.A.S.B.*, 1834, p. 557 f. ; CUNNINGHAM, *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 129; *J. A. S. B.*, 1854, p. 703 ff.; *A. S. I.*, ii, 1871, p. 161 ff.; DOWSON, *J.R.A.S.*, 1863, p. 250ff., SENART, *J.A.*, IX., vii, 1896, p. 1 ff.; LÜDERS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 645 ff.; PARGITER, *ibid*, 1914, p. 641 ff.; BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 46 f.; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 373 f.; 1003f.; STAËL-HOLSTEIN, *ibid*, pp. 757, 759, N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1928, p. 67; STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 149f.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

A:1 सं १०(+*)४(+*)४ (B: कर्तियस मस(स*) दिवसे २०)² [एत] पुर्वे

महरजस कणे-

2 ष्क[स्य] गुषण-वश-संवर्धक लल

3 दड-णायगो वेशपशिस ललपस

4 होरमु[तौ]³ स तस अपनगे⁴ विहरे

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i. Lines 1-6 form the main part of the record ; ll. 7-9 are at the left ; l. 10 is at the upper left corner ; l. 11 is above the main part ; and l. 12 at the right above B.

2 This portion is engraved in the second line on the right side of the record. Konow: मस्के ; Pargiter: मज

3 Staël-Holstein read गुषाण or गुषाणु (which he explained as the gen. plu. of गुषि) corresponding to कोषाणो (i. e. कुशानु) on the coin legends of Kanishka and his successors.

4 According to Lüders होरमुतौ is a Skythian word corresponding to Sanskrit दानपति. Cf. "an incarnate image of Ahura" (Senart); "attached to horūs or muhūrtas" (Pargiter).

5 Senart took अपनग to represent अल्प-नाग, i. e. "in the विहार of the small नाग." Pargiter took it to be आपणके, "in the market place."

- 5 होरमुर्तो एत्र राण भगव-बुद्ध-भुव¹
 6 [प्र]तिस्तवयति सह तए[न]² वेशपशिण्ण खुदेचिए[न]³
 C:7 बुरितेण च विहरकर[व्ह]एण
 8 संवेण च परिवरेण सध [।*] एतेन कु-
 9 शलमूलेन बुधेहि च ष[व]एहि⁴ [च]
 D:10 समं सद भवतु
 E:11 भ्रतर स्वरबुधिस अग्रप[डि]अशए
 F:12 सध बुधिलेन नवकर्मिणेण [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे अष्टादशे] १८ कार्तिकस्य मासस्य दिवसे [विंशे] २० । अत्र पूर्व्यायां [तिथौ]
 महाराजस्य कणिष्कस्य [राज्ये ?] कुषाण-वंश-संबर्धकः ललः दण्डनायकः, [यः] वेशपसेः
 क्षत्रपस्य ⁺होरमुर्तः (=दानपतिः)—सः तस्य आत्मके (=आत्मीये) विहारे होरमूर्तः—अत्र
 नाना भगवद्-बुद्ध-स्तूपान् प्रतिष्ठापयति. सह तयेण—वेशपशिकेन खुदेचियेन (=खुदेचि-
 वासिना?), बुरितेन च विहारकारकेण, साम्बेन च —परिवारेण सार्द्धम् । एतेन कुशलमूलेन
 (=स्तूपरूपेण सत्कार्येण [जातं पुण्यं]) बुद्धैः च श्रावकैः च समं (=सह) सदा भवतु भ्रातुः
 स्वरबुद्धेः अग्रप्रत्यंशाय (=मुख्यभागाय)—सार्द्धं बुद्धिलेन नवकर्मिकेण (=निर्माण-
 संस्कारादि-कार्यनियुक्तेन) ॥

- 1 Read : शुव. Lüders ठुव ; Pargiter : जव ; Konow : भुव (relics?)
 2 Pargiter : तएन=तेन ; Senart : तएन=तयेण.
 3 Senart : खुडचिएन ; Lüders : खुजचिएन ; Pargiter : खुदेगिटएन
 4 Senart read स्पवस्पहि, Pargiter स्पण्डकहि and Majumdar अठकहि. Lüders
 takes षवकहि to represent Sanskrit श्रावकैः.

5 Senart read सच सद, Pargiter सवसन and Lüders सद्धसन.

6 The first part of this name and of Piśpasi in *supra*, No. 24, seems to correspond to Sanskrit विश्व.

No. 44—Set-Mahet Stone Umbrella Staff Inscription of Kanishka I

SET(OR SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Gonḍa and Bahraich Districts, U. P.

I. BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 291

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī.

TEXT¹

- 1 [म][हाराजस्य*]²[दे*]-
- 2 [वपु][लस्य*] [कणिकस्य?] [सं.....दि...]
- 3 [भिक्षुस्य*...³][सद्धये*][ि][व]हा[ि]र-
- 4 [स्य] [भिक्षुस्य*] [पुस्यवुद्धिस्य*] [सद्धेयविहारि*]-
- 5 स्य [भिक्षुस्य*] [बलस्य*] [लेपिट]कस्य
- 6 दानं बोधि[स]त्त्वो छलं दण्डश्च
- 7 श्रावस्तिये [भगवतो*] [चं*]क[मे] कोसंब-
- 8 [कुटिये*] [आचार्यार्थानं]⁴ [सर्वास्ति*]वादिन[']⁵
- 9 [परिग्रहे*] [॥*]

1 From the facsimile and photograph in *Ep. Ind.*, IX. This record is practically the same as *infra*, No.45 ; cf. also *supra*, Nos. 37-39. Nos. 44-45 prove that Śrāvasti stood on the site of modern Sahet-Mahet.

2 As a line of the record appears to contain about 12 aksharas, I think it possible that there was the word राजातिराजस्य between महाराजस्य and दे in line 1.

3 The conjecture of the name of another Bhikshu in l. 3, would give an approximately equal number of *aksharas* in all the lines.

4 Only the ā-sign and the super-script *r* of र्या are visible.

5 Only the superscript *s* and the *i*-sign of स्ति are visible.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे.....दिवसे १६] भिक्षोः
.....सार्द्धविहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः पुष्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धविहारिणः भिक्षोः बलस्य
लैपिटकस्य दानं बोधिसत्त्वः छलं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्याम्
(=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे) आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे ॥

No. 45—Set-Mahet Buddhist Image Inscription of Kaṇishka I (?)

SET (SAHET)-MAHET, on the borders of Goṇḍa and Bahraich Districts, U. P.

BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 180f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT

- 1 [महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य(?) सं * * * * दि]² १० (+*)^६ एतये
पुर्वये भिक्षुस्य पुष्य[वृ*]-
- 2 [द्विस्य*]^३ सद्धेयविहारिस्य^४ भिक्षुस्य ब[ल]स्य लेपिकटस्य दान[] [बो]धिसत्त्वो छालं
दण्डश्च शावस्तिये भगवतो चंकमे
- 3 ^५कोसंबकुटिये [अचार्या]णां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे ॥*

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

[महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य कणिष्कस्य संवत्सरे.....दिवसे ऊनविंशे] १६—एतस्यां पूर्वायां
[तिथौ] भिक्षोः पुष्यवृद्धेः सार्द्धविहारिणः (=सतीर्थस्य) भिक्षोः बलस्य लैपिटकस्य दानं
बोधिसत्त्वः छलं दण्डः च श्रावस्त्यां भगवतः चङ्क्रमे कौशाम्बकुट्याम् (=कौशाम्बकुटीविहारा-
लिन्दे) आचार्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (=ग्रहाय) ॥

- 1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII
- 2 Only traces of the lower parts of these letters remain.
- 3 The name can be confidently restored with the help of the Sarnāth image inscriptions (Nos. 37-39).
- 4 The literary Pāli form of the word is सद्धिविहारी
- 5 This line begins from below the *akshara* नं of the word दानं in the preceding line.

No. 47—Kurram Copper Casket Inscription —(Śaka?) Year 21 (=A.D. 99?)

KURRAM, near Peshāwar, N. W. F. P.

V. Natesa Aiyar and F. W. Thomas, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 15ff ;
STEN KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 155

Language : Prakrit

Script : Kharoshthī

TEXT¹

- 1 (A) [सं२० (+*)]१ मस]स² अवहुनकस³ दि २० इ[शे] लुनंमि (B)श्वेड्वर्म⁴
यश-पुल्ल ततु[व]कंमि रंअंमि (C) [नवविह*]रंमि अचर्यन सर्वस्तिवदन परि-(D)
[ग्रहं]मि थुवंमि भग्रवतस शक्यमुनिस
- 2 (A) शरिर प्रदिठवेदि [।*] यथ⁵ वुत भग्रवद (B) अविज-प्रचग्र संकरं संकर-प्रचग्र
विजन (C) [वि]जन-प्रचग्र नम-रुव नमरुव-प्रचग्र षडू[य]- (D) [दन] षडूयदन-प्रचग्र
फष पष-प्रचग्र
- 3 (A) वेदन वेदन-प्रचग्र तष्ण⁶ तष्ण-प्रचग्र उवदन (B) उवदन-प्रचग्र भव भव-प्रचग्र
जदि जदि-प्रचग्र (C) जर-मर[न]-शोय⁷-परिदेव-दुख-दोर्मनस्त-उपग्रस [।*] (D)
[एवं] [अस] केवलस दुख-कंधस संमुदए भवदि [।*]

we have representations of the fire-god AΘΠO (=Athsho, modern Persian Atash), the moon-god MAO (=Mao), the sun-god MIIPO (Miuro), MIYPO (Miuro) or MIOPO (Miuro), Neo-Sans. *Mihira*, the mother-goddess NANA (*Nana*), NANAIA (*Nanaia*) or NANAΠAO (*Nanashao*), the war-god OPAATNO (=Orlagno, i. e. Bahram), the fire-god φAPPO (*Pharro*, Persian *Farr*); the sun-god HAIOΣ (*Elios*), the wind-god OAΔO (*oado*, i. e. Vado, Sanskrit वात), etc.

1 From the Facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II. i.

2 Originally सं २० मसस was engraved.

3 Makedonian Audunaiois roughly corresponds to the Indian Pausha.

4 Thomas : त्शुलवर्मयशपुल्लस नवकंमिअस संघ

5 Thomas : यठ उत्तं

6 Cf. प्णाय in No. 33, l. 4.

7 Thomas : शोय

8 Thomas : दोमनवि(सि) उवेग संभवति

- 4 (D) सर्व-सत्वन पुयए अय च प्रतिच-संमुपते (A) लिखिद महिफतिएन सर्वसत्वन पुयए [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकविंशे] २१ मासस्य अवदुनकस्य (=अवदुनकाख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य । Audunaio) दि[वसे विंशे] २०—अस्मिन् क्षणे श्वेतवर्मा यशः-पुत्रः ⁺तनुवके (=स्वकीये) रम्ये नवविहारे आचार्य्याणां सर्वास्तिवादिनां परिग्रहे (=ग्रहाय) स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं प्रतिष्ठापयति । यथा उक्तं भगवता—अविद्या-प्रत्ययात् (=कारणात्) संस्काराः, संस्कारप्रत्ययात् विज्ञानम्, विज्ञान-प्रत्ययात् नाम-रूपे, नाम-रूप-प्रत्ययात् षडायतनानि, षडायतनप्रत्ययात् स्पर्शः, स्पर्श-प्रत्ययात् वेदना, वेदनाप्रत्ययात् तृष्णा (=तर्षः), तृष्णाप्रत्ययात् उपादानम्, उपादान-प्रत्ययात् भवः, भव-प्रत्ययात् जातिः, जाति-प्रत्ययात् जरा-मरण-शोक-परिदेव-दुःख-दौर्मनस्योपायासाः¹ । एवम् अस्य केवलस्य (=समग्रस्य) दुःख-स्कन्धस्य (=दुःख-समूहस्य) समुदयः (=उत्पत्तिः) भवति । सर्व-सत्त्वानां पूजायै अयं च प्रतीत्यसमुत्पादः [श्वेतवर्मणा लेखितः] । लिखितः [च] महीपतिकेन सर्वसत्त्वानां पूजायै ॥

No. 48—Sānchī Buddhist Image Inscription of Vāsishka—(Śaka?) Year 28 (=A.D. 106?)

SĀNCHĪ, Bhopāl State, Central India.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, II, pp. 369-70; LÜDERS, *ib.*, IX, p. 244 ; *List*, No. 161; FLEET, *J.R.A.S.*, 1903, p. 326ff; 1910, p. 1313.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 [महाराज*]स्य³ र[॥]जा[॥]तराजस्य [देव*]पुत्रस्य षा[॥]ह-वा[॥]सकस्य

1 The quotation said to be a saying of Buddha is the well known *Pratītya-samutpāda* formula possibly belonging to some canonical text. Konow translates : "in interconnection with delusion the *saṃskāras* ; with the *saṃskāras* consciousness ; with consciousness name and form ; with name and form the six organs ; with the six organs touch ; with touch sensation ; with sensation thirst ; with thirst grasping ; with grasping life ; with life birth ; with birth decay, death, lamentation, suffering, dejection, despair". Cf. *Milindapañho*, B. S. P., p. 102. Pāli अविज्ञापच्चया, etc. Here प्र stands for य ; cf. उपायासः (=नैरास्यं)

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, II.

3 Bühler : वासुस्क. He has been identified with Jushka of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* and Vajhishka of No. 51. The *Rāja*. suggests that Hushka (Huvishka), Jushka and Kanishka (II) ruled contemporaneously. Vāsishka's Isāpur ins. is dated in Year 24 (Lüders, No. 139a). षाहि=Shāh=Khshāyathiya (p. 142, n. 2).

- सं २०^१ (+*) ८ हे १ [दि ५] [ए*]तस्या[']* पुर्वा[यां*] भगव-
 २ [तो*].....स्य^२ जम्बुच्छाया-शैल[।]ग्र[स्थ?]स्य^३ धर्मदेव-विहारे प्रति[ष्ट]ापिता(तो?)
 खरस्य^४ धितर मधुरिक*^५
 ३णां देयधर्म...^६

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य षाहि-वासिष्कस्य संवत्सरे अष्टाविंशे २८ हे[मन्त-
 मासे प्रथमे] १ (=पूर्णिमान्तमार्गशीर्षे) दिवसे पञ्चमे ५—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] भगवतः
 शाक्यमुनेः जम्बुच्छायाशैलाग्रस्थस्य (यद्रा, ०शैल-गृहस्य ; यद्रा, ०शैलाग्रीयस्य) धर्मदेव-
 विहारे (=धर्मदेवस्य विहारे) प्रतिष्ठापिता खरस्य दुहिता मधुरिकया...देयधर्मः.....॥

1 The figure was originally read by Bühler as 20; but later he consulted Cunningham and read it as 70 of the looped variety. There is however no resemblance between this figure and the looped sign for 70 in the Mathurā record No. 22 (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 204) to which Bühler refers. The date is supposed by Smith and Lüders to be 68. This “५ without bar” type of 20 is found on the coins of the Western Satraps and in the Nānāghāt and Gadhā inscriptions.

2 Bühler's suggested restoration is शाक्यमुनिस्य.

3 May be शैल-गृह]स्य.

4 Bühler suggests the alternative reading वेर which is unlikely, as there is no trace of the *serif* of व.

5 Bühler reads धितरे मधुरिका.

6 Excepting these five, other *aksharas* of l. 3 cannot be read. A word like प्रतिमा is to be restored.

No. 49—Mathurā Stone Inscription of Huviṣka—(Śaka?) year 28 (=A.D. 106?)

MATHURĀ, Mathurā (Muttarā) Dist., U.P.

K. P. JAYASWAL, *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, p. 4ff.; H. K. DEB, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VIII, p. 117ff.; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 60f.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्ध [symbol]²[1*] संवत्सरे २० (+*) < गुर्पिये दिवसे १ अयं पुण्य-
- 2 शाला प्राचिनीकन सरुमान-पुत्रेण खरासले-
- 3 र- पतिन वकन-पतिना अक्षय-नीवि दिना[1] [1*] तुतो³ वृ[द्धि]-
- 4 तो मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य चतुर्दिशि पुण्य-शा[ला]-
- 5 रं ब्राह्मण-शतं परिविषितव्यं [1*] दिवसे दिवसे
- 6 च पुण्य-शालाये द्वार-मुले धारिये सायं-सङ्कना[1]⁴ आ-
- 7 ढका ३ लवण-प्रस्थो⁵ १ शक्क-प्रस्थो⁶ १ हरित-कलापक-
- 8 घटक[1]⁷ ३ मल्लक[1] ५ [1*] एतं अनाध[1]नां कृतेन द[1]तव्य
- 9 बभक्षितन पिबसितनं [1*] य चत पुण्य तं देवपुत्रस्य
- 10 पाहिस्य हुविष्कस्य [1*] येषा च देवपुत्रो प्रियः तेषामपि पुण्य
- 11 भवतु [1*] सर्वायि⁸ च पृथिवीये पुण्य भवतु [1*] अक्षय-निवि दिना

1 From the facsimile in *J.B.O.R.S.*, XVIII, 1932. See *infra* No. 56.

2 See *supra*, p. 150, n. 3

3 Read ततो.

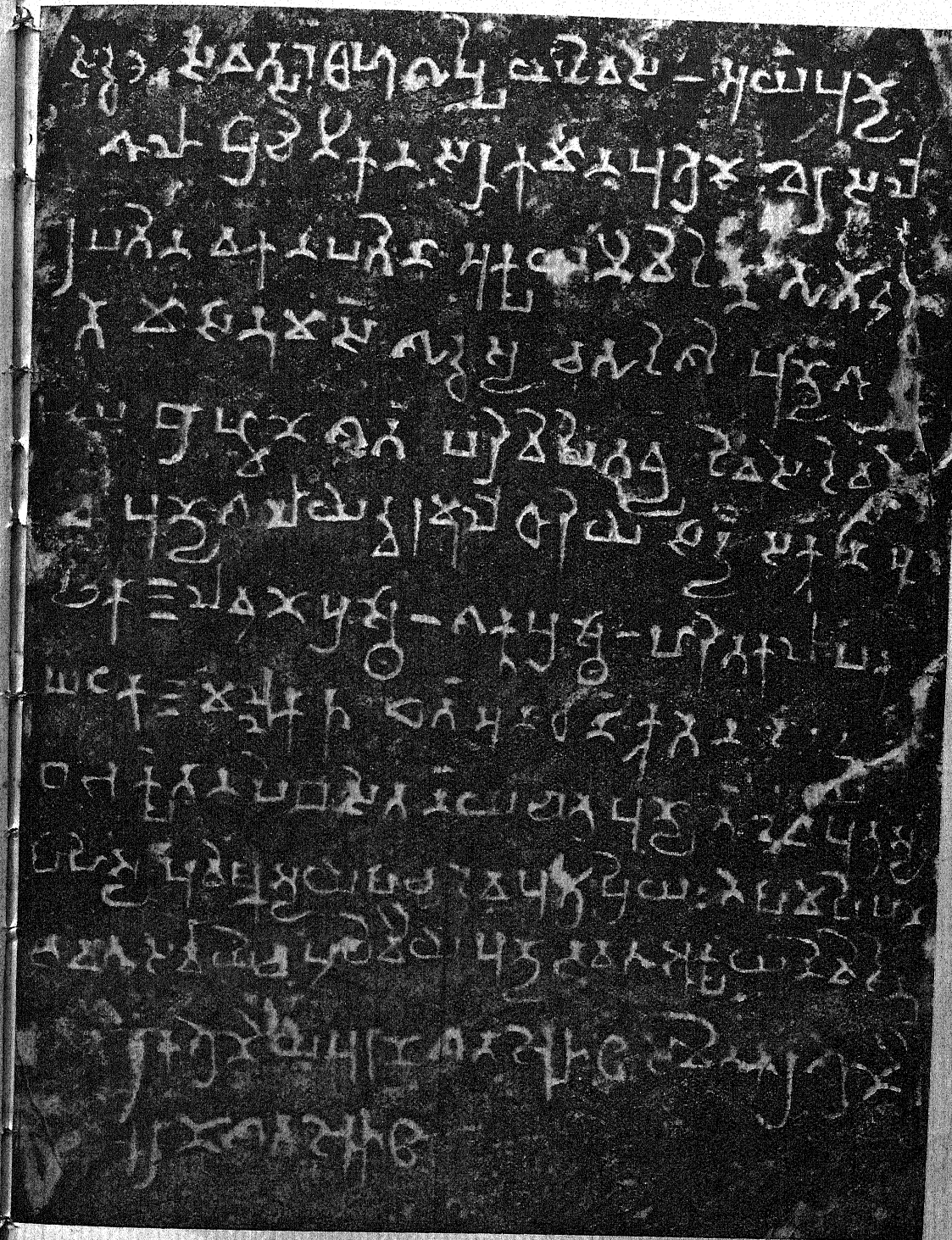
4 Read स्वाय (or सयः)-सङ्कनां ; ऋ looks like कृ of कृतेन in l. 8.

5 Possibly लवण was intended. Read लवण

6 Read शुक्क. Others read शकु

7 Taken separately घटका may mean water-jars.

8 Read सर्वाये.





- 12[र]ाक-श्रेणी[ी]ये पुराण-शत ५००(+*) ५० समितकर-श्रेणी-
 13 [ये च*] पुराण-शत ५०० (+*) ५० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे [अष्टाविंशे] २८ गुर्पिये (=यवनानां गुर्पियाख्ये मासि ; Gorpiaios)¹ दिवसे [प्रथमे] १--इयं पुरयशाला (=धर्मशाला) प्राचीनीकेन सरुक्रमाण-पुलेण (यद्वा, प्राचीना=पूर्वादिग्वर्तिनी [यद्वा, पुरातनी], कनसरुक्रमाण-पुलेण ; यद्वा, प्राचीनीकनस्य रुक्रमाण-पुलेण ; यद्वा, प्राचीनीकन-सरुक्रमाण-पुलेण) खरासलेर-पतिना वकन-पतिना² अक्षयनीविः³ दत्ता । ततः वृद्धितः मासानुमासं शुद्धस्य (=शुक्लपक्षस्य) चतुर्दश्यां⁴ पुरयशालायां ब्राह्मण-शतं परिवेशयितव्यं (=भोजयितव्यं) ; दिवसे दिवसे च पुरयशालायाः द्वारमूले धार्य्य (=स्थापनीयं) स्वाद्य-सक्तूनाम् (यद्वा, सद्यः०) आढकाः⁵ [लयः] ३ ; लवणप्रस्थः [एकः] १, शुक्र-प्रस्थः (=अम्लरस०) [एकः] १, हारित-कलापक-घटकाः⁶ [लयः] ३, मल्लकाः (=पान-पात्राणि) [पञ्च] ५ । एतत् अनाथानां कृतेन (=कृते) दातव्यं बुभुक्षितानां पिपासितानाम् [अपि च] (यद्वा, एतत् अनाथानां कृते न दातव्यं, [परंतु] बुभुक्षितानां-पिपासितानाम् [च]) : यत् च अत्र पुरयं तत् देवपुत्रस्य षाहेः हुविष्कस्य । येषां च देवपुत्रः प्रियः तेषाम् अपि पुरयं भवतु । सर्वस्याः च पृथिव्याः पुरयं भवतु । अक्षयनीविः दत्ता..... श्रेण्यां पुराणशतानि [सार्द्धपञ्च] ५५० ; समिताकर-श्रेण्यां (=गोधूमचूर्णविक्रयि०) च पुराण-शतानि [सार्द्धपञ्च] ५५० ॥

1 Makedonian Gorpaaios roughly corresponds to the Indian Bhādra.

2 Kharāsamera and Vakana are possibly place names. The latter may be Wakhan (37N, 74E) in Central Asia. Prāchīnika came to Mathurā for some unknown mission.

3 The *Akshayanīvi* was a permanent endowment which could not be withdrawn and whose interest alone could be enjoyed. The *Srenis* were banking and trading corporations. *Purāṇa* is the ancient Punch-marked coin of silver (32 Ratis = 58.56 gr.), also called *Kārshāpaṇa*. See *infra*, No. 58, p. 158, n. 5 ; p. 159, n. 4.

4 Konow takes शुद्ध (cleared off) with वृद्धितः and चतुर्दिशि (open) with पुरयशाला.

5 *Ādhaka* is usually 256 handfuls (about 16 or 20 Bengali seers (1 seer = 80 *tolās* = a little above two pounds). *Prastha* is usually $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *Ādhaka*. But the designations indicated different measures in different parts of India.

6 Jars of a preparation of different green vegetables ?

No. 50—Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—(Saka?) Year 33 (=A. D. 111?)

MATHURĀ, Muttra Dist., U. P.

LÜDERS, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIII, p. 39 ; BLOCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 181 f.

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 महारजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सं ३०(+*)३ गृ^२१ दि ८ भि[त्तु]स्य वलस्य
लेपिटकस्य अन्तेवासि[नी]ये भिन्नुणीये ले[पिटका*]ये बुद्धमिताये
- 2 भागिनेयीये भिखुणीये धनवतीये बोधिसत्त्वो प्रतिथा[वितो] [म]धुरवणके^३ सहा
मातापिति[हि]...[॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सं[वत्सरे] ३३ (=लयस्तिंशे) ग्री[ष्म-मासे प्रथमे] १
(=पूर्णिमान्तचैत्रे) दि[वसे] ८ (=अष्टमे) भिक्षोः वलस्य लैपिटकस्य अन्तेवासिन्याः
(=शिष्यायाः) ⁺ भिन्नुण्याः (=स्त्रीभिक्षोः) लैपिटक्याः बुद्धमितायाः भागिनेय्या भिन्नुण्या धन-
वत्या बोधिसत्त्वः (=बोधिसत्त्वविग्रहः) प्रतिष्ठापितः मधुरवनके (=मधुरायां) सह माता-
पितृभ्याम्... ॥

1 From the photograph and rubbing in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

2 Read ग्री.

3 The akshara म and the u sign of धु are not clear. Bloch reads the first akshara as मा. Madhuravana is the same as Madhuvana or Madhurā (modern Muttrā).

No. 51—Ārā Stone Inscription of Kanishka II

—(Śaka?) Year 41 (=A. D. 119?)¹

ĀRĀ, near Attock, Panjāb

R. D. BANERJI, *Ind. Ant.*, 1908, p. 58 ff; LÜDERS, *ibid*, 1913, p. 132 ff; STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 143; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 165

Language: Prakrit**Script:** KharoshthīTEXT²

- 1 महरजस रजतिरजस देवपुत्रस [क]इ[स]रस
- 2 व[कि]ष्प-पुत्रस³ कनिष्कस संवत्सरए एकचप[रि]-
- 3 [शए] सं २० (+*)२०(+*)१ जेठस मसस दिव[से]१⁴ इ[शे] दिवस-नुणमि ख[दे]
- 4 [कुपे] दषव्हरेन⁵ पोषपुरिअ-पुत्रण मतर-पितरण पुय[ए]
- 5 [हि]रणस⁶ सभर्य[स] [स]पुत्रस अनुग्रहर्थए सर्व[सप]ण
- 6 जति[धु] छ[?]तए⁷ [॥]इमो च लिखितो⁸ म[धु]...[॥*]

1 Kanishka II is sometimes identified with Kanishka I. The absence of father's name in any of the latter's numerous records and that of any record of a year between 23 and 41 render the theory untenable. Kanishka II seems to be the Kanishka whom traditions place in the 2nd century A.D. and make a contemporary of Nāgārjuna and others. The exact reign-period of Kanishka II and his relation with Huvishka are not known.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

3 Banerji: वसिष्प०; Lüders and Konow: वमोष्क. The probable identification with Vāsishka of No. 48 and Jushka of the *Rājatarāṅginī* may suggest that क्क was intended by ष्प, the difference between the two forms being slight. See *supra*, No. 48.

4 Konow: दि २० (+*)४ (+*)१. There is a gap between व and से owing to defect of the stone.

5 Sometimes read दषव्होतेन, दषभेरन

6 Konow: अत्मणस

7 Konow: हितए and मे धम...

8 Cf. the i-sign of लि in l. A 4 No. 47 and of पि in l. 2, No. 55.

Konow इमो च लिखितो ॥ इमो च लिखितो ॥

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य राजातिराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य ⁺कैसरस्य (=कैसर इति रोमक-सम्राट्-विरुद्ध-भृतः ।
Cæsar, Kaiser) वासिष्क-पुत्रस्य(?) कशिष्कस्य संवत्सरे एकचत्वारिंशे सं ४१ ज्यैष्ठस्य
मासस्य दिवसे [पञ्चविंशे] २५—अस्मिन् दिवस-क्षणे (=दिवसपूर्वायां=दिवसस्य तिथौ ; यद्वा,
दिवसस्य क्षणविशेषे) खातः कूपः दाषपरेण पौषपुरिक-पुत्राणां (यद्वा, पौरुषपुरिक० ; यद्वा,
०पुत्रेण)¹ मातापित्तोः पूजायै, हिरण्यस्य सभाध्यस्य सपुत्रस्य अनुग्रहार्थाय (=०ग्रहताभाय),
सर्व-सत्त्वानां जातिषु (=जन्मनि जन्मनि) हृदाय (=रक्षायै) । इदं च लिखितं
मधु...(=तदाख्येन) ॥

No. 52—Mathurā Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 44 (?=A. D. 122?)

KĀKĀLĪ TĪLĀ, Mathurā, U. P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 387, No. 9; *Ibid*, II, p. 212, n. 37 ;
R. D. BANERJĪ, *ibid*, X, p. 114, No. 7.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT²

1 स्थ [symbol]³ [॥*] नम [अ?]र[ह]तव⁴[॥*]महरजस्य हुवक्षस्य सवसरे
४०⁵(+*)४ पन गृ[स्य]-मस ३ दिवस २ ए[त]-

1 *Putra* may be used here in the sense of an original inhabitant. Poshapura may be modern Peshāwar.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X.

3 For another contraction of सिद्ध, see *supra*, No. 48. This seems to be the way in which the variants of the auspicious symbol at the beginning of later records developed. The following symbol found in several Kushāṇa records resembles an Aśokan टा with mouth to left. It is supposed to be a full-stop or म् (*Ep. Ind.*, II, p. 212, n. ; XXI, p. 56). It may be connected with the सिद्ध symbol.

4 The last *akshara* may be intended for नं or म. Bühler and Banerji : शरसत्तम (=शूरसत्तम).

5 Banerji read अष्टपन (i. e., 58) in place of Bühler's ४०(+*)४ हन. The first figure was also suggested to be ७०. The second may be a variant of न

- २ य पूर्वय... गने अर्यचेटियिग-कुले हरितमाल-कडि[यक-शाख्य].....^१ [वा*]
चकस्य हगनंदिस्य शिसगन.....तगसेण दन...^२

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः अर्हद्भ्यः (यद्वा, अर्हत्तमाय) ॥ महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [चतु-
श्रत्वारिंशे] ४४ पुनः (=विशेषेण) ग्रीष्ममासे [तृतीये] ३ (=पूर्णिमान्तज्यैष्ठे) दिवसे [द्वितीये]
२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ]...वारणगणे(?) आर्य्यचेटीयक-कुले हरितमालगढीयक-शाखायां
वाचकस्य...भगनन्दिनः (?) शिष्यकेण...तकाशेन दत्ता [प्रतिमा] ॥

No. 53—Lucknow Museum Jain Image Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 48 (=A. D. 126?)

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 112; No. 5

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT³

- 1 मह[र]राजस्य हु[वि]क्षस्य^४ सवचर ४० (+*)८ व २ दि १०(+*)६ एतस्य
पुवायं [कोट्टिये-गणे] [बम][दा*]-
- 2 [सि]ये [कु]ले पचनगरिय-शाकाय [ध]ववलस्य^५ शिशि[निये] धन[शि]रि[ये] निवतन
- 3 [ब]धुकस्य वधुये शवलात-पो[त्रिये] यशा[ये] दान स[भ]वस्य प्रोदिम प्र-
- 4 त[स्थ]पित^६ [॥*]

1 Bühler : ०चेटिये कुले and कडियशाख ; Banerji : ०कडियातो शा...

2 Bühler : हगिनंदिअ शिसोग...नागसेणस्य नि... ; Banerji : हगिनादिस्य शिसो
गन...नग-सेनो दनं

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The find-spot of the record was
possibly Mathurā.

4 ल is evidently a mistake for ष्क (cf. *supra*, No. 52.)

5 Banerji read धुमवल, धुमशिरि, वुधुक and शवलन.

6 These *aksharas* stand below the middle of the previous line.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [अष्टचत्वारिंशे] ४८ वर्षमासे द्वितीये २ (=पूर्णिमान्त-
मात्रे) दिवसे सप्तदशे १७—एतस्यां पूर्वायां [तिथौ] कोट्टीये गणो ब्रह्मदासीये कुले पञ्चनगरीय-
शाखायां धान्यपालस्य शिष्यायाः धान्यश्रियाः निर्वर्तनात् (=अनुरोधात्) बन्धुकस्य वध्वाः
शर्वज्ञात-पौत्रघाः यशायाः दानं सम्भवस्य^१ प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता ॥

No. 54—Mathurā Buddhist Image Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 51 (=A. D. 129?)

Jamalpur mounds, MATHURĀ

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 113 No. 6.

Language : Parkrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य सवत्सरे ५० (+*)^१ हेमन्त-मास १ दव...
[एतस्या] पु[र्व्वा]यां [भिन्नुणा] [बु]द्धवर्म[णा]^३ [भग*]वतः श[क्य][मुनेः*]
- 2 प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापित सर्व-बुद्ध-पूजार्थ[म्] [[*] अ[नेन] [दे]यधर्म-परित्यागेन उपध्यायस्य
सङ्घदासस्य [निवनावा]प्तये(S*)स्तु मा[तापितो च] [*] [बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं ?]
- 3 बुद्धवर्मस्य सर्व-[दु]खोपशम[त्]य सर्व-सत्त्व-हित-सुखार्थ[म्] [म]हाराज-दे[वपुत्र-
वि]हारे [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महाराजस्य देवपुत्रस्य हुविष्कस्य संवत्सरे [एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ हेमन्त-मासे [प्रथमे] १
(=पूर्णिमान्तमार्गशोर्षे) दिवसे...एतस्यां पूर्वायां भिन्नुणा बुद्धवर्मणा भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः
प्रतिमा प्रतिष्ठापिता सर्वबुद्ध-पूजार्थम् । अनेन देयधर्मपरित्यागेन [जातं पुरयं] उपाध्यायस्य
सङ्घदासस्य निर्वाणावाप्तये अस्तु, मातापितोः च । बुद्धार्थम् इदं च दानं बुद्धवर्मणः सर्वदुःखोप-
शमाय सर्व-सत्त्व-हित-सुखार्थं महाराज-देवपुत्रविहारे (=मथुरायां हुविष्कप्रतिष्ठापितविहारे) ॥

1 Sambhavanātha is the third Jain *tirthaṅkara* whose *lāñchhana* is the horse. His image is usually connected with the Yaksha Trimukha, the Yakshiṇī Śāsananevī or Duritārīdevī, the Kevala tree Śāla and the *chowri*-bearer Satyavīrya.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X.

3 Banerji: भिन्नुनो बुद्धवर्मणः शक्य.

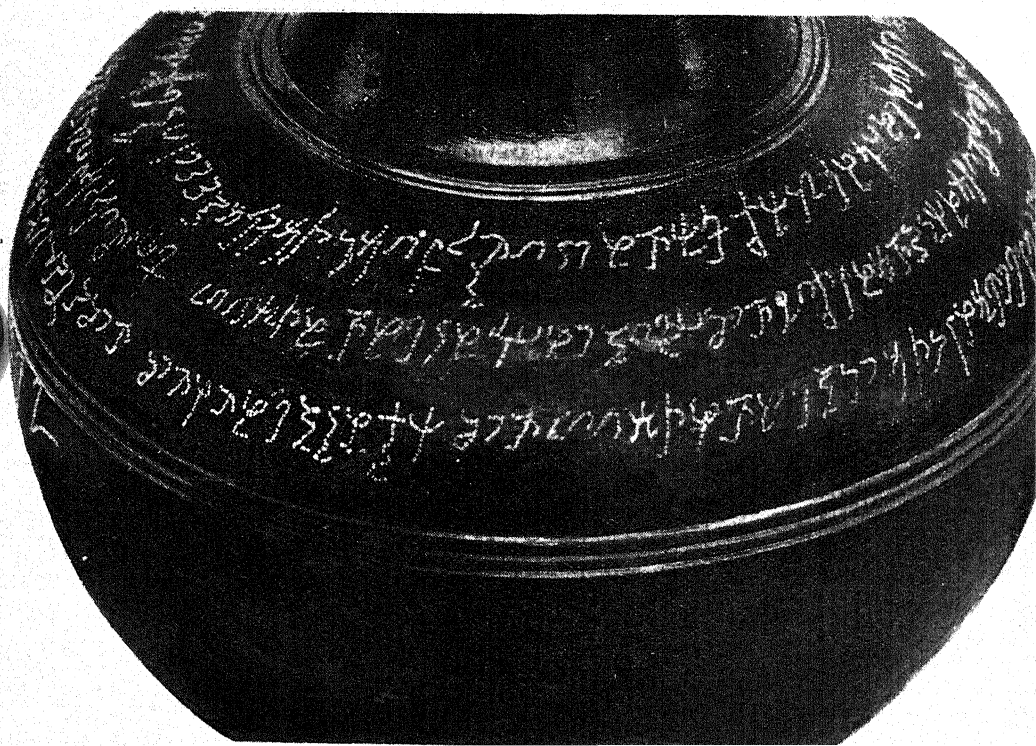


Side B





Side D



No. 55—Khawat (Wardak) Bronze Vase Inscription of Huvishka—(Śaka?) Year 51 (=A. D. 129?)

Ruined Stūpas, KHAWAT (Wardak)¹, Afghanistan

J. DOWSON, *J. R. A. S.*, XX, pp. 231-68; F. E. PARGITER, *Ep. Ind.*, XI, p. 210 f; KONOW, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, II, i, p. 170

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script : Kharoshthī

TEXT²

- 1 सं २० (+*) २० (+*) १० (+*) १ म(स*)स्य अर्थ(?)मिसिय³ सस्तेहि १० (+*)
४ (+*) १ इमेण गङ्गिणेण कमगुल्य-पुत्र वग्र-मरेग्र⁴ स इय खवदन्नि
कदलियिग्र वग्रमरिग्र-विहरन्नि युस्तिन्नि⁵ भग्नवद शक्यमुणे शरिर परिठवेति [1*]
2 इमेण कुशल-मुलेण महरज-रजतिरज-होवे⁶कस्य अग्र-भग्र भवतु [1*] मद-
पिदर मे पुयए भवतु [1*] भदर मे हथ्युण(?) मरेग्रस्य पुयए भवतु [1*] यो त्र⁶ मे
भुय णतिग्र-मिल-संभतिग्रण पुयए भवतु [1*] महिय त्र वग्र-मरेग्रस्य अग्र-भग्र-
पडियंश[ए]
3 भवतु [1*] सर्व-सत्वण अरोग-दक्षिणए भवतु [1*] अविग्र⁷-नरग्र-पर्यत यव भवग्र यो

1 The place is about 30 miles to the west of Kābul. Khawat is the same as Khavada of the record.

2 From the facsimile in *C.I.I.* For other references, see *ib.*, p. 166.

3 Konow reads मस्ये अर्थमिसिय सस्तेहि. He takes the last word to be identical with Khotani Śaka *sasta*, the past participle of the base *sad*, to shine, to appear, which is used about the sun. सस्तेहि १५ = when 15 had appeared. Senart proposes संस्था=अहोरात्र. This word is used in the sense of day in several Kharoshthī records. Makedonian Artemisios roughly corresponds to the Indian Vaiśākha.

4 Some read वग्रमरेग्रस्य and इश. The unnecessary subscript *r* is used in these records to modify the sound of the consonants.

5 Read युबन्नि which is Konow's reading.

6 Some read शोच.

7 Pargiter suggests the correction अरिय.

अत्र अंतरं अंडजो जलयुग शप(फ?)तिग¹ अरुण्यत सविण पुयए भवतु [१*] महिय
त्र रोहण सद सर्विण अवषडिगण सपरिवर त्र अग्र-भग-पडियंश[ए] भवतु
मिथ्यगस्य² च अग्र-भग भवतु [॥*]

4 एष विहरं अचर्यण महसंघिगण परिग्रह [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सं[वत्सरे एकपञ्चाशत्तमे] ५१ मासस्य ⁺अर्थमिस्याः (=अर्थमिस्याख्यस्य यवनानां मासस्य । Artemisios) ⁺सस्तेहि १५ (=दिवसे पञ्चदशे)—अनेन ⁺घटिकेन (=अस्यां घटिकायां) कमगुल्य-पुलः वग्र-मरेगः—सः इह खवदे (=खवदाख्ये प्रदेशे) कृतालयकः (=कृतावासः)—वग्रमरेग-विहारे स्तूपे भगवतः शाक्यमुनेः शरीरं (=देहावशेषं) प्रतिष्ठापयति । अनेन कुशल-मूलेन (=इदं पुण्यस्य मूलं) महाराज-राजातिराज-हुविष्कस्य अग्र-भागाय भवतु ; मातापितोः मे पूजायै भवतु ; भ्रातुः मे हृष्युगण-मरेगस्य पूजायै भवतु ; एतत् च मे भूयः ज्ञातिक-मित्र-संभ्रातृ-काणां (=०बान्धवानां) पूजायै भवतु । मम च वग्र-मरेगस्य अग्रभाग-प्रत्यंशाय (=मुख्यभागरूपां-शाय) भवतु । सर्व-सत्त्वानाम् आरोग्य-दक्षिणायै (=०दानप्राप्तये) भवतु । अपि च नरकपर्यन्तात् (=अधस्तनलोकानां शेषसीमातः समारभ्य) यावद् भवाग्रं (=स्वर्गलोकं)—यः अत्र अन्तरे अरुणजः, जारायुकः (=जरायुजः), शष्पादिकं (=उद्भिज्जः), अरुण्यात्मा (=स्वेदजः)³—सर्वेषां पूजायै भवतु । मम च रोहाणां (=वंशधराणां) सदा सर्वेषाम् अपाषण्डिकानां (=धार्मिकाणां) सपरिवारं च अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय भवतु, मिथ्यागस्य (=वितथधर्म सेविनां) च अग्रभागः भवतु । एषः विहारः आचार्याणां माहासाङ्घिकानां परिग्रहः ॥

1 Konow: येतिग.

2 Konow: मिथ्यगस.

3 पशवश्च मृगाश्चैव व्यालाश्चोभयतोदतः । रक्षांसि च पिशाचाश्च मनुष्याश्च जरायुजाः ॥ अरुणजः पक्षिणः सर्पा नका मत्स्याश्च कच्छपाः । यानि चैवम्प्रकाराणि स्थलजान्यौदकानि च ॥ स्वेदजं दंशमशकं यूका मक्षिकमत्कुणाम् । उष्मराश्चोपजायन्ते यच्चान्यत्किञ्चिदीदृशम् ॥ उद्भिज्जाः स्थावराः सर्वे बीजकारणप्ररोहिणः । ओषधयः फलपाकान्ता बहुपुष्पफलोपगाः ॥ (मनुसंहिता ११।४३-५६). अरूपम्=अल्परूपम्=क्षुद्राकारः ; अरूपी+आत्मा (देहः) [यस्य]

No. 56—Inscription on some Gold Coins of Huvishka (c. 106-138 A.D.)¹

SMITH, *Catalogue*, p. 76

First side^{1a}

Half-length figure² of king, rising from clouds, richly dressed, with round jewelled helmet or cap to left, with ends of the diadem hanging down behind, club and sceptre in hands, inscription in Greek characters:—

ΠΑΟΝΑΝΟ ΠΑΟ ΟΟΗΠΚΙ ΚΟΠΑΝΟ (= *Shaonano Shao Ooeshki Koshano*)³

Second side

War-god (*Mahāsena*), standing, facing, clad in Indian waist-cloth and chlamys, holding in right hand a standard surmounted by a bird⁴ and with left hand resting on sword at his side, monogram to left; inscription to right in Greek characters:—

ΜΑΑΧΝΟ (= *Maaseno* = Sansk. *Mahāsena* = *Kārttikeya*)⁵

1 Huvishka's inscriptional dates range between the years 28 and 60.

1a From representation in Smith's *Catalogue*, Plate XII, No. 8.

2 On some gold coins we have a very large head (or bust) of the king, covered with round jewelled helmet with spreading crest and the ends of the diadem hanging down behind; a large ornamental ear-ring in the ear, and flames springing from shoulders. On some specimens we get half-length figure of the king to left, rising from clouds, with pointed helmet, thickly jewelled, holding sceptre in left hand and club in right hand before face. Sometimes we have *añkuṣa* for sceptre, which refers to the king as an elephant-rider, as seen on his copper coins.

3 I. e., "Huvishka, the *Kushāṇa*, king of the kings".

4 This is the *Sikhi-dhvaja* of *Kārttikeya*. The bird is evidently a peacock. On some specimens we have *Skando* (*Skanda*), *Maaseno* (*Mahāsena*), *Komaro* (*Kumāra*), and *Bizago* (*Viśākha*), possibly conceived as more than one deity.

5 On the reverse of Huvishka's coins we have representations of the god ΑθΠΟ (= *Athsho*) represented with hammer in right and tongs in left hand (cf. Greek *Hephaistos* and Indian *Viśvakarman*); the god ΑΡΔΟΧΠΟ (*Ardokhsho*), the moon-god ΜΑΝΑΟ-ΒΑΓΟ (*Manao-bago*) or ΜΑΟ (*Mao*),

No. 57—Mathurā Image Inscription of Vāsudeva—(Śaka?) Year 80 (=A.D. 158?)¹

Kaṅkāli Tīlā, MATHURĀ, U. P.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 392, No. 24; LÜDERS, List, No. 66;
R. D. BANERJI, X, p. 116, No. 10.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT^{1a}

- 1 स्थि² [॥*] महरजस्य व[॥]सुदेवस्य स[॥] ८० हमव³ १ दि १०(+*)२ एतस
पुव[॥]यां सनक[दसस?]
2 धि[॥] संधतिधिस वधुये बलस्य.....[॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्ध ॥ महाराजस्य वासुदेवस्य संवत्सरे अशीतितमे] ८० हेमन्त[मासे] १ दि[वसे
द्वादशे] १२—एतस्यां पूर्वायां सनकदासस्य दुहिता सङ्गातिथेः बद्ध्वा बलस्य [माता]...॥

the sun-god ANIO (*Anio*), MIIPO (*Miuro*) or MIOPO (*Mioro*), the goddess NANA▷AO (*Nanashao*), the goddess OANAO (*Oanao*) or OANIN△A (*Oaninda*), the god (*Oesha*, i.e. Śiva), the war-god ▷AOPHOPO (*Shaoreoro*; Persian *Shāhre-war*; cf. Greek *Ares*), the fire-god ◊APPO (*Pharro*, Persian *Farr*), the four-armed god OOPNA (*Oashna*, possibly Vishnu, not Śiva as generally suggested). On a few specimens we have on the reverse the word गणेश in Brāhmī characters, but the god represented is an archer, standing to right, holding a bow as long as himself, with string inwards. The inscription and representation seem to refer to Śiva. It may however be suggested that sometimes on Huvishka's coins we have the representation of Mao with the legend *Ardokhsho* and that of *Ardokhsho* with the legend *Mao*. But the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa is known to be a post-epic god. For Śiva-tripurāntaka with two hands carrying bow and arrow, see Gopinātharao, *El.H.Icon.*, II, pp. 168, 171, pl. 38. Śiva is the "lord of *gaṇas*" in early literature.

1 His reign period is *circa* 152-176 A.D., as his inscriptional dates range between the years 74 and 98. After him, the Kushāṇas appear to have lost much of the Panjāb and U.P. to local dynasties like that of the Nāgas. The Nāgas, especially of Mathurā, became a notable power in the 3rd century A.D.

1a From facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I and X. L. 2 begins from below middle of l. 1

2 See *supra*, p. 150, n. 3

3 Bühler: हणव. Read हेमन्त

(iii) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE ŚAKAS OF
WESTERN INDIA

(a) HOUSE OF NAHAPĀNA

No. 58—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of
Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

—(Śaka) Years 41, 42, 45 (=A. D. 119, 120, 123)¹

NĀŠIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres. Immediately below the inscription of Dakshamitrā (*infra*, No. 60) in Cave No. 10.

Bhagawanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 102f; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 82ff., No. 12²

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT³

1 सिधं [॥*] वसे ४०(+*)२ वेसाख-मासे राजो क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस
जामातरा दीनीक-पुत्रेन उपवदातेन संघस चातुदिसस इमं लेखं नियातितं [॥*] दत्त
चानेन अक्षय-निवि काहापरा-सहसा-

1 Some scholars think that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Vikrama era and that therefore he ruled much earlier, because the palaeography of these records is earlier than that of the Junāgarh inscription of Rudradāman. I have however no doubt that Nahapāna's records are dated in the Saka era. This is proved by the resemblance of their characters with the Andau records and the palaeography and internal evidence of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Puṣumāvi. Inscriptions and coins prove the contemporaneity of Śātakarṇi with Nahapāna and Ushavadāta, and Ptolemy's Geography suggests the author's (c. 140 A.D.) contemporaneity with Puṣumāvi and Chashtana, grand father of Rudradāman. The earlier members of the houses of Nahapāna and Chashtana were probably feudatories of the Kushāṇas (cf. *supra*, No. 48); but the later members retained their feudatory title even after they had assumed independence (cf. the titles *rājan*, *svāmin* and *kshatrapa* used together).

2 For other references, see Lüders, List, No. 1133; also *infra*, No. 59.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record appears to have been engraved on the cave-wall from a grant inscribed on plates of copper or cloth.

- 2 नि त्रीणि¹ ३००० संघस चातुदिसस ये इमस्मि लोणे वसांतान[']² भविसन्ति³
चिवरिक कुशाणमूले च [।*] एते च काहापणा प्रयुता गोवधनं⁴ वाथवासु
श्रेणिषु [।*] कोलीक-निकाये २००० वृधि पडिक-शत अपर-कोलीक-निका-
- 3 ये १००० वधि पा[यू]न-[प]डिक-शत [।*] एते च काहापणा [अ]पडिदातवा
वधि-भोजा [।*] एतो चिवरिक-सहस्रानि बे २००० ये पडिके सते [।*] एतो
मम लेणे वसवुथान भिखुनं वोस[।]य एकीकस चिवरिक वारसक⁵ [।*] य सहस्र
प्रयुतं पायुन-पडिके शते अतो कुशन-
- 4 मूल [।*] कापूराहारे च गामे चिखलपद्रे दतानि नाळिगेरान मुल-सहस्राणि⁶
अठ ८००० [।*] एत च सर्वं स्यावित [नि]गम-सभाय निवध च फलकवारे
चरित्ततो ति [।*] भूयोनेन दत्तं वसे ४० (+*)^१ कातिक शूधे^७ पनरस
पुवाक वसे ४० (+*)^४

1 Others read त्रिनि

2 Read वसंतान

3 Others read भविसति

4 Others do not notice the *anusvāra*.

5 The rate of monthly interest being 1 per cent., the sum of 2000 *Kārshāpāṇas* would bring 20 K. per month and 240 K. per year. Each monk getting 12 K. for cloth money, 20 of them would get 240 K. The rate of interest was very high in ancient India. Monthly interest at the rate of 2% from a Brāhmaṇa debtor, 3% from a Kshatriya, 4% from a Vaiśya and 5% from a Sūdra has been sanctioned by old law-givers (*Manu*, VIII, 142; *Yājñavalkya*, II, 38; *Vishṇu*, VI, 2). *Kārshāpāṇa* was a coin (of copper, gold or silver) weighing 1 Karsha=80 Ratis=146.4 grains (Rati=1.83 grains). The gold *Suvarṇa*, the copper *Paṇa* and Kauṭilya's silver *Dharaṇa* are of this weight. The silver *Dharaṇa* or *Purāṇa* was however usually of 32 Ratis=58.56 grains. But here the silver coins of Nahapāna (about 36 grains) are called *Kārshāpāṇa*. Thirty-five of them made one *Suvarṇa*.

6 Senart: नाळिगेरान मुलसहस्रानि

7 Others read शुधे

8 Some words of the original appear to have been left out in lines 5-6. The difference of donees suggests that ll. 5-6 belong to a different charter. *Aksharas* are big in ll. 1-2 and 6; but smaller in ll. 3-5. The smallest letters begin from भूयोनेन in l. 4.

- 5 ¹पनरस नियुतं भगवता[] देवानं ब्राह्मणानं च कार्षापण-सहस्राणि सतरि ७०००
 प[]चत्रि[]शक सुवर्ण कृता दिन सुवर्ण-सहस्रणं मूल्य[] [॥*]
 6 ²फलकवारे चरिततो ति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ वर्षे [द्विचत्वारिंशे] ४२ वैशाखमासे राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य
 (=नखवतः ?) जामाता दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन (यद्वा, वृषभदत्तेन) सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय
 (=सर्वदेशीयाय) इदं लयनं (=गुहावासः)निर्यातितं (=दत्तम्) । दत्ता च अनेन अक्षयनीविः
 (=न्यासः) कार्षापण-सहस्राणि त्रीणि ३००० सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय, या अस्मिन् लयने
 वसतां [भिक्षूणां] भविष्यति चैवरिकं (=चीवरमूल्यं) कुशन-मूल्यं (यद्वा,
 कुशान्न-मूल्यम्)³ । एतानि च कार्षापणानि प्रयुक्तानि (=न्यासीकृतानि) गोवर्द्धने
 (=नासिके) वास्तव्यासु श्रेणिषु—कौलिक-निकाये [कार्षापणानां] द्वे सहस्रे २०००, [येषां]
 वृद्धिः प्रतिक-शतं⁴ (=कार्षापणानां शतं प्रति कार्षापणम् एकं यथा स्यात् तथा) ; अपरकौलिक-
 निकाये यत् [कार्षापणानां] सहस्रं १०००, [तेषां] वृद्धिः पादोनप्रतिक-शतं (=कार्षापणानां
 शतं प्रति पादोनम् एकं कार्षापणम्) । एतानि च कार्षापणानि अप्रतिदातव्यानि, [परं तु]
 वृद्धि-भोज्यानि । एतयोः (=न्यासयोः) चैवरिकं सहस्रे द्वे २००० [कार्षापणानां], ये प्रतिक-शतं
 (=ये शतं प्रति एकं कार्षापणं वृद्धिं यच्छेताम्) । अतो (=अमुष्मात्) लयने वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां
 विंशत्ये एकैकस्य चैवरिकं द्वादशकं [कार्षापणानाम्] । यत् सहस्रं प्रयुक्तं पादोनप्रतिक-
 शतम्, अतः कुशन-मूल्यम् । कर्पूराहारे च ग्रामे चित्खलपद्रे दत्तानि नारिकेलानां मूला-

1 This line begins from below स्त्रा of the word स्त्रावितं in l. 4.

2 These letters are inscribed at the beginning of l. 5.

3 कुशण-मूल is "expense of outside life" according to some. कुशण may be कुशन (gold, pearl)=minor necessities or कुशान्न=minor food (अमुख्याहार) Bhandarkar thinks that *Kuśaṇa* (a coin-designation named after the *Kushāṇas*) indicates the silver coins of Nahapāna. According to him *Kuśaṇa-mūla*="value of the *Kuśaṇas*"; 90 *Kārshāpaṇas*, the annual interest of 1000 K. were equal to 80 *Kuśaṇas*, each of the 20 monks requiring 4 *Kuśaṇas* for the 4 months of the rainy season (*Car. Lecm.*, 1921, pp. 199-200). This interpretation is untenable.

4 प्रतिक means कार्षापणिक. The passage प्रतिकं शतं means "one *Kārshāpaṇa* per cent." *Akshaya-nīvi* is a "permanent endowment" ; *śreṇi* is a "guild" ; and *nikāya* is a "corporation." The "weavers' guild" and the "western weavers' guild" were apparently like modern banking and trading corporations.

सहस्राणि (=शिशुनारिकेलतरुणां मूल-भूयिष्ठानां० ; यद्वा, मूल्यं [कार्षापणानां]०) अष्ट
 ८००० । एतत् च सर्वं श्रावितं निगम-सभायां (=पौरसभायां), निबद्धं च फलकवारे (=लिखितं
 ताम्रपट्टसमूहे ; यद्वा, कार्पासिकपट्ट० ; यद्वा, राजकोये फलकानां रक्षागृहे एतस्य प्रतिलिपिः
 रक्षिता) चरित्रतः (=यथाचारम्) इति । भूयः अनेन दत्तं वर्षे [एकचत्वारिंशे] ४१ कार्तिक-शुद्धे
 (=० शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चदशे [दिवसे] पौर्विकं (=पूर्वदत्तं) वर्षे [पञ्चचत्वारिंशे] ४५...पञ्चदशे (=कस्य-
 चिन्मासस्य पञ्चदशदिवसे)...नियुक्तं भगवद्भ्यः देवेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च कार्षापण-सहस्राणि
 सप्तति ७००००, [कार्षापणानां] पञ्चत्रिंशत्कं सुवर्णम् [एकं] कृत्वा द्वयोः सुवर्णसहस्रयोः मूल्यं
 (=मूलधनम्) । [निबद्धं च एतत्] फलकवारे चरित्रतः इति ॥

No. 59—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A. D.)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres. On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 10 under the ceiling.

R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Transactions of the 2nd London Congress of Orientalists*, 1874, p. 326ff; *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 139 ff; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 99f. ; INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 569 ff; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 27 ff; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 78 ff, No. 10.

Language: Prakrit much influenced by Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

1 सोद्धम्² [svastika] [॥*] राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षलपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दोनीक-

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VII. For other references, see Lüders, No. 1131. The record which seems originally to have been a copper plate (or cloth-plate) grant and was later engraved on the cave-wall has evidently reached us in a distorted form. The latter part of the grant appears to have been condensed. The absence of date, the reference to the donor in both the first and third persons and the palaeography are to be noted. Like *supra*, No. 58, this record seems also to be made of more than one original charter.

2. Others read सिद्धं.

- पुत्रेण उषवदातेन त्रि-गोशत-सहसदेन नद्या बाणासायां सुवर्णदान-तीर्थकरेण
देवत[र]भ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यश्च षोडश-ग्रामदेन अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजापयित्वा
2 प्रभासे¹ पुरयतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन² भरुकछे दशपुरे गोवर्धने
शोर्पारगे च चतुशालावसथ-प्रतिश्रय-प्रदेन आराम-तडाग-उदपान-करेण इवा-
पारादा-दमण-तापी-करबेणा-दाहनुका नावा पुरय-तर-करेण एतासां च नदीनां
उभतो तीरं सभा-
3 प्रपा-करेण पीडीतकावडे गोवर्धने सुवर्णमुखे शोर्पारगे च रामतीर्थे³ चरक-

1 Cf. ततो गच्छेत राजेन्द्र प्रभासं तीर्थमुत्तमम्, etc. in *Mbh.*, III, 82, 20ff, 58ff. These *tīrthas* were all in western India within the dominions of Saka Nahapāna, father-in-law of the Hinduised Saka prince Ushavadāta. Govardhana is near mod. Nāsik. Prabhāsa is in Kāthiāwār. Bhṛigukachchha is mod. Broach and Śūrpāraka mod. Sopara in the Thāna Dist., Bombay Pres. Daśapura is mod. Man-Dasor in Western Mālwa (Gwalior State). Of the rivers, Tāpī is the celebrated Tāptī. Damana may be the Damangangā running by the Portuguese town of Daman and Dāhanukā may be connected with the Portuguese town of Dahanu. Nānaṅgola is supposed to be Nārgol near Sanjan. Bārṇāsā is possibly mod. Banas, a tributary of the Chambal. The names mentioned in the record point to the wide extent of Nahapāna's kingdom.

2 Many of the gifts referred to in ll. 1-2 are highly recommended in the *Purāṇas*; cf., e.g., *Padma-Purāṇa*, *Brahmakhaṇḍa*, ch. 24. क्षितिं सशस्यां यो दद्याद्ब्राह्मणाय द्विजोत्तम । विष्णुलोके सुखं भुङ्क्ते यावदिन्द्राश्चतुर्दश ॥३॥ सप्तद्वीपां महीं दत्त्वा यत्पुरयं प्राप्यते द्विज । तत्पुरयं प्राप्नुयान्मन्त्र्यो धेनुं यच्छन् द्विजातये ॥१३॥ तिलप्रमाणं स्वर्णं यो ब्राह्मणाय प्रयच्छति । हरेर्निकेतनं याति युक्तं कोटिकुलैरपि ॥१८॥ सालङ्कारां द्विजश्रेष्ठ कन्यां यच्छति यो नरः । स गच्छेद्ब्रह्मसदनं पुनर्जन्म न विद्यते ॥२२॥ अन्नं वारि द्विजश्रेष्ठ येन दत्तं महीतले । तेन दत्तानि दानानि सर्वाणि च द्विजर्षभ ॥४१॥ See also *ibid*, ch. 5. Cf. also *Vishṇusamhitā*, 19: अथ कूपकर्तुस्तत्प्रवृत्ते पानीये दुष्कृतस्याहं विनस्यति । १। तडागकृन्नित्यवृत्तो वारुणं लोकमश्नुते । २। जलप्रदः सदा तृप्तो भवति । ३। etc. See also *Kūrma P.*, II, 39, v. 79: अनार्थं दुर्गतं विप्रं नाथवन्तमथापि वा । उद्वाहयति यस्तीर्थं तस्य पुरयफलं शृणु ॥ etc.

3 Cf. ततः शूर्पारकं गच्छेज्जामदग्न्यनिषेवितम् ।

रामतीर्थे नरः स्नात्वा विन्यात् बहुसुवर्णकम् ॥ *Mbh.*, III, 85, 42

पर्वभ्यः ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वालीशत-नाळोगेर-मूल-सहस्र-प्रदेन गोवर्धने त्रीरश्मिषु¹
 पर्वतेषु धर्मात्मना इदं लेखं कारितं इमा च पोढियो [॥*]² भटारका-अजातिया³ च
 गतोस्मिं वर्षा-रतुं मालये[हि]⁴ * * हि रुधं उतमभाद्रं मोचयितुं [॥*]

- 4 ते च मालया प्रनादेनेव⁵ अपयाता उतमभद्रकानं च क्षत्रियानं सर्वे परिग्रहा
 कृता[॥*] ततोस्मिं गतो पोक्षरानि⁶ [॥*] तत्र च मया अभिसेको कृतो क्षीणि
 च गोसहस्रानि दतानि ग्रामो च [॥*]⁷ दत्त च [॥*] नेन क्षेत्त[] ब्राह्मणस वाराहि-पुत्रस
 अश्विभूतिस हथे क्रीणिता मुखेन काहापण-सहस्रे हि चतुहि ४००० यो⁸ स-पितु-सतक
 नगरसीमायं उतरापरा[यं] दीसायं [॥*] एतो मम लेने वस-
 5 ९ तानं चातुदीसस भिखु-सघस मुखाहारो भविसती¹⁰ [॥*]

1 Senart: त्रिरश्मिषु. Triraśmi was the name of the hills in which the caves are found. Govardhana was the name of both a city and the district round it.

2 The remaining letters of the line are about half the size of the letters of the record up to the word पोढियो.

3 अ was afterwards inserted. Senart: अजा० ।

4 Traces of a few letters are found between ये[हि] and हि. It is possible that they were purposely erased.

5 Cf. का कथा बाणसन्धाने ज्याशब्देनैव दूरतः ।

हुङ्कारेणैव धनुषः स हि विघ्नानपोहति ॥ *Sākuntala*.

6 Cf. पुष्करे ज्ञानमावतः सर्वपापेभ्यः पूतो भवति । विष्णुसंहिता ॥८५॥२ ; see also *Mbh.*, III. 82, 20 ff; 89, 16 ff. Coins of the Mālavas (originally living in the Jhang Dist., Panjāb) prove that they settled in the eastern part of the Jaipur State (Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 161 f.). Coins of Bhūmaka and Nahapāna discovered at Pushkar and Ajmer possibly prove Kshaharāta occupation of the Ajmer region. It is interesting to note that many coins of the Śaka house of Chashtana have also been discovered in the same region. See Rapson, *Catalogue*, pp. 64, 67, 77, 85, 93, 190, 192, etc. See *supra*, p. 92, n. 6.

7 There is a blank space between च and दत्त. The letters of the rest of the record from the word दत्त are very small in size.

8 Senart: य.

9 This line begins from below यो स-पितु० in l. 4

10 Senart reads भविसति.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य जामाता दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभदत्तेन, त्रि-गो-
 शतसहस्रदेन, नद्यां पर्णाशायां सुवर्णादानतीर्थकरेण (=सुवर्णादानस्य सोपानकराण्यस्य च विधाता),
 देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च षोडश-ग्रामदेन, अनुवर्षं ब्राह्मण-शतसाहस्री-भोजयित्वा, प्रभासे पुण्यतीर्थे
 ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन, भृगुकच्छे (=भृगु-कच्छे ?) दशपुरे गोवर्द्धने शूर्पारके च चतुःशाला-
 वसथ-प्रतिश्रयप्रदेन (=तीर्थनिषेविणां कृते चतुःशालग्रहाणां विश्रामागाराणां च विधाता),
 आराम-तडागोदपान-करेण, इवा-पारादा-दमन-तापी-करवेखा-दाहनुकास्तु नावा (=नौ-योगेन)
 पुण्यतरकरेण¹ (=पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयित्रा=अशुक्लेन नदीतरणविधाता । यद्वा, °दाहनुका-
 नावाख्यनदीषु पवित्रतरणकर्मकारयित्रा), एतासां च नदीनाम् उभयतः तीरं सभा-प्रपा-करेण
 (=विश्रामागारान् जलसत्ताणि च कृतवता), पिण्डितकावटे गोवर्द्धने सुवर्णमुखे शूर्पारके च
 रामतीर्थे चरकपर्षद्भ्यः (=चरकाख्यसम्प्रदायानुसारिभ्यः² । यद्वा, परिव्राजकभिन्नुसङ्घेभ्यः)
 ग्रामे नानंगोले द्वाविंशन्नारिकेलमूलसहस्रप्रदेन (=शिशुनारिकेलतरूणां मूलभृतिष्ठानां द्वाविंशत-
 सहस्राणि दत्तवता । यद्वा, द्वाविंशच्छत-नारिकेलतरूणां मूल्यं कार्षापण-सहस्रं दत्तवता ;
 यद्वा, द्वित्व-शत०), गोवर्द्धने त्रिरश्मिषु पर्वतेषु (=त्रिरश्मि-पर्वते) धर्मात्मना
 (=ऋषभदत्तेन) इदं लयनं कारितम्, इमे च प्रहयः (=निपानानि) । भट्टारकाज्ञस्या
 (=नहपानाज्ञया) च गत आसं वर्षतौ मालवैः रुद्रम् औत्तमभद्रं (=उत्तमभद्रकाणाम् अधिपतिं)
 मोचयितुम् । ते च मालवाः प्रणादेन (=ऋषभदत्तसैन्यद्वारेण) इव अपयाताः (=पलायिताः),
 उत्तमभद्रकानां च क्षत्रियाणां सर्वे [मालवाः] परिग्रहाः (=वन्दिनः) कृताः [ऋषभदत्तेन] । ततः
 आसं गतः पुष्करान् (=पुष्करतीर्थम्) । तत्र च मया अभिषेकः (=स्नानं) कृतः, त्रीणि च
 गोसहस्राणि दत्तानि, ग्रामः च [दत्तः] । दत्तं च अनेन (=ऋषभदत्तेन) ज्ञेयं ब्राह्मणस्य
 वाराही-पुत्रस्य अश्विभूतेः हस्तेन क्रीत्वा मूल्येन कार्षापण-सहस्रैः चतुर्भिः ४०००, यत् स्वपितृ-
 स्वत्वकम् (=अश्विभूति-पितृ-स्वत्वकं [ज्ञेयं]) नगरसीमि उत्तरापरायां (=पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां) दिशायां
 [वर्तते] । अतः (=एतस्मात्) स्मृम लयने वसतः चातुर्दिशस्य भिन्नुसङ्घस्य मुख्याहारः
 (=°हाराय=मुख्यान्नाय [एषः ग्रामः]) भविष्यति ।

1 Cf. शुल्क-तर in *Vishnu*, 3, 9 and तर-शुल्क in *Agni* P. 223, 25. पुण्यतर= अशुल्कतर. People got free food at a king's āvasathas in *Chhā. Up.*, IV, i.

2 *Charaka* primarily denotes 'a wandering student' in the Upanishads and Brāhmaṇas. More especially it denotes the members of a school of the Black Yajurveda, whose practices are referred to with disapproval. The चरकाचार्य is enumerated among the sacrificial victims of the Purushamedha sacrifice (*Vedic Index*, I, p. 256). Rāmātīrtha was in Śūrpāraka.

No. 60—Nāsik Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A. D.)

NĀSIK, Bombay Pres. In the veranda of Cave No. 10, over the doorway of the left cell.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103 ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 81 f., No. 11

Language: Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT¹

1 सीधं² [॥*] रांओ क्षहरातस क्षत्रपस नहपानस दीहि-

2 तु दीनीक-पुत्रस उषवदातस कुडुंबिनिय दक्षमित्राय देयधर्म³ ओवरको⁴ [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षत्रपस्य नहपानस्य दुहितुः, दीनीक-पुत्रस्य ऋषभदत्तस्य कुडुम्बिन्याः (=भार्यायाः) दक्षमित्रायाः देयधर्मः (=धर्मदेयं=धर्मवृद्धये दत्तः वस्तुविशेषः) अपवारकः (=गुहा-गृहम्) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see *supra*, No. 59 and Lüders, List, No. 1132.

2 Some read सिधं

3 Senart: धर्मं

4 There is a similar inscription in the same veranda of the same cave, over the doorway of the right cell.

No. 61—Kārlē Cave Inscription of the time of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)

KARLE, Poona Dist., Bombay Pres. On the upper freize to the right of the central door of the Chaitya cave.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, IV, p. 101 ; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 57 ff, No. 13.

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं [॥*] रञो खहरातस खतपस नहपानस जा[म]तरा [दीनीक]-पूतेन उसभ-
दातेन ति-
- 2 गो-सतसहस[दे]ण नदिया बणासाया [सु]वण-[ति]थकरेन² [देवतान*] ब्रह्माण
च सोळस-गा
- 3 म-दे[न*] पभासे पूत-तिथे ब्रह्मणाण अठ-भाया-प[देन*] [अ]नुवासं पितु सत-
सहसं [भो]-
- 4 जपयित वलूरकेसु लेण-वासिनं पवजितानं चातुदिसस सघस
- 5 यापणथ गामो [कर]जिको दतो स[वा]न [वा]स-वासितानं (?) [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः क्षहरातस्य क्षतपस्य नहपानस्य जामात्रा दीनीक-पुत्रेण ऋषभ-
दत्तेन द्वि-गो-शतसहस्र-देन, नद्यां पर्णाशयां सुवर्ण[दान]-तीर्थ-करेण, देवताभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः च

1 From the plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV and *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. For other references, see Lüders, List, No. 1099. This record may have been copied from a grant originally on plates of copper or cloth. The writing is much defaced.

2 In *supra*, No. 60 we have सुवर्णदान-तीर्थकरेण in place of सुवर्णतीर्थकरेण of this inscription.

3 Valūraka appears to be the ancient name of the Kārlē region. The suggestion that it may be Elūra from where the monks came to Kārlē to pass the rainy season (*Bomb. Gaz.*, I, ii, p. 391) does not appeal to me.

षोडशग्रामदेन, प्रभासे पुरयतीर्थे ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अष्टभार्याप्रदेन, अनुवर्षं पिते (=स्वर्गतं पितरं प्रीणयितुं) शत-साहस्री-भोजयिता (=ब्राह्मणशतसाहस्रीभोजयिता) वलूरकेषु लयन-वासिभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः चातुर्दिशस्य सङ्घस्य यापनार्थं (=वर्षायापनार्थं=वर्षासु जीवनयात्रा-निर्वाहार्थं) ग्रामः करजिकः दत्तः सर्वेभ्यः वर्षाव्युषितेभ्यः (=वर्षाप्रवासि-भिक्षुभ्यः) ॥

**No. 62—Junnār Cave Inscription of the time
of Nahapāna (c. 119-24 A.D.)
(Śaka) Year 46 (=A.D. 124).**

JUNNĀR, Poona Dist., Bombay Pres.

INDRAJI and BURGESS, *Ins. C. Temp. W. Ind.*, p. 51f; BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 103

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

*TEXT*¹

- 1 [राजो*] महत्तपस सामि-नहपानस²
- 2 [आ]मतस³ वज्र-सगोतस अयमस
- 3 [दे*][यधम] च (पो*)ढि मटपो च पुत्रय वसे ४०(+*)६ कतो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

राज्ञः महात्तपस्य स्वामि-नहपानस्य अमात्यस्य वत्स-सगोतस्य अर्घ्यन्नः देयधर्मः
(=धर्मवृद्धये दत्तं वस्तु) च प्रहिः (=उदपानं, निपानं) मण्डपः (=जनानां विश्रामगृहं) च पुरयार्थाय
वर्षे [षट्चत्वारिंशे] ४६ कृतः ॥

1 From the plate in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV. For other references, see Lüders, List, No. 1174.

2 Bühler: ह्री. The word *svāmin* is the Sanskrit rendering of a Śaka word meaning "lord" (cf. *Saka-murunda*; Chinese *wang*). Some Indian kings, e.g. the Later Śātavāhanas, imitated the title. Neo-Sanskrit *bhaṭṭāraka* (from *bhartri*) may also be connected with the same Skythian word.

3 Bühler : ०मात्यस.

(b) HOUSE OF CHASHTANA

Nos. 63-66—Andau Stone Inscriptions of the
time of Chashtana and Rudradāman¹

—[Śaka]² year 52 (=A.D. 130).

ANDAU, Khāvdā (or Pachchham), Cutch

R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 23 ff.

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT³

No. I

- 1 [राज्ञे] [चाष्ट]नस य्सामोतिक-पुत्रस राज्ञे रुद्रदामम जयदाम-पुत्रस
- 2 व[र्षे] [द्वि]प[र] [च] [शे] [५०] (+*)२ फगुण-बहुलस [द्वि]तिय-वारे(?)⁴ [२] मदनेन
सीहिल-पुत्रेन [भ]गिनिये जेष्टवोराये
- 3 [सी]हि[ल-धि]त ओपशति-सगोत्राये⁵ लष्टि उथापित [॥*]

1 Banerji translated the beginning of these records as "In the year 52, on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna, *va* 2 (during the reign) of the king Rudradāman, son of Jayadāman, (the grandson) of the king Chāshtana, son of Ysāmotika." In my opinion, the wording shows beyond doubt that the year should be referred to the reign of both Chashtana and Rudradāman. Possibly at this stage Chashtana was styled महाक्षत्रप and Rudradāman क्षत्रप. The coins of this family prove that a महाक्षत्रप and a क्षत्रप ruled at the same time, possibly like a महाराज and his युवराज. Chashtana and Rudradāman recovered much of the territories that Nahapāna lost to Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi even during the latter's life time.

2 The "Śaka" era very probably took its name from its constant use by this Śaka family for a long time

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the *yashṭis* referred to in these records, see *supra*, 135, n. 8. The first three *yashṭis* were raised by Madana in memory of his sister, brother and wife. The fourth was raised by Treshṭadatta in memory of his son. The persons in whose honour the *yashṭis* were raised were apparently dead. The first name is written चष्टन in many cases.

4 Banerji read व २ and explained व=बहुल. Lüders finds here a symbol for 15.

5 Banerji : सागोत्राये. His सागोत्राण in No. III, l. 2 is also wrong.

No. II

- 1 [राज्ञो चाष्टनस ऽसामोतिक-
- 2 पु[त्र]स राज्ञो [रुद्र]दामस
- 3 जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे द्वि-प[र्]-
- 4 [चा]शे ५० (+*)२ फगुण-बहुलस
- 5 द्वितीय- वारे(?) २ ऋषभदेवस
- 6 सीहिल-पुत्रस औपशति-सगोत्रस
- 7 भ्रात्र[१] [मदने]न [सीहि]ल-पुत्रेन
- 8 लष्टि उथापित [॥*]

No. III

- 1 राज्ञो चाष्टनस ऽसा[१]मोतिक-पुत्रस राज्ञो रुद्रदामस जयदाम-पुत्रस वर्षे द्विपंचाशे ५० (+*)२
- 2 फगुण-बहुलस द्वितिय-वा २ यशदताये सीहमित-धीता शैनिक-सगोत्राये शामणे-रिये
- 3 मदनेन सीहिल-पुत्रेन कुटुबिनिये [लष्टि] उथापिता [॥*]

No. IV

- 1 र[१]ज्ञो चाष्टनस ऽसामोतिक-पु[त्र]स [राज्ञो] रुद्रदामस ज[य]दा[म]-
- 2 पुत्र[स] वर्षे ५० (+*)२ फगु[न]-बहुलस [द्वितिय]- वारे(?) २
- 3 ऋषभदेवस लेष्टदत-पुत्र[स] औपश[ति]-गो[त्र]स
- 4 पि[त्रा](तिन?) लेष्टदतेन भ्राम[णे]रेन लष्टि उथापित [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

I—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदान्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य (= ० कृष्णपक्षस्य) द्वितीय-वारे (= ० दिवसे) २ मदनेन सिंहिल-पुत्रेण भगिन्याः जेष्ठवीरायाः सिंहिल-दुहितुः औपशति सगोत्रायाः यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

II—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदान्नः जयदाम पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (= ० दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य सिंहिलपुत्रस्य औपशति-सगोत्रस्य भ्रात्रा मदनेन औपशति-सगोत्रेण यष्टिः उत्थापिता ।

III—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिकपुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदान्नः जयदामपुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे द्विपञ्चाशे ५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वा[र]े (= ० दिवसे) २ यशोदत्तायाः सिंहमित-दुहितुः शैनिक-

सगोत्रायाः श्रामशेखर्याः (=बौद्धसङ्घे प्रव्रज्या-ग्रहीत्र्याः)¹ मदनेन सिंहिल पुत्रेण कुटुम्बिन्याः
=([आत्मनः] भार्यायाः) यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

VI—राज्ञः चष्टनस्य जामोतिक-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः रुद्रदाम्नः जयदाम-पुत्रस्य [च] वर्षे [द्विपञ्चाशे]
५२ फाल्गुन-बहुलस्य द्वितीय-वारे (=० दिवसे) २ ऋषभदेवस्य त्रेष्टदत्त-पुत्रस्य औपशति-गोत्रस्य
पित्रा त्रेष्टदत्तेन श्रामशेखरेण¹ यष्टिः उत्थापिता ॥

No. 67—Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I—[Śaka] Year 72 (=A.D. 150)

Near JUNĀGARH in Kāthiāwār “at the commencement of the gorge that leads to the valley which lies round the mountain Girnār”.

PRINSEP, *J.A.S.B.*, VII, p. 338ff; *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, II, p. 57ff; LASSEN, *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, IV, p. 146ff; BHĀU DAJĪ, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VII, p. 113f; 118f; 125f.; *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, II, p. 123ff.; Bhagwanlal INDRAJĪ and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 257ff., KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 42ff; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 965 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT²

1 सिद्धं [*] इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगराद[पि] * *³.....[मृ*][त्ति]कोपल-
विस्तारायामोच्छ्रय-निःसन्धि-बद्ध-दृढ-सर्व्व-पाळीकत्वात्पर्व्वत-पा-

1 A person who has already been admitted into priesthood of the Buddhist church after going through the ceremony called *Pabbajjā*, but has not yet received the *Upasampadā*, is called *Sāmaṇera*, “novice,” “deacon” (fem. *Sāmaṇerī*). He becomes a fully-privileged monk after receiving the *Upasampadā*. The interval may be very short or very long. Note that the wife’s gotra is different from that of the husband (cf. Poona grant of Prabhāvatī, *infra*).

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The rules of *sandhi* have been observed in many cases, but not in all. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

3 Indrajī and Bühler have गिरिनगरा[द्वि-पाद-रम] ; but Kielhorn rightly thinks that the letter read as द्वि is undoubtedly द. According to him the first four *aksharas* of the lacunae may be conjecturally read as दूरमन्त. रा looks like रि

- 2 द-प्रतिस्पद्धि-सुष्ठि[ष्ट]-[बन्धं*].....[व]जातेनाकृत्रिमेण सेतुबन्धेनोपपन्नं सुप्रति-
विहित-प्रनाली-परीवाह-
- 3 मीढविधानं¹ च विस्क[न्ध*].....नादिभिरनुग्र[है]महत्पुत्रचये वर्तते [!*]
तदिदं राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य सुगृही-
- 4 त-नाम्रः² स्वामि-चष्टनस्य पौत्र[स्य*] [राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य सुगृहीतनाम्नः स्वामि-जय-
दाम्न*]: पुत्रस्य राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्त-नाम्नो रु[द्र]दाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्त-
तित[मे] ७०(+*)२
- 5 मार्गशीर्ष-बहुल-प्र[ति][पदि*].....*: सृष्टवृष्टिना³ पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव
पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता-
- 6 पलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां⁴ अतिमात्रोद्धृतैर्व्वेगैः सेतुम...[यमा]णानुरूप-प्रतीकार-⁵
मपि गिरिशिखर-तरु-तटाट्टालकोपत[ल्प]-द्वार-शरणोच्छ्रय-विध्वंसिना⁶ युगनिधन-सह-
- 7 श-परम-घोर-वेगेन⁷ वायुना प्रमथि[त] सलिल-विक्षिप्त-जर्जरकृताव[दी][र्ण*]...
[क्षि]प्ताश्म-वृक्ष-गुल्म-लताप्रतानं⁸ आ नदी[त]लादित्युद्धाटितमासीत् [!*] चत्वारि
हस्त-शतानि वीशदुत्तराख्यायतेन⁹ एतावन्त्येव [वि]स्ती[र्ण]ेन

1 मीढ means गोमूत्रक and Indrāji translates, "the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine". Kielhorn points to मीढगिरि (a dunghill) of the *Lalitavistara* and translates "arrangements made to guard against foul matter or impurities."

2 Cf. नामापि गृह्यतोऽस्य पापकारिणः पापमलेन लिप्यत इव मे जिह्वा, *Harsha-charita*. N. S. P. ed., p. 210.

3 Indrāji and Bühler सुसृष्ट ; but a *visarga* before सृ is clear.

4 Read °नाम् अति°.

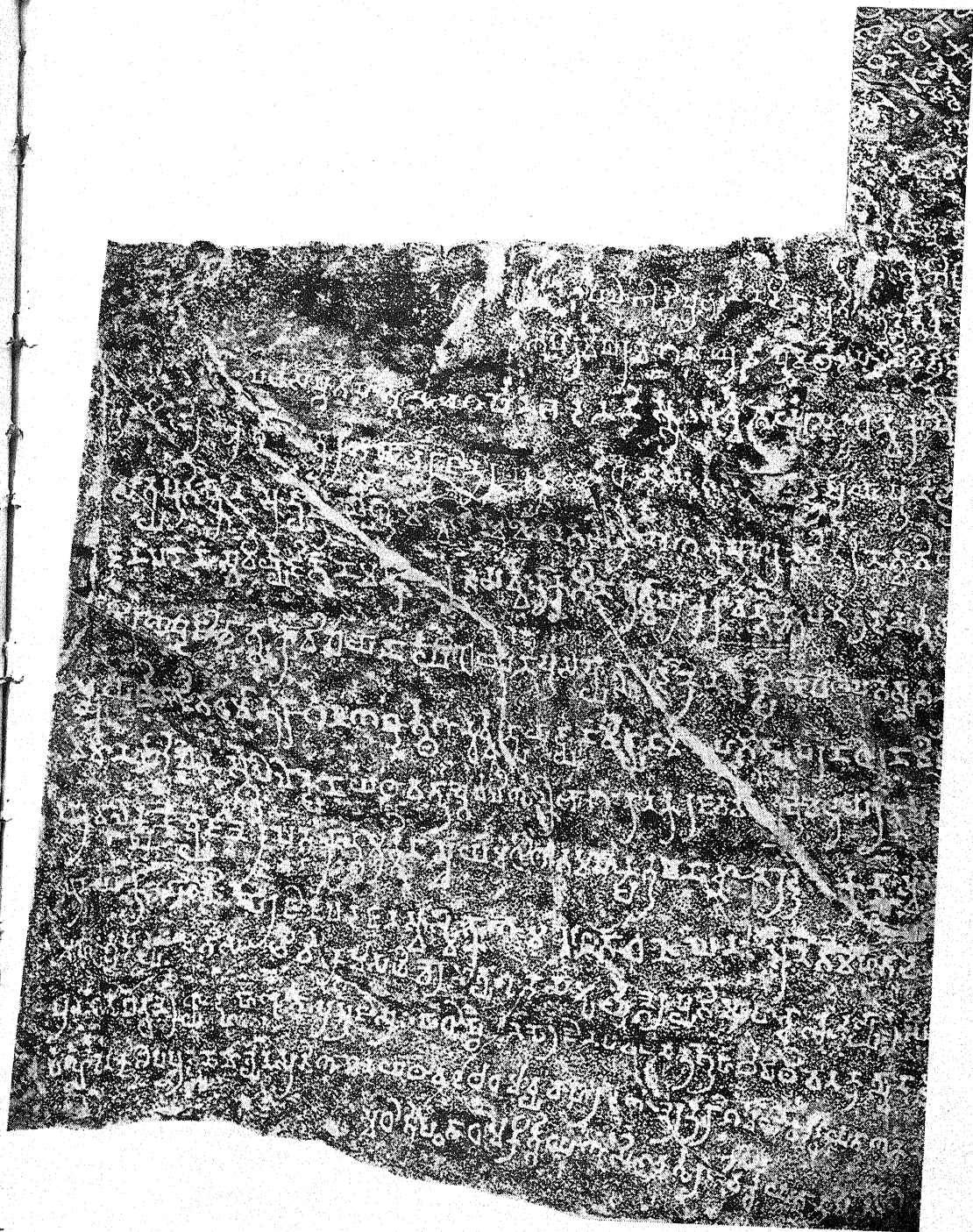
5 Indrāji and Bühler: °र्यमाणा°.

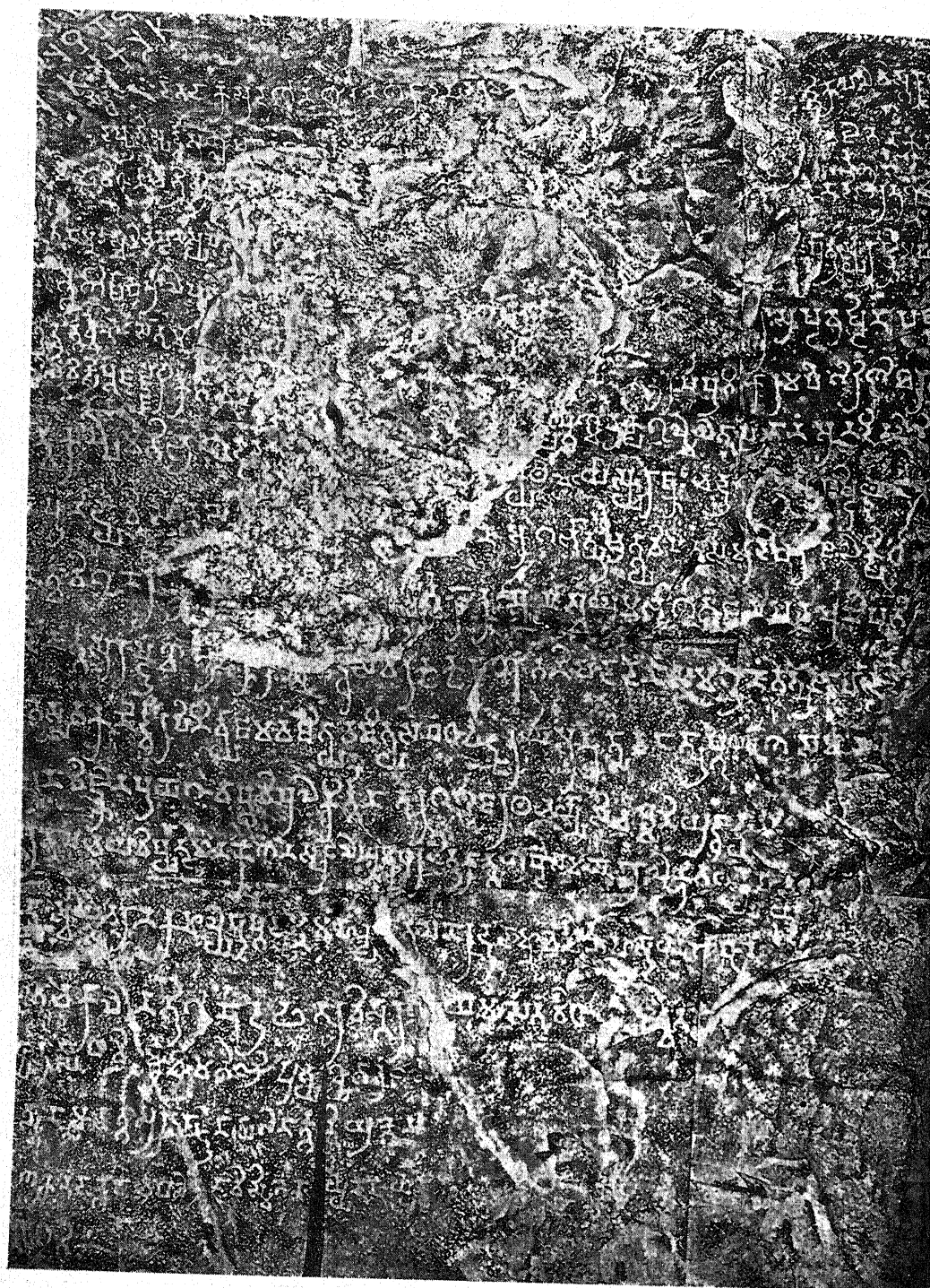
6 उपतल्प means the same thing as तल्प in *Raghu*, XVI, 11, "an upper story". शरणोच्छ्रय is "a shade for shelter;" cf. प्रतिच्छ्रय in No. 59, *supra*.

7 Read वेगेन.

8 Read °तानम् आ°.

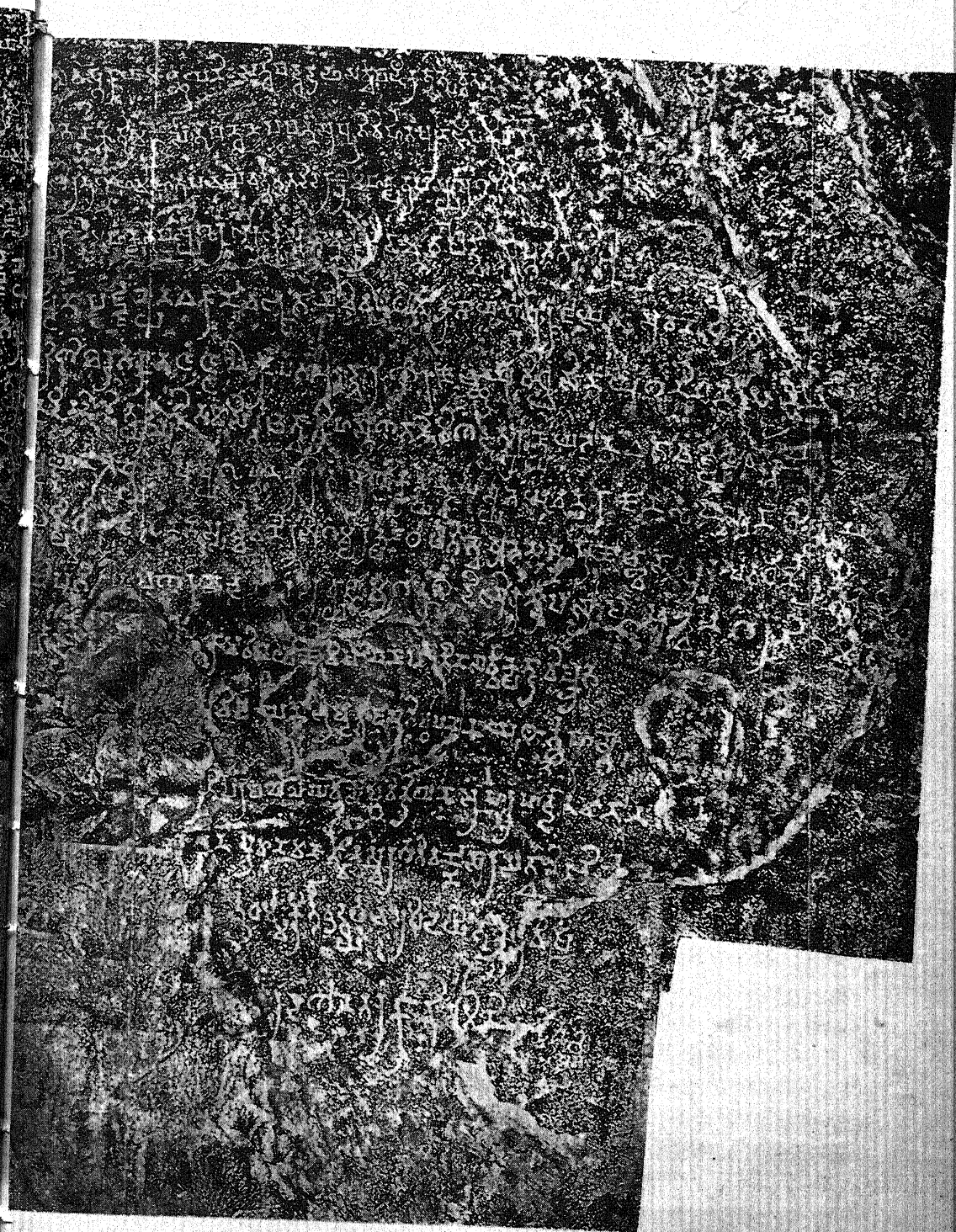
9 Read विशत्यु°.





Courtesy : Arch Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIII).

Junāgaṛh Inscription of Rudradāman (Bk. II, No. 67). Section II.





- 8 पंचसप्तति-हस्तानवगाढेन¹ भेदेन निस्सृत-सर्व-तोयं मह-धन्व-कल्पमतिभृशं²
 दुर्द³.....[।*]...[स्य]र्थे मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्र[गु][त*][स्य] राष्ट्रियेण
 [वै]श्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं⁴ अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य (क*)ते⁵ यवनराजेन
 तुष[।]स्फेनाधिप्राय⁶
- 9 प्रण[।]ळीभिरल[।]कृत[।] [।*] [त]त्कारित[या] च राजानुरूप-कृत-विधानया
 तस्मिं⁷ [भे]दे दृष्टया प्रनाड्या⁸ वि[स्तृ]त-से[तु*].....णा⁹ आ गर्भा-
 त्प्रभृत्यवि[ह]त-समुदि[व¹⁰ -रा]जलक्ष्मी-धारणा-गुणतस्सर्व-वर्णैरभिगम्य¹¹ रक्षणार्थं
 पतित्वे धृतेन [आ] प्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्ति-कृत-
- 10 सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्य[त] संग्रामेष्वभिमुखागत-सदृश-शत्रु-प्रहरण-वितरणत्वाविगुण-
 रि[पु*].....त-कारुण्येन¹² स्वयमभिगतजन-पदप्रणिपति[ता*][यु]वशरणदेन¹³
 दस्यु-व्याळ-मृग-रोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टपूर्व-नगर-निगम-¹⁴

1 Kielhorn reads सप्तति.

2 Read धन्व.

3 Kielhorn suggests the restoration दुर्दर्शनमासीत् with two or three words introducing the following sentence.

4 Read कारितम् अशोकस्य.

5 The original has ते for which Bhau Daji proposed तेन, and Indraji तत्. Kielhorn suggests कृते which is better. Apparently Rudadrāman had access to some records regarding the origin of the Lake. The Greek king with a Persian name was probably Aśoka's feudatory and governor. For *yavanas* in Western India, see *infra*, No. 86; *Periplus*, § 47; for Dattāmitri (=Demtriaspolis) in Sauvīra, Raychaudhuri, *P. H. A. I.*, 4th ed., p. 319.

6 Generally read स्पे; but Kielhorn is right when he points out that the subscript is not प but फ.

7 Read तस्मिन्.

8 Some read प्रणाळ्या.

9 Some read नो

10 Read ०समुदित०.

11 Read ०गम्य

12 Indraji and Bühler suggest धृत. The usual form of अन्यत्र संग्रामेषु (except in battles) is अन्यत्र संग्रामेभ्यः

13 जनपद may also be treated as one word meaning mankind. But the meaning seems to be "who grants life to people repairing to him of their own accord and protection to those prostrating themselves before his feet." Indraji and Bühler have प्रणिपत्ति [विशेष]. Read ०तायुशरण०

14 We may possibly also read मृगोरगा०.

- 11 जनपदानां स्ववीर्याजितानामनुरक्त-सर्व-प्रकृतीनां पूर्वापराकरावन्त्यनूपनीवृ-
दानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्र-श्व[भ्र-मरु-कच्छ-सिन्धु-सौवीर]-र-कुरापरान्त-निषादादीनां¹
समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्य[थावत्प्राप्तधर्मार्थ*]-काम-विषयाणां² विषयाणां पतिना³
सर्व्वक्षत्राविष्कृत-
- 12 वीर-शब्द-जा[तो]त्सेकाविधेयानां⁴ यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथ-पते-
स्सातकर्णेद्विरपि नीर्व्याजमवजीत्यावजीत्य⁵ संबन्धा[वि]दूर(त*)या⁶ अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्त-
यशसा [वाद]⁷[प्रा*][स]-विजयेन अष्टराज-प्रतिष्ठापकेन यथार्थ-हस्तो-
- 13 च्छूर्याजितोजित-धर्मानुरागेन⁸ शब्दार्थ-गान्धर्व्व-न्यायाद्यानां⁹ विद्यानां महतीनां पारण-

1 Restoration of the damaged text is due mainly to Indrāji. Akarāvanti = Mālwa; Akara = East Mālwa (cap. Vidiśā); Avanti = West Mālwa (cap. Ujjain). Anūpa realm, cap. Māhishmatī (mod. Maheśvar or Māndhātā in Nimār Dist.); Anarta = North Kāthiāwār, cap. Dvārakā; Surāshṭra = South Kāthiāwār, cap. Girinagara; Svabhra on the Śābarmatī; Maru = in Rājputānā Desert, cf. Mārwar; Kachchha = Cutch; Sindhu west of Lower Indus; Sauvira east of Lower Indus; Kukura in North Kāthiāwār near Anarta; Aparānta = North Konkan, cap. Śūrpāraka; Nishāda from Vinasana to Pāriyātra (= W. Vindhya and Aravelly; cf. *Mbh.*, III, 130, 3-4; XII, 135, 3-5). The Yaudheyas lived in the Bijaygarh region of Bharatpur and in Johiyābār on the Satlaj.

2 The restoration is due to Kielhorn. Bühler proposed य[थेप्सितावाप्त-सर्व]-काम.

3 Read पत्या

4 जाथो० was originally engraved.

5 Read निर्व्याजमवजित्यावजित्य.

6 The Kanheri Buddhist tank inscription (Lüders, No. 994) mentions the *devī* of Vāsishṭhiputra śrī-Sātakarṇi, who descended from the Kārdḍama-ka kings and was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa whose name begins with *Ru* (apparently Rudradāman). *Devī* does not always mean a queen. Chārudevī, wife of a crown-prince, is called *devī* in the British Museum grant (*infra.*). It is thus uncertain whether this Sātakarṇi was a king and is referred to in Rudradāman's record. He might have been a son of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi who was possibly twice defeated by Rudradāman (cf. the list of countries in l. 11 with that in *infra.*, No. 86, l. 2).

7 Kielhorn: मा(द?).

8 Read ०रागेण.

9 शब्द = grammar; अर्थ = lexicography or politics; गान्धर्व्व = music; न्याय = logic.

धारण-विज्ञान-प्रयोगावाप्त-विपुल-कीर्तिना, तुरग-गज-रथचर्यासि-चर्म-नियुद्धाद्या.....
ति-परबल-लाघव-सौष्टव-क्रियेण अहरहर्दान-मानान-

- 14 वमान-शीलेन स्थूललक्ष्णेण यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुल्क-भागैः¹ कानक-रजत-वज्र-वैडूर्य-²
रलोपचय-विष्यन्दमान-कोशेन स्फुट-लघु-मधुर-चित्त-कान्त-शब्दसमयोदारालङ्कृत-³
गद्य-पद्य-[काव्य-विधान-प्रवीणो*]न⁴ प्रमाण-मानोन्मान-स्वर-गति-वर्ण-सारसत्वादिभिः⁵
15 परम-लक्ष्ण-व्यञ्जनैरुपेत-कान्त-मूर्तिना स्वयमधिगत-महाक्षलप-नाम्ना नरेन्द्र-क[न्या]-⁶

1 स्थूललक्ष = बहुव्ययी ; बलि = tax, possibly identical with कर ; शुल्क = tolls and duties ; भाग = king's grain share.

2 Read कनक. Usually वैडूर्य.

3 Cf. the characteristics of the Vaidarbha style as explained by Daṇḍin in his Kāvyaadarśa, chapter I: श्लेषः प्रसादः समता माधुर्यं सुकुमारता । अर्थव्यक्तिरुदारत्व-मोजः-कान्तिसमाधयः ॥ 41. श्लिष्टमस्पृष्टशैथिल्यमल्पप्राणाक्षरोत्तरम् । शिथिलं मालतीमाला लोलालिकलिला यथा ॥ 43. प्रसादवत्प्रसिद्धार्थमिन्दोरिन्दीवरद्युति । लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोतीति प्रतीतिसुभगं वचः ॥ 45. समं बन्धेष्वविषमं ते मृदु-स्फुट-मध्यमाः । बन्धा मृदु-स्फुटोन्मिश्र-वर्ण-विन्यास-योनयः ॥ 47. मधुरं रसवद्वाचि वस्तुन्याप रसस्थितिः । येन माद्यन्ति धीमन्तो मधुनेव मधुव्रताः ॥ 51. कन्ये कामयमानं मां न त्वं कामयसे कथम् । इति ग्राम्योऽयमर्थात्मा वैरस्याय प्रकल्पते ॥ 63. अनिष्टुराक्षरप्रायं सुकुमारमिहेष्यते । बन्ध-शैथिल्य-दोषस्तु दर्शितः सर्व-कोमले ॥ 69. अर्थव्यक्तिरनेयत्वमर्थस्य हरिणोद्धृता । भूः खुर-क्षुरण-नागासृग्लोहितादुदधेरिह ॥ 73. उत्कर्षवान् गुणः कश्चिदस्मिन्नुक्ते प्रतीयते । तदुदाराह्वयं येन सनाथा काव्यपद्धतिः ॥ 76. ओजः समास-भूयस्त्वमेतद् गद्यस्य जीवितम् । पद्येऽप्यदाक्षिणात्यानामिदमेकं परायणम् ॥ 80. कान्तं सर्वजगतकान्तं लौकिकार्थानतिक्रमात् । तच्च वार्ताभिधानेषु वर्णनास्त्रपि दृश्यते ॥ 85. अन्यधर्मस्ततोऽन्यत्र लोकसीमानुरोधना । सम्यगाधीयते यत्र स समाधिः स्मृतो यथा ॥ 93. कुमुदानि निमीलन्ति कमलान्युन्मिषन्ति च । इति नेत्र-क्रियाध्यासाह्वया तद्वाचिनी श्रुतिः ॥ 94

4 This very probable restoration is due to Bühler. Various definitions of काव्य and its varieties are noticed by Sanskrit rhetoricians.

5 Read सत्त्व०

6 न्या was originally engraved.

- खयंवरानेक-माल्य-प्राप्त-दाम्न[¹] महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रदाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गो-त्रा[²][³][⁴][⁵]
[⁶] धर्मकीर्तिवृद्धयर्थं च अपीडयि[⁷] कर-विष्टि-
 16 प्रणयक्रियाभिः¹ पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा² महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता
 च कालेन त्रिगुण-दृढतर-विस्तारायामं सेतुं विधा[य स*]र्वत[³]⁴.....[सु]दर्शन-
 तरं कारितमिति [1*] [अस्मि]न्नर्थे
 17 [च]⁴ महा[क्ष]त्रप[स्य] मतिसचिव-कर्मसचिवैरमाल्य-गुण-समुद्युक्कैरप्यति-⁵
 महत्वाद्भेदस्यानुत्साह-विमुख-मतिभिः[⁶]⁷ प्रत्याख्यातारंभ[⁸]
 18 पुनः-सेतुबन्ध-नैराश्याद्वाहाभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं⁷
 पार्थिवेन कृत्त्वानामानर्त्त-सुराष्ट्रानां⁸ पालनार्थं त्रियुक्तेन
 19 पह्वेन⁹ कुलैप-पुत्रेणामात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थ-धर्म-व्यवहार-दर्शनैरनुराग-
 मभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्तेनाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्य्येणाहार्य्येण
 20 खधितिष्ठता धर्म-कीर्ति-यशांसि भर्तुरभिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठित[मि]ति¹⁰ [1*]

1 कर=tax ; विष्टि=forced (i. e., free) labour ; प्रणय=benevolence or emergency tax (cf. Kautilya, *Arthasāstra*, V, ii), mod. *priti-dān*.

2 Read °कोशात्.

3 Indrajī and Bühler have [सर्व्व]नग[र] ; but Kielhorn appears to be right.

4 Not noticed by others.

5 मतिसचिव (cf. धीसचिव of Amara)=counsellor ; कर्मसचिव=executive officer.

For अमाल्य-गुण, see l. 19.

6 Read °महत्त्वा°.

7 Originally the engraver began an *akshara* with e-sign in place of अ.

8 Read सुराष्ट्राणां

9 Pahlava is usually taken to mean Parthian. Pahlava and Pārada are mentioned side by side in literature. Pahlava is apparently connected with the old Pelhevi language of Iran. Did a Pahlava sometimes denote a Persian and Pārada a Parthian?

10 The full stop is indicated by a slightly curved dash-like sign.

No. 68—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 78, No. 270 ff.

*First side*¹

Bust of king to right ; imitation of inscription in Greek characters².

Second side

Symbol of three arches³, surmounted by crescent; waved line⁴ beneath ; crescent to left; star to right; border of dots. Inscription⁵ in Brāhmī characters :—

राज्ञो क्षत्रपस जयदाम-पुत्रस⁶ राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस रुद्रदामस[॥*]

(=राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य जयदान्नः पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य रुद्रदान्नः ॥)

1 From representation in Rapson's Catalogue, plate X.

2 "From this period onwards the inscription in Greek characters ceases to have any meaning. It becomes a mere ornament, and traces of it thus continue to appear on the coins until the end of the dynasty."—Rapson. In imitation of the coins of their Greek predecessors the Skytho-Parthians and Kushāṇas used Greek legends on their coins. The Satrapal Skythian families of western India were originally feudatory to the Kushāṇas.

3 Formerly the symbol was supposed to indicate a Chaitya. It is now believed to indicate a hill.

4 This symbol is supposed to indicate a river. The three arches on a waved line may indicate a hill-fort on the bank of a river.

5 The language is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. This is also the case even with the coins of Rudrasimha III, the last king of the dynasty. This fact shows that pure Sanskrit was still not very popular even in that locality where it began to oust Prakrit from the field of epigraphy from an early period.

6 Some specimens have जयदामस पुत्रस. See Rapson, Catalogue, p. 79; No. 276 ff; plate X. This kind of *sāpeksha-samāsa* is common in early inscriptions; cf. गोवधनस बेनाकटकस्वामि in No. 83, *infra*; also No. 72.

No. 69—Gundā Stone Inscription of the time of Rudrasimha I—[Śaka] Year 103 (=A.D. 181)

GUNDĀ, Hālār Dist., North Kāthiāwār

G. BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 157f; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, I, pt. i; p 42; RAPSON, *J. R. A. S.*, 1899, p. 375; *Catalogue*, p. lxi; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 963; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind.*, W. Circle, 1914-15, p. 67; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 235

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्ध['] [॥*] र[I]ज्ञो मह[']क्षत्र[पस्य] स्वामि-चष्टन-प्रपौत्रस्य² राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य
स्वामि-जयदाम-पौत्रस्य
- 2 स्य³ रा[ज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य] स्वामि-रुद्रदाम-पुत्रस्य राज्ञो क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्र-
- 3 सीहस्य [व]र्षे⁴ [त्रि]युत्तरशते १००(+*)३ वैशाख-शुद्धे पंचम-धत्ये(एय ?)-
तिथौ⁴ रो[हि]णि-नक्ष-
- 4 त-मुद्भू[ते] आभीरेण⁵ सेनापति-बापकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्र[भू]तिन[I] ग्रा]मे रसो-
- 5 [प]द्रिये वा[पी]⁶ [खा]नि[ता] बन्धापितश्च⁷ सर्व्व-सत्वानां हितमुखार्थमिति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-चष्टन-प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि जयदाम-
पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदाम-पुत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसीहस्य वर्षे

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

2 Some read चाष्टन

3 स्य is superfluous.

4 Some read पंचमि and धन्य

5 The Ābhiras originally lived near Vinasana is the Rājputānā Desert. They next settled in the Lower Indus valley and then in Aparānta. See p. 177, n. 2.

6 Some read श्रवण.

7 पद्रे हृदार्थे (Bühler); पद्रे हृदः (Indraji). वापी is doubtful, and the reading may be वन्धो (= बन्धः) or वर्तो (= वर्त)

8 Some read बद्धा

व्युत्तर-शत[तमे] (=अधिक०) १०३ वैशाख-शुद्धे (=शुक्लपक्षे) पञ्चम-धन्य-तिथौ रोहिणी-
नक्षत्र-मुहूर्ते¹ आभीरेण सेनापति-वप्पकस्य पुत्रेण सेनापति-रुद्रभूतिना² ग्रामे रसापद्रके वापी
(=कूपः) खानिता, बन्धिता [शिलादिभिः] च सर्व-सत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थम् इति ॥

No. 70—Junāgarh Stone Inscription of Jayadāman's Grandson³

JUNĀGARH, Kāthiāwār

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, II, p. 140f; *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Ins.*, Bhavnagar, p. 17; RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. lxi; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 966; R. D. BANERJI and V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 241

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī.

TEXT⁴

- 1स्तथा सुरगणेन [क्षत्रा]णां प्रथ[म]... ..
- 2चष्टनस्य प्र[पौ]त्रस्य राज्ञः[] क्ष[त्रप*]स्य स्वामि-जयदाम-
[पौ]त्रस्य राज्ञो म[हाक्ष].....
- 3[क्षत्र]शुक्लस्य दिवसे पंचमे ५ इ[ह] गिरिनगरे देवासुर-नाग-
य[क्ष]-रा[क्ष]से.....
- 4तथा(?) [पुर]मि[व].....केवलि[ज्ञा*]न-सं[प्राप्ता]नां(?).....जरा-मरण⁵...

1 The reference to Nakshatra Rohiṇī on the 5th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha also points to the Pūrṇimānta month. See *supra*, p. 136, n. 5. Note that the Uṇḍ inscription (*C. I. I.*, II, i, p. 70) connects Pūrvāśādhā with the 8th day of Chaitra.

2 The influential position of the Ābhīras at the Saka court apparently helped Ābhira Išvarasena in gaining the throne for himself.

3 The name of the reigning prince is lost. He must be either Dāmaysada or Rudrasimha I, possibly the latter. The modern name Gīrnār represents the ancient Girinagara.

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

5 The reading of this line is not beyond doubt. Some read जितजरा०

No. 71—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Jivadāman—Śaka year 120 (=198 A. D.)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 83ff., No. 291

First Side

Bust of king to right; imitation of inscription in Greek characters; date³ is Brāhmī numerals:—

१००(+*)२०

Second Side

Symbol of three arches, surmounted by crescent, with waved line beneath; crescent to left; star to right; border of dots; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

र[†*]ज्ञो मह[†*]ज्ञत्तपस दामजदस⁴ पुत्रस राज्ञो मह[†*]ज्ञत्त[पस] [जीवदामस] [॥*]
(=राज्ञः महाज्ञत्तपस्य दामजातस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाज्ञत्तपस्य जीवदाम्नः ॥)

1 Jivadāman was the grandson of Rudradāman I. He possibly succeeded his uncle, Rudrasimha I, in Śaka 119=197 A.D. and ruled for a few years.

2 From the representation in Rapson's *Catalogue*, plate XI. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68.

3 "With the reign of Jivadāman, son of Dāmajadaśrī I, begins the series of dated coins. From this time onwards the silver coins of the dynasty regularly have the year of their issue recorded in Brāhmī numerals on the obverse behind the king's head. Of Jivadāman there are also dated coins of potin".—Rapson, *loc. cit.*, p. cxxiv. But the reading of the date on Rapson's coin No. 288 is doubtful, and the first Brāhmī date is possibly to be attributed to the coins of Rudrasimha I. A variety of Cashāna's coins is supposed to contain dates expressed in Kharoshthī numerals (*loc. cit.*, p. cxiv). There can be no doubt that the dates should be referred to the Śaka era.

4 The actual name of this prince as found on a variety of his own coins is Dāmaysada (which was previously read by some scholars as Dāmagsada), or Dāmajadaśrī. The latter part of the name has been connected with the Persian word *zāda*, "a son."

No. 72—Garhā (Jasdan) Stone Inscription of Rudrasena I—Śaka Year 127 (?=A.D. 205)

GARHĀ, near Jasdan, Kāthiāwār.

BHAU DAJI, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, VIII, p. 234f; HOERNLE, *Ind. Ant.*, XII, p. 32f; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and RAPSON, *J.R.A.S.*, 1890, p. 652; RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. lxii, No. 42, LÜDERS, *List*, No. 967; D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., W. Circ.*, 1914-15, p. 67f; R.D. BANERJI and SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 238

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit,

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 [च]षे १००(+*) २०(+*) [७]² [भा]द्रपद-बहुलस ५ राज्ञो महाक्ष[व]पस
- 2 भद्रमुखस³ स्वाम-चष्टण-पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञो क्ष(त्र*)पस
- 3 स्वामी-[ज]यदम-पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुख[स्य]
- 4 [ख]म-रुद्रदाम-पौ[त्र]स्य राज्ञो महक्ष(त्र*)पस्य भ[द्रमु]खस्य स्वामि-
- 5 रुद्रसिंह-(पुत्र*)स्य राज्ञो महक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य इदं शान्यं(?)⁴

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

2 Bhandarkar : ५. Banerji and Sukthankar alternatively suggest ६

3 भद्रमुख=having an auspicious face; cf. सुगृहीतनाम, p. 170, n. 3. It is used as a polite address in *Śākuntala*, VII. Note the *sāpeksha samāsa*.

4 Bhandarkar reads सक्त and others शक्त. Bhau Daji translates it as "tank". Hoernle connects it with सत्. "a kind of expensive Soma sacrifice extending over many days" and takes it in the sense of "liberality, munificence." Lüders takes it to be the सत् (seat?) of a Cave inscription. As has been pointed out by Banerji and Sukthankar, the word उत्थवित clearly implies that a structure which was raised, elevated and erected is indicated by this word. Banerji connects it with सत्, "almshouse". But the change of स into श is difficult to explain. It appears to indicate a *lāṭh* raised in memory of Kharapārtha by his brothers.

6 मानस-सगो[व]स्य¹ प्र[ता]शक-पुत्रस्य खर[पा]त्थस्य² भ्रातृभिः³ उत्थावित ख[र्ग-]⁴

7 [सुखार्थं ?] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

वर्षे [सप्तविंशत्यधिकशततमे] १२७ भाद्रपद-बहुलस्य [पञ्चमे दिवसे] ५ राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-चष्टनस्य पुत्र-प्रपौत्रस्य राज्ञः क्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-जयदान्नः पुत्र-पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्रदान्नः पौत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य भद्रमुखस्य स्वामि-रुद्र-सिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य स्वामि-रुद्रसेनस्य—इदं शान्त्यं (=शिलाभयं यष्टिः ?) मानस-सगोत्रस्य प्रत्याशकपुत्रस्य खरपात्थस्य भ्रातृभिः उत्थापितं [स्वर्ग-सुखार्थम्] ॥

No. 73—Kānakherā Stone Inscription of Śrīdhara- varman—Regnal year 13; Śaka year 201 (=A.D. 279)

KĀNĀKHERĀ, near Sāñchī, Bhopāl State, Central India.

R. D. BANERJĪ, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 232; N. G. MAJUMDAR, *J. P. A. S. B.*, XIX, p. 343f.

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī.

Metre : V. 1: Śādūlavikrīḍita

TEXT⁵

सिद्धम् [॥*]⁶

1 भगवत्त्रिदशगण-सेनापतेरजितसेनस्य स्वामि-महासेन-महा[भक्त?][स्य] [आदित्य]-
वीर्या[जितविजय]⁷

1 Hoernle: मान[?] तु तुंगोलस्य प्रता[र]थक० ; Bhau Daji: सुप्रनाथक०.

2 खर-पौत्रस्य (Bhau Daji and Hoernle); खरपीत्थस्य (Bhandarkar); खरपत्थस्य (Banerji and Sukthankar).

3 भ्रातृभिः (Banerji and Sukthankar); भ्रात्रभिः (Bhandarkar)

4 उत्थवितास्व (Bhau Daji); उत्थवितास्ति (Hoernle). Traces of three aksharas are found below ०त्थस्य भा० of l. 6. Banerji and Sukthankar think there is no trace.

5 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI.

6 On the left margin of the inscription on the level between ll. 3 and 4.

7 Banerji reads जीवदाम and identifies him with the father of Kshatrpa Rudrasimha II.

- 2 धर्मविजयिना¹ शक-नन्द-पुत्रेण महादण्डनायकेन शकेन श्रीधरव[र्म]णा वर्ष-
[सह]स्राय² स्वराज्याभिवृद्धिकरे वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदश[मे]³
- 3 श्रावण-बहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वकमेतद्विषयं⁴ कल्याणाभ्युदयवृद्धयर्थमक्षयस्वर्गावाप्तिहेतो-⁵
र्द्धर्मयशो(S*)र्त्थं धर्मासि-संवुद्धया श्राद्ध...⁶
- 4 शाश्व[तो]⁷ चन्द्रादित्य-समकाल.....[॥*]अपि[च]
का[न्तः]—: [प्रसन्न ?]-सलिलः सर्वाधिगम्यः सदा
- 5 सत्त्वाना[] प्रियदर्शनो जलनिधिर्द्धर्मात्मलः⁸ [शाश्व]तः [॥*]
—————
- 6 [कृ]पः श्रीधरवर्मणा गुणवता खानापितो(S*)यं⁹ शुभः ॥¹⁰
२००(+*) १ [॥*] [स्वस्त्यस्तु] ॥¹¹

1 Banerji: विजयेन

2 Banerji: धर्म.....सा(श्रि)य ; Majumdar: वर्ष०.

3 The date refers to Jivadāman's rule according to Banerji; but Jivadāman never ruled. Śrīdhavarman seems to have been originally an official of the Śaka house of Mālwa, but later assumed independence. There are many cases of the survival of the original official or subordinate titles.

4 Read वैजयिके संवत्सरे त्रयोदशे श्रावणबहुलस्य दशमीपूर्वके एतद्विषये

5 Banerji: ०वाप्तिमेतद्धर्म०

6 Majumdar suggests श्रद्धया

7 Banerji: शाखाते चतुःसत्य...तुकोयम्...ि...मापि...कापिञ्चम्...सलिल; Majumdar शाश्वतचन्द्रसूर्यकालिकोयं

8 Banerji reads ०मलः...गत...प्य...प्राच्य...

9 Evidently the author did not follow Sanskrit Grammar according to which the correct form would be खानितः. This shows that pure Sanskrit was not very popular in the royal courts of Western India even as late as the 3rd century A.D. Note also the Prakritisms in ll. 2-3 and the *sāpeksha samāsa* in l. 1.

10 The verse in शाहूलविक्रीडित is an early instance of a classical metre being used in an inscription. Two Mathurā records of the first century A.D. are known to be written in Classical Sanskrit and in the ornate metres Śārdūlavikrīḍita and Bhujāṅgaviṣṭhita. See *Ep. Ind.*, II. p. 200; *I. H. Q.*, XVI, p. 485. These records prove the developed stage of the Kāvya literature in the early centuries of the Christian era, though apparently Sanskrit was not then quite popular in Indian courts.

11 Majumdar reads the date स[२००] ४० १ in place of स्वस्त्यस्तु and explains the preceding signs as punctuation marks. The reading of the date is doubtful.

No. 74—Inscription on the Silver Coins of Rudrasimha III—Śaka year 310 (?=A.D. 388)

RAPSON, *Catalogue*, p. 194f., No. 907

*First side*¹

Bust of king to right; imitation of inscription in Greek characters; date in Brāhmī *aksharas* and numerals behind the head:—

व[षे] ३००(+*)१०²

Second side

Symbol of three arches; a waved line beneath; crescent to left; star to right; border of dots; inscription along the border in Brāhmī characters:—

राज्ञ महाक्षत्रपस खा[मि]-[सत्य][सह*]-पुत्रस³ राज्ञ [महा]क्षत्रपस खा[मि]-
रुद्रसहस [॥*]

(=राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य खामि-सत्यसिंहस्य पुत्रस्य राज्ञः महाक्षत्रपस्य खामि-रुद्रसिंहस्य ॥)

1 From representation in Rapson's *Catalogue*, plate XVII. For the symbols, see *supra*, No. 68.

2 It is not possible to determine whether there was a unit figure at the end. The date may therefore be A. D. 388+x. One of the Udayagiri inscriptions of Chandragupta II, which is dated in G. E. 82=A. D. 402 says that the king went there in course of an expedition "for conquering the whole earth". After the conquest of Mālwa and Kāthiāwār, Chandragupta II issued silver coins closely copied from the silver issues of the Kshatrapas. On the obverse these bear the king's head with imitation of inscription in Greek characters and date behind. On the reverse they have the Garuḍa bird in place of the symbol of three arches, etc. The earliest date on these coins is G.E. 90 or 90+x=A. D. 410 or a date between 410 and 414 which is the beginning of Kumāragupta's reign. Smith takes A.D. 395 as the mean date for the completion of the conquest of western India by Chandragupta II. See Allan's *Catalogue*, p. xxxviii f.

3 Rapson suggests that one specimen reads हस (sic. सह=सिंह)

CHAPTER II
SOUTHERN INDIA
A—WESTERN DECCAN: INSCRIPTIONS OF
THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS

**No. 75—Nāsik Cave Inscription of
the time of Kṛishṇa**

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres.

On the upper sill of the right window in Cave No. 19
Bhagwanlal INDRAJI and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV,
p. 91, No. 1; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 93, No. 22; LÜDERS,
List, No. 1144 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the second half of the first century B.C.¹

*TEXT*²

- 1 सादवाहन-कुले] कन्हे राजनि नासिककेन³
2 समणेन महामातेण लेण[] कारित[]³ [Svastika] [Taurus] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

शातवाहन-कुले कृष्णे राजनि (=शातवाहन-कुलजस्य⁴ कृष्णस्य राजत्वकाले) नासिककेन

1 Earlier scholars generally placed the early Śātavāhana kings about the middle of the 2nd century B.C. Modern scholars, like Mr. R. P. Chanda (*M.A.S.I.*, No. 1), have however proved that the Nānāghaṭ records are to be assigned to a much later date on palaeographic grounds. Angular forms of some letters (cf. म of महा०) in the present epigraph prove in my opinion that the record is not earlier than the latter half of the first century B. C. It is interesting to note in this connection that authorities on Indian architecture are now inclined to support the views of earlier art-critics who assigned the "Nasik Hall to the latter half of the first century B. C." (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 636ff).

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

3 The mention of Nāsika and not Govardhana suggests that the two places, though very near each other, were not identical.

4 This royal family has been called Andhra or Andhrabhritya in the Purāṇas. Its name was Śātavāhana according to inscriptions. No early king

(=नासिकनगर-वास्तव्येन) श्रमणेन (=भिच्छूणा) महामातेण² लयनं (=भिच्छूणां व्यवहाराय गुहावासः) कारितम् ॥

Nos. 76-81—Nānāghaṭ Cave Figure-Label Inscriptions of the time of Śātakarni I

NĀNĀGHĀṬ, a pass leading from the Konkan to Junnār, Poonā Dist., Bombay Pres.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, p. 64; LÜDERS, *List*, Nos. 1113-18.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.

TEXT³

No. 1

1 राया सिमुक-सातवाह-

2 नो सिरिमतो [॥*]

of the dynasty had anything to do with the Andhra country near the mouths of the Kṛishṇā and the Godāvarī (cf. Mayidavolu grant, *infra*). The list of countries forming the kingdom of Gautamīputra (*infra*, No. 86, l. 2), the 23rd Andhra king according to the Purāṇas, does not include Andhradeśa. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence, as well as literary (Brahmanic, Jain and Greek) traditions referring to Pratishṭhāna (mod. Paithān in the Aurangābād Dist., Hyderābād), as the capital of the Śātavāhana kings, shows that the original Śātavāhana kingdom was in the Northern Deccan (see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 346f, n). Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāvi (Siriptolemaios, ruler of Baithāna in Ptolemy's geography), was the first king who extended Śātavāhana power over the Andhra country. The Purāṇas apparently refer to a period when Śātavāhana rule was limited in the Andhra region. "Śātavāhana District," the 3rd-4th century name of the Bellary Dist., merely proves the extent of the family's suzerainty and has nothing to do with its original home. Discovery of their coins in Berar proves nothing on this point. The name Śātavāhana is usually found as Śālivāhana in literature.

2 Senart translates "by the officer in charge of the Śramaṇas at Nāsik".

3 From the plates in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. These six inscriptions are incised above the positions of the heads of what were relievo figures now entirely destroyed. Note that the names of the reigning king and his queen are given in the 6th case-ending. Apparently the labels and representations belong to the royal pair (No. 2), the king's father (No. 1), the queen's father (No. 4; cf. *infra*, No. 82, l. 3.) and the royal Kumāras. See p. 190, n.

No. 2

1 देवि-नायनिकाय रञ्जो

2 च सिरि-सातकनिनो [॥*]

No. 3

1 कुमारो भा-

2 य...[॥*]

No. 4

महारठि वनकथिरो [॥*]

No. 5

कुमरो हकुसिरि [॥*]

No. 6

कुमारो सातवाहनो [॥*]²

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I—राजा शिमुक-शातवाहनः श्रीमान् । II—देवी-नागनिकायाः (=०नागायाः
 =०नाग्याः)³राज्ञः च श्री-शातकर्णः । III—कुमारः..... । IV—महारथी
 दाणकाय्यः । V—कुमारः शक्तिश्रीः । VI—कुमारः शातवाहनः⁴ ।

1 Bühler restored Bhāyala and took him as a younger brother of Sātakarni.

2 Earlier scholars assigned the Nānāghāt inscriptions to the middle of the 2nd century B. C. on grounds of palaeography. Scholars however have now proved that the palaeography of these records is later. For references, see Raychaudhuri, *P.H.A.I.*, 4th ed., p. 337ff; also *supra*, p. 183, n. 1; 186, n. 1.

3 The actual name of the queen must have been Nāgā. *Anikā* or *aṇṇikā* (*aṇṇikā*, *aṇṇikā* ?) is generally found suffixed to female names in early South Indian inscriptions. Male names usually have the suffix *anaka* or *aṇṇaka* (*aṇṇaka*, *aṇṇaka*?).

4 This personal name seems to suggest that the family is named after a king called Sātavāhana who may have been an ancestor of Simuka. Simuka's *viruda* "Sātavāhana" may suggest that either it was his second name or it means "descendant of Sātavāhana." The first alternative is improbable as it became the family name as early as the time of Simuka's immediate successor. None of the suggestions regarding the etymology of Sātavāhana and Sātakarni is satisfactory. They cannot be connected with the Satiyaputas.

No. 82—Nānāghāt Cave Inscription of Nāganikā (?)

NĀNĀGHĀT, Bombay Pres.

G. BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V, p. 60f; 86f; LÜDERS, List, No. 1112 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of the second half of first century B.C.

TEXT¹

Part I

(on the left wall)

1 [सिधं ।*]²...नो धंमस नमो ईदस³ नमो संकंसन-वासुदेवानं⁴ चंद-सूरानं⁵

1 From the plate in *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, V. The *i*-signs and characters like व, प, द and च exhibit an amount of development. व, though without serif, is on the way of becoming triangular. प is almost of the Kushāṇa type. Palaeographically the inscription may be placed between the Besnagar pillar inscription of Heliodoros (about the beginning of the 1st cent. B. C.) and the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela (end of the 1st cent. B.C.)

2 Bühler's restores ओं (or सिधं) नमो प्रजापतिनो धंमस. I prefer सिधं, which is found at the beginning of numerous early inscriptions. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

3 It is interesting to note that Dharma and Indra are not identified respectively with the Lokapālas Yama and Vāsava who are separately mentioned. The identifications are probably of a later date.

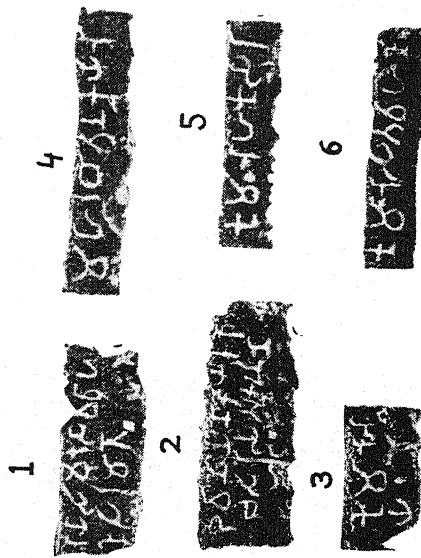
4 The absence of Pradyumna and Aniruddha in connection with Saṅkarshana and Vāsudeva may suggest that the Vyūha doctrine did not develop before the age of this record at least in its locality. It should be remembered that even a law book like the *Vishṇusamhitā* cannot help referring to the four: वासुदेवाय सङ्कर्षणाय प्रद्युम्नायानिरुद्धाय (87: 2).

5 Bühler read चंद-सूतानं; but the second *akshara* may well be वा, but is surely not ता. सूर means "the sun"; cf. अत्थाहिलासी भञ्जवं सूरौ *Mudrā-rākṣasa*, Act IV.

I



II

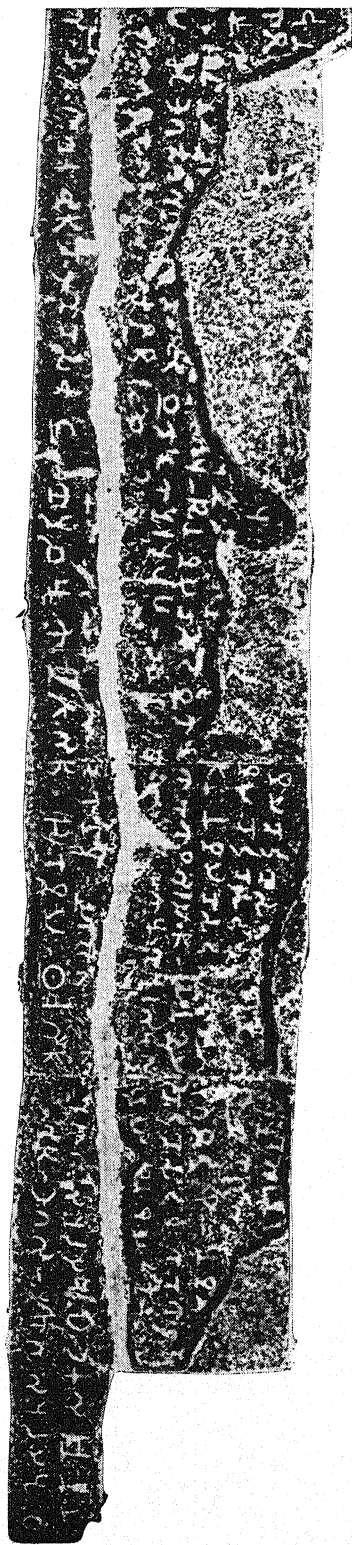


Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind.

1. Nanaghat Cave Inscription (Part I) of Nagamnikā (Bk. II, No. 82). Sections I & II.
2. Nanaghat Cave Inscription (Part II) of Nagamnikā (Bk. II, No. 82). Sections I & II.

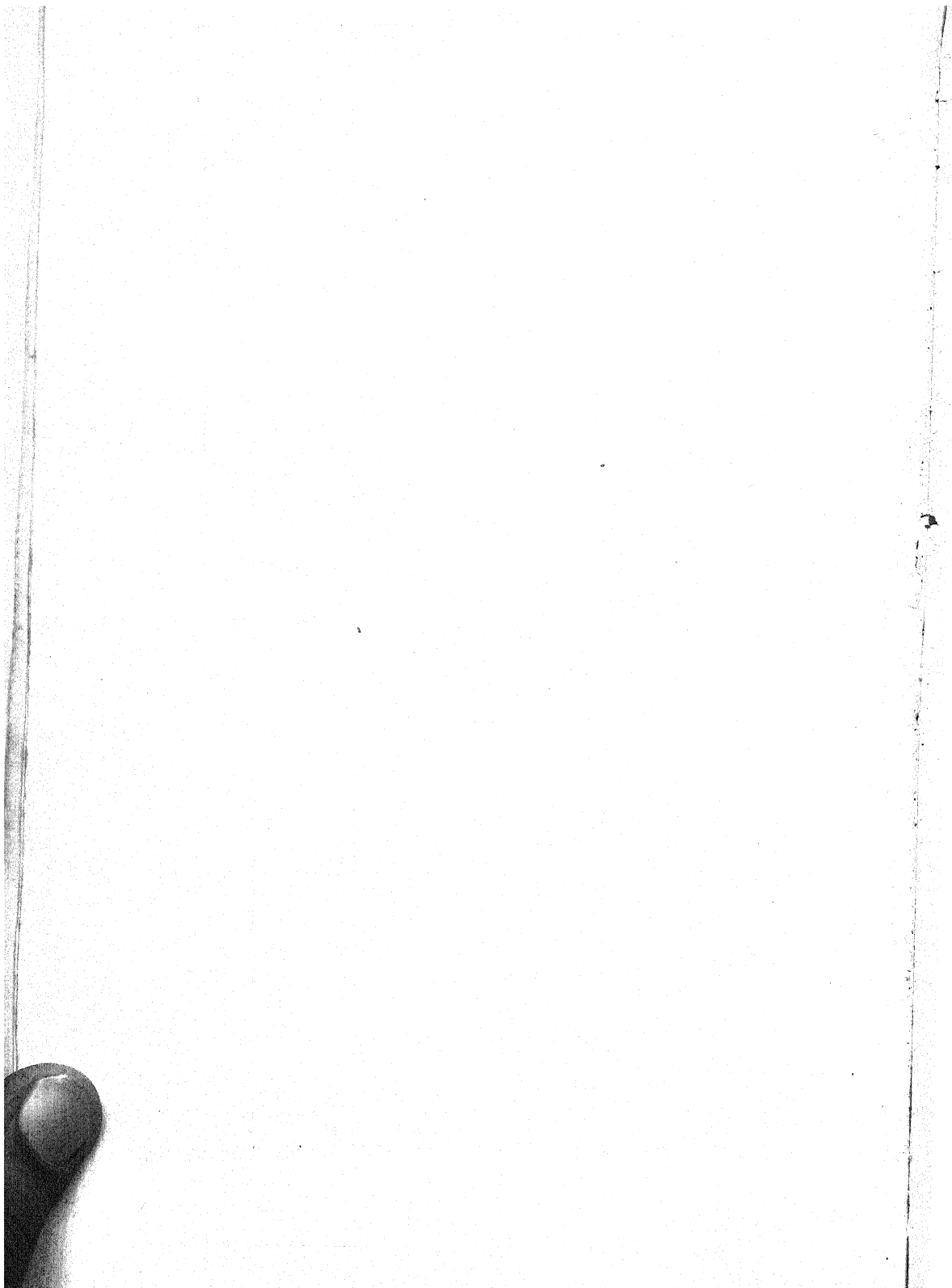


III



IV





- [महि]मा[व]तानं चतुर्नं चं लोकपालानं यम-चरुन-कुबेर-वासवानं नमो [॥*]
कुमारवरस ख[द]सिरिस¹ र[जो]
- 2[व]१रस सूरस अ-प्रतिहत-चकस दखि[नप*]ठ-[पतिनो*].....²
- 3 [मा].....[बाला*]य महारठिनो अंगिय-कुल-वधनस सगर-गिरिवर-वल[या]य³
पथविय पथम-वीरस वस...य व अलह (वंतठ?).....सलसु...महतो मह...
- 4 सिरिस...⁴ भारिया देवस पुतदस वरदस कामदस धनदस [खद]सिरि-मातु सतिनो
सिरिमतस च मातु[य] सीम.....
- 5 वरिय.....[न]गवर-दयिनिय मासोपवासिनिय गह-तापसाय चरित-ब्रम्हचरियाय
दिख-व्रत-यंज-सुडाय यजा हुता धूपन-सुगंधा य निय.....
- 6 रायस.....[य*]जेहि यिठं [१*]वनो । अगाधेय यंजो द[खि]ना⁵ दिना गावो
बारस १०(+*)२ असो च १ [१*] अनारभनियो यंजो दखिना धेनु⁶.....
- 7दखिनायो दिना गावो १००० (+*) ७०० हथो १०.....
- 8स...ससतरय⁷ [व]ासलठि २००(+*) ८० (+*) ६ कुभियो रुपामयियो
१०(+*)^८ भि.....
- 9रिको यंजो दखिनायो दिना गावो १०००० (+*) १००० असा १०००
पस[पको*].....
- 10१० (+*) २ गमवरो १ दखिना काहापना २०००० (+*) ४००० (+*)
४०० पसपको काहापना ६०००।^९ राज[सुयो यंजो*].....सकटं

1 Usually read वेदि ; but see A. S. I., A. R., I923-24, p. 88.

2 The suggested restoration is सातकंणिसिरिस पुतस मातुय नायनिकाय or, to avoid duplication of Śātakarṇi's name, शिसुक-सातवाहनस वंस-वधनस०

3 The passage seems to be an echo of the Buddhist cosmographic idea of the earth being encircled by sea and also by mountains known as the *chakravālaparvatas*.

4 Possibly we have to restore सातकंणिसिरिस.

5 खा seems to have been originally engraved.

6 There are traces of two numerical symbols after धेनु.

7 The first two *aksharas* may be read सर्व.

8 Bühler takes the sign to indicate "1". I take it here (as well as in other cases) as a mark of punctuation, as it is not close to the symbol for 6000.

Part II

(on the right wall)

- 11 धंजगिरि-तंस-पयुतं सपटो १ असो १ अस-रथो १ गावीनं १०० [१*] असमेधो
यंजो^१ बिलियो [यि*]ठो दखिनायो [दि]ना असो रुपाल[का]रो १ सुवंन...नि १०
(+*) २ दखिना दिना काहापना १०००० (+*) ४००० गामो १ [हठि].....
[दखि]ना दि[ना]
- 12 गावो *^२ सकटं धंजगिरितस-...पयुतं...[१*] *^३वायो यंजो.....१० (+*)^३
[धेनु?]......[*] [१*] वाय...सतरस
- 13१० (+*)^३ अच...न...लय...पसपको दि[नो].....[दखि]ना दिना सु
...पीनि १० (+*)^२ अ(?)सो^३ रुप[ल]कारो १ दखिना काहाप[ना] १००००...२
- 14गावो २०००० [१*] [भगल]-दसरतो यंजो यि[ठो] [दखिना] [दि]ना [गावो]
१०००० । गर्गतिरतो यंजो यिठो [दखिना]... ..पसपको पटा ३०० ।
गवामयनं यंजो यिठो [दखिना दिना] गावो १००० (+*) १०० ।गावो १०००
(+*) १०० (?) पसपको काहापना...पटा १०० [१*] अतुयामो यंजो.....
- 15[ग]वामयनं यंजो [दि]ना दिना गावो १०००० (+*) १०० । अंगिरस[र]-
मयनं यंजो यिठो [दि]खिना गावो १०००(+*) १०० । त.....[दखिना दि]ना
गावो १००० (+*) १०० । सतातिरतं यंजो.....१००....[१*]...[यंजो] दखिना
ग[र][वो] १००० (+*) १०० [१*] अंगिरस[ति]रतो यंजो यिठो [दखि]ना
गा[वो]...[१*]...
- 16 ...[गा]वो १००० (+*) २ [१*] छन्दोमप[व]मा[नतिरत] दखिना गावो १००० ।
अ[गि]र[सतिर]तो यंजो [यि]ठो [दखिना]...[१*]...रतो यिठो यज्ञो दखिना
दिना...[१*]...तो यंजो यिठो दखिना...[१*]...यंजो यिठो दखिना दिना गावो
१००० ।
- 17न स सयं.....दखिना दिना गावो.....त...[१*] [अ]गि[रसा]मयनं
छवस.....[दखि]ना दिना गाव १०००....[१*]...[दखिना] दिना गावो १००० ।
तेरस.....अ...[१*]

1 यंजो has been omitted in Bühler's transcript

2 Indrajī read the figure after गावो as 6000.

3 Bühler: तेस

- 18[।*]तेरसरतो स...छ...[अ]ग-दखिना दिना गावो...[।*]...दसरतो म...
 [दि]ना गावो १०००० । उ.....१०००० । द.....
 19[य]जो दखिना दि[ना].....
 20[द]खिना दिना¹

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

I.—सिद्धम् ॥ [प्रजापतये] धर्माय नमः, इन्द्राय नमः, सङ्कर्षण-वासुदेवाभ्यां, चन्द्रसूराभ्यां (=सूर्याभ्यां) महिमवद्भ्यां, चतुर्भ्यः च लोकपालेभ्यः यम-वरुण-कुबेर-वासवेभ्यः नमः ॥ कुमार-वरस्य स्कन्दश्रियः, राज्ञः.....वीरस्य शूरस्य अप्रतिहतचक्रस्य दक्षिणापथपते..... [शिशुकशातवाहनस्य वंशवर्द्धकस्य माता नागया]बालया (=कन्यया) महारथिनः अङ्गिक-कुल-वर्द्धनस्य, सागर-गिरिवर-वल्यायाः पृथिव्याः प्रथमवीरस्य.....[शातकर्ण]-श्रियः भार्यया देवस्य पुत्रदस्य वरदस्य कामदस्य धनदस्य, स्कन्दश्री-माता, शक्तेः श्रीमतः (=शक्तिश्रियः) च माता.....नागवर-दायिन्या, मासोपवासिन्या, गृहतापस्या, चरित-ब्रह्मचर्यया, दीर्घ-व्रत-यज्ञ शौर्यया यज्ञाः हुताः धूपन-सुगन्धाः (=सुगन्ध-द्रव्यहुत्या सुगन्धीकृताः)...राजस्य...यज्ञैः इष्टम् । [तेषां] वर्णाः (=वर्णानां=विवरणम्)—अग्न्याधेयः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः द्वादश १२, अश्वः च [एकः] १ । अनारम्भणीयः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा।.....दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १७००, हस्तिनः १०.....वंश-यष्टयः २८६, कुम्भयः रौप्यमय्यः १७....।.....रिकः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०००, अश्वः १०००, प्रसर्पकः (=यज्ञ-दर्शकादिजनाः=तेभ्यः दानम्).....[यज्ञः...दक्षिणा दत्ता]...१२, आमवरः १२, दक्षिणा कार्षापणानि, २४४००, प्रसर्पकः कार्षापणानि ६००० । राजसूयः यज्ञः.....शक्यं

II—धान्यगिरि-तंस-प्रयुक्तं (=विशालधान्यस्तूपस्य वहन-मोचन-विनियुक्तं),⁸ सत्पट्टम् १, अश्वः १, अश्वरथः १, गवीनां [शतं] १०० । अश्वमेधः यज्ञः द्वितीयः⁴ इष्टः,

1 It is not certain if this was the last line. The number of sacrifices proves the great influence of the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa in the Early Sātavāhana court. The great wealth paid as *dakṣiṇā* proves not only the opulence of the family but also the acquired complexity of the simpler Vedic sacrificial tradition. For the sacrifices consult Bühler, *l.c.*, and Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*.

2 Bühler: "the presents to the spectators and menials"; cf. Pet. Dict., s. v.

3 Bühler: "the cart for conveying a mountain of grain."

4 Two *Aśvamedhas* were performed; but the account of the first is lost.

दक्षिणा दत्ता.....अश्वः, रौप्यालङ्कारः १, सुवर्णालङ्काराः १२, दक्षिणा दत्ता कार्षापणानि
 १४०००, ग्रामः १, हस्ती...[यज्ञः] दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः [६०००], शकटं धान्यगिरि-
 तंसप्रयुक्तं.....।.....। गोवायः(?) यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता.....१७.....। सप्तदशतिरावः
 यज्ञः [दक्षिणा दत्ता].....१७.....प्रसर्पकः दत्तः.....।.....[यज्ञः]
 दक्षिणा दत्ता.....१२, अश्वः, रौप्यालङ्कारः १, दक्षिणा कार्षापणानि १००००.....गावः
 २०००० । भगाल-दशरावः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० । गर्गातिरावः यज्ञः
 इष्टः, दक्षिणा.....प्रसर्पकः पट्टानि ३०० । गवामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता
 गावः ११०० ।...गावः ११००, प्रसर्पकः कार्षापणानि * पट्टानि १०० । आसौर्यामः यज्ञः...
 ... । गवामयनं यज्ञः दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । अङ्गिरसामयनं यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः,
 ११०० ।.....दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः ११०० । शतातिरावः यज्ञः.....१००.....।...यज्ञः,
 दक्षिणा गावः ११०० । अङ्गिरसातिरावः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा गावः...।...गावः १००२ ।
 छन्दोमपवमानातिरावः [यज्ञः], दक्षिणा गावः १००० । अङ्गिरसातिरावः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा
 ...।...रावः यज्ञः इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता...।...अतिरावः इष्टः यज्ञः, दक्षिणा...।...यज्ञः
 इष्टः, दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १०००।...[यज्ञः इष्टः], दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः.....।
 ...अङ्गिरसामयनं षड्वर्ष (१)दक्षिणा दत्ता गावः १००० ।...[यज्ञः], दक्षिणा दत्ता
 गावः १०००.....।...तयोदशरावः [यज्ञः, दक्षिणा दत्ता].....। तयोदशरावः ..अप्रथमदक्षिणा
 दत्ता गावः.....।...दशरावः.....दत्ता गावः १०००.....१००० ।.....यज्ञः,
 दक्षिणा दत्ता.....।...दक्षिणा दत्ता..... ॥¹

1 The sacrifices may have been performed when the queen-mother was possibly the regent and Skandaśrī was a minor. But the word *rāyasa* may suggest that Śātakarṇi was the performer. Śaktiśrī has been identified with Śaktikumāra son of Śālivāhana, mentioned in Jain literature. The identification of this prince with Hakusiri of *supra*, No. 80 (see p. 184, n. 3) suggests that the queen referred to in this inscription is Nāyanikā, wife of Śātakarṇi I. As regards हकु=शक्ति, note हिङ्ग-यव-हातकणि=श्रीयज्ञ-शातकर्णि on some coins (Rapson, *Cat.*, p. 45). According to the Purāṇas, Simuka who defeated the Kāṇvas and Śuṅgas was succeeded by his brother Kṛishṇa (No. 75) and the latter by his son Śātakarṇi (No. 77). The order of succession seems to be alright, but the terms of relationship should possibly be transposed. Possibly both Kṛishṇa and Śātakarṇi were sons of Simuka.

**No. 83—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamī-
putra Śātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A. D.)—Regnal
Year 18 (= c. A.D. 124)**

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres. On the east wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, under the ceiling.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 558ff ; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 104f., No. 13; SENART, *Ep. Ind.* VIII, p. 71, No. 4; LÜDERS, List, No. 1125 (for references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

1 सि[ध]² [॥*] सेनाये [वे]जय[ति]ये³ विजय-खधावारा [गो]वधनस
बेनाकटक-स्वामि⁴ गोतमि-पुतो सिरि-सदकणि

1 From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. The record was copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth ; cf. पटिका in l. 6.

2 सिद्धं=सिद्धिः अस्तु

3 Senart takes Vaijyantī to be a city (mod. Banavāsi in North Kanara?) To me it seems to be an epithet of सेना apparently referring to some expedition led by the king, very probably the one against Rishabhadatta (cf. 1.2).

4 Some read कटका. This reading suggests that Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi issued the charter "from Benākāṭaka" (बेनाकटकात्), which place was evidently situated on a river called Benvā. In records however the epithet स्वामिन् is found after the metronymic and close to the name of the king. It is therefore better to take बेनाकटक-स्वामिन् as an instance of *śakapārthivādi samāsa* to indicate "the lord now residing at Benākāṭaka." This Benākāṭaka (as well as the river Benā) was situated in the Nāsik district. The Benā therefore can hardly be identified with the Pengaṅgā or the Waingāṅgā. Note that this interpretation alone explains why only in two cases the Śātavāhana king is referred to as lord of a particular place. Records were usually issued from the capital which was not mentioned. These two are unusual cases and that is why the places were mentioned. For the *sāpeksha samāsa*, see *supra*, p. 175, n. 6.

- 2 आनपयति गोवधने अमच वि[गहु]पालितं[१*] गामे अपर-कखडि[ये] [य] खेतं
अजकालक्रियं उसभदातेन भृतं निवतन-¹
- 3 सतानि वे २०० एत अम्ह-खेत निवतण-सतानि वे २०० इमेस पवजितान
तेकिरसिण² वितराम [१*] एतस चस खेतस परिहार
- 4 वितराम अपावेशं अनोमस अलोण-खा[दकं] अरठसविनयिकं सवजातपारि-
हारिक च [१*] ए[ते]हि नं परिहारेहि परिह[र]हि [१*]
- 5 एते चस खेत-परिहार[रे] च एथ निबधापेहि [१*] अविनेन³ आणतं [१*] अमचेन
सिवगुतेन छतो [१*] महासामियेहि उपरखितो [१*]
- 6 दता पटिका सवछरे १० (+*)⁴ वास-पखे २ दिवसे १ [१*] तापसेन कटा [१*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (=सिद्धिः [अस्तु]) ॥ सेनायाः [कस्मिंश्चित् अभियाने] विजयमानायाः विजय-स्कन्धा-
वारात् (=०कटकात्) गोवर्द्धनस्य (=नासिकहारान्तर्गत०) बेनाकटक-स्वामी (=०कटक-स्थित०)
गौतमीपुत्रः श्रीशातकर्णिः आज्ञपयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं (=गोवर्द्धनस्थं गोवर्धनाहार-शासकं)
विष्णुपालितम् । —“ग्रामे अपर-कखड्यां यत् क्षेत्रम् अद्यकालकीयम् (=अद्यतनसमयं यावत् ;
यद्वा, आर्यकालकीयाख्यम्)⁵ ऋषभदत्तेन भुक्तं निवर्तन-शते द्वे २००, एतत् अस्मत्-क्षेत्रं
निवर्तन-शते द्वे २०० एभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः तैरश्मिकेभ्यः (=तैरश्मिपर्वतवासिभ्यः) वितरामः
[वयम्] । एतस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं (=क्षेत्रसम्बन्धीयराजाधिकारविशेषेभ्यः विमुक्तिं)
वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यं (=भटादिप्रवेश-प्रतिषेधः) अनावमश्यं (=राजपुरुषादिजनित-
बाधायाः निषेधः), अ-लवण-खातकं⁶ (=क्षेत्रात् लवणखनन परिहारः), अ-राष्ट्र-

1 One *nivartana* of land was 240×240 sq. cubits (2·975 acres) or 120×120 sq. cubits (·748 acre). See *Suc. Sātavā.*, p. 330 n.

2 तेकिरसिनं has been supposed to be a mistake for तेरसिकानं (=तैरश्मिकानां, of those residing on the Tiraśmī hill). Read एतस च.

3 अविनेन means भणित or उक्त ; see *Deśināmamālā*, I, 10.

4 This date falls very near the last known date of Nahapāna; cf. the Jogaltembhī hoard of Nahapāna's coins restruck by Sātakarni, and *infra*, p. 197, n. 5.

5 One of the Barhut inscriptions mentions a Yaksha named Ajakālaka (Barua and Sinha, *Barhut Ins.*, p. 67). The field may have been named after a similar spirit. For Rishabhadatta, see *supra*, Nos. 58-61.

6 All produce of the mines belonged to the king; cf. आकरेभ्यः सर्वमादद्यात् (*Vishṇusamhitā*, III, 35); cf. also आकरे लवणे शुल्के तरे नागवले तथा । न्यसेदमात्या-
नृपतिः स्वाप्तान् वा पुरुषान् हितान् ॥ महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व १६·६१२६

संविनयिकं¹ सर्व्वजातिपारिहारिकं च । एतैः एनं (=एतत् क्षेत्रं) परिहारैः परिहर । एतत् च
अस्य क्षेत्रपरिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निबन्धय (=शासने उल्लेख्य) ।”
उक्तेन (=वचनमात्रेण) आज्ञप्तम् । अमात्येन शिवगुप्तेन कृतं (=लिखितं शासनम्) ।
महाखामिकैः उपलक्षितं (=राज्ञा परीक्षितम्) । दत्ता पट्टिका संवत्सरे अष्टादशे १८ वर्षा-पक्षे
द्वितीये २ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (=श्रावण-शुक्लपक्ष-प्रथमदिवसे) । तापसेन कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) ॥

No. 84—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Gautamīputra Śātakarnī—Regnal Year 24 (=c. A.D. 130)

Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 83 from which it is separated only by a **स्वस्तिक**

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 105 ff; INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 560 ff; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 73; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1126 (for other references)

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT²

- 1 ³सिद्धं [॥*] गोवधने अम[च]स सामकस⁴ [दि]यो [रा]जाणितो [॥*]
2 रजो गोतमिपुतस सातकणि[स] म[हा]देवीय च जीवसुताय राज-मातुय वचनेन
गोवधने [अम*]जो सामको अरोग वतव⁵ [॥*] ततो एव च

1 विनी or संविनी means “to govern, control;” संविनय is therefore “government, control (by punishment).” As regards government, the land was thus separated from other parts of the kingdom; cf. सदखडदशापराध of later records referring to the power of punishing minor offences transferred to the donee. Senart translates “not to be interfered with by the district police.”

2 From the facsimile published in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. This is also copied from a charter on plates. The latter part is carelessly engraved.

3 This line is a continuation of l. 6 of No. 83. सिद्धं = सिद्धिः [अस्तु]

4 Some read समक.

5 Some read सत०. The word जीवसुता suggests that the king was ill and the people had to be assured against his death. The next king was possibly on his way to the throne, and the queen-mother who might have been in power for some time had to refer to the dying king's name. This illness apparently proved fatal to Gatamīputra.

- 3 वतवो [1*] एथ अम्हेहि पवते तिरण्डुम्हि अम्ह-धमदाने लेणे पतिवसतानं
पवजितान भिखून गा[मे] कखडीसु¹ पुव खेतं दत्त [1*] त च खेत
- 4 [न]² कसते[1*] सो च गामो न वसति [1*] एवं सति य दानि एथ नगर-सीमे
राजकं खेतं अम्ह-सतकं ततो एतेस पवजितान भिखून तेरण्डुकानं दद[म]
- 5 खेतस निवतण-सतं १०० [1*] तस च खेतस परिहार वितराम अपावेस अनोमस
अ-लोण-खादक अ-रठ-सविनयिक सव-जात-पारिहारिक च [1*]
- 6 एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेठ [1*] एत चस खेतपरीहा[रे] च एथ
निवधापेथ [1*] अवियेन आणत [1*] पटिहा(र*)-रखिय लोटाय छतो
लेखो [1*]³ सवछरे २०(+*)४
- 7 वासान पखे ४ दिवसे पचमे ५ [1*] सुजिविना⁴ कटा [1*] निवधो⁵ निवधो
सवछरे २०(+*)४ गिंहान पखे २ दिवसे १० [1*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ गोवर्द्धने अमात्याय श्यामकाय देयं राजाज्ञप्तं (=राजाज्ञापत्रम्) । राज्ञः गौतमी-
पुत्रस्य शातकर्णः महादेव्याः च जीवत्सुतायाः राजमातुः वचनेन गोवर्धने अमात्यः श्यामकः
अरोगं (=आरोग्यं) वक्तव्यः । ततः एव च [सः] वक्तव्यः—“अत्र अस्माभिः
पर्वते तिरश्मो अस्मद्धर्मदाने लयने प्रतिवसद्भ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः ग्रामे कखट्यां
पूर्वं (=भूतकाले) क्षेत्रं दत्तम् । तत् च क्षेत्रं न कृष्यते ; स च ग्रामः न उष्यते (=अध्युष्यते) ।
एवं सति, यत् इदानीम् (=अधुना) अत्र नगरसीमि राजकीयं क्षेत्रम् अस्मत्-स्वत्वकं (=राजमातृ-
स्वत्व-विशिष्टं क्षेत्रं [अस्ति]), ततः एतेभ्यः प्रव्रजितेभ्यः भिक्षुभ्यः तैरश्मिकेभ्यः दद्यात् क्षेत्रस्य
निवर्त्तनशतं १०० । तस्य च क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अ-लवण-

1 Apparently this village stood on the eastern borders of Western Kakhaḍi mentioned in *supra*, No. 83. Aparā-Kakhaḍi may also have been the western part of Kakhaḍi. But the smaller area of the land in this case and reference to the queen-mother's ownership appear to suggest that the grant referred to is different from that in No. 83

2 The letter which is indistinct is read by some as व.

3 Drafting of a document by a female official is interesting. Read दत्ता पटिका संवछरे

4 Some read पुजितिना.

5 निवधो seems to be engraved twice owing to the engraver's inadvertence.

खातकम्, अ-राष्ट्र-संविनयिकं (=राष्ट्रस्य साधारणदण्डविधेः बहिर्भूतत्वम् = विशिष्ट-शासन-वत्त्वं ?), सर्वजातिपारिहारिकं च । एतैः एनं [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहरत । एतं च अस्मिन् क्षेत्र-परिहारं (=क्षेत्रस्य परिहारं) च अत्र निबन्धयत ।” उक्तेन आज्ञप्तम् । प्रतीहार-[र]क्ष्या (=द्वार-रक्षिण्या = अन्तःपुर-प्रतीहाराध्यक्ष्या) लोट्या क्षतः (=लिखितः) लेखः । [दत्ता पट्टिका] संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ वर्षाणां पक्षे चतुर्थे ४ दिवसे पञ्चमे ५ (=भाद्र-शुद्ध-पञ्चम-दिवसे) । सुजीविना कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) । निबद्धः [लेखः (=राजकीयलेखशालायां रक्षितप्रतिलिपिकीकृतः)] संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ ग्रीष्मस्य पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे दशमे १० (=चैत्रशुद्धदशमदिवसे) ॥

No. 85—Kāṛle Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhī-putra Pulumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.)

—Regnal Year 7 (=c. A.D. 137)

KARLE, Poona Dist., Bombay Pres.

BURGESS and BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 107, No. 17;

SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 61f, No. 14; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1100 (for references).

Language: Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 रणो वासिष्ठिपुत्रस सामि-सिरि-[पुळुमाविस*]सवछरे सतमे ७ गिम्ह-पखे पचमे ५
- 2 दिवसे पथमे १ एताय पुवाय ओखळकियानं महार[थि]स कोसिकि-पुतस मित-देवस पुतेन
- 3 [म*]हारथिना वासिष्ठिपुतेन सोमदेवेन गामो दतो वल्लुरक-संघस वल्लुरक-लेनस सकरुक्रो स-देय-मेयो[॥*]²

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ ग्रीष्मपक्षे पञ्चमे ५ दिवसे प्रथमे १ (=ज्यैष्ठ-कृष्ण-प्रथमदिवसे)—एतस्यां पूर्वायां (=पूर्वोक्ते दिवसे) औत्खलकीयानां (=०कीय-वंशजस्य) महारथिनः कौशिकीपुत्रस्य मितदेवस्य पुत्रेण महारथिना वासिष्ठीपुत्रेण सोमदेवेन

1 From the plates in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV and *Ep. Ind.*, VII.

2 Some read वल्लुरकासघस, वल्लूरक and सकराक्रोर. For Valūraka, see *supra*, No. 61, n. Mahārathi seems to be a feudatory title like Mahāsenāpati.

ग्रामः दत्तः वलूरक-सङ्घाय वलूरक-लयनस्य (=० गुहासु वास्तव्यानां भिक्षूणां सङ्घाय) स-करोत्-
करः (यद्वा, सकराकरः) स-देय-मेयः (=बलिशुक्लादिसहितः राजभागादिसहितः च) ॥

No. 86—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsishṭhīputra Pulūmāvi—Regnal Year 19 (=c. A.D. 149).

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres.

On the back wall of the veranda in Cave No. 3, above the entrance.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 550ff, No. 2; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 180f, No. 18; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 60 ff. No. 2; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1123 (for references)

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धं [॥*] रजो वासिठीपुतस सिरि-पुल्लुमायिस सवच्छरे² एकुनवोसे १०
(+*) ९ गीम्हाणं पखे वित्तीये २ दिवसे तेरसे १०(+*)^३ राजरजो गोतमी-पुतस
हिमव[त]-मेरु
- 2 मंदर-पवत-सम-सारस असिक-असक-मुल्लक-सुरठ-कुकुरापरंत^३-अनुप-विदभ-
आकरावन्ति-राजस विभ-छवत-पारिचात-सग्दह(ह्य)-कण्हगिरि-मचसिरि-टन-
मलय-महिद-

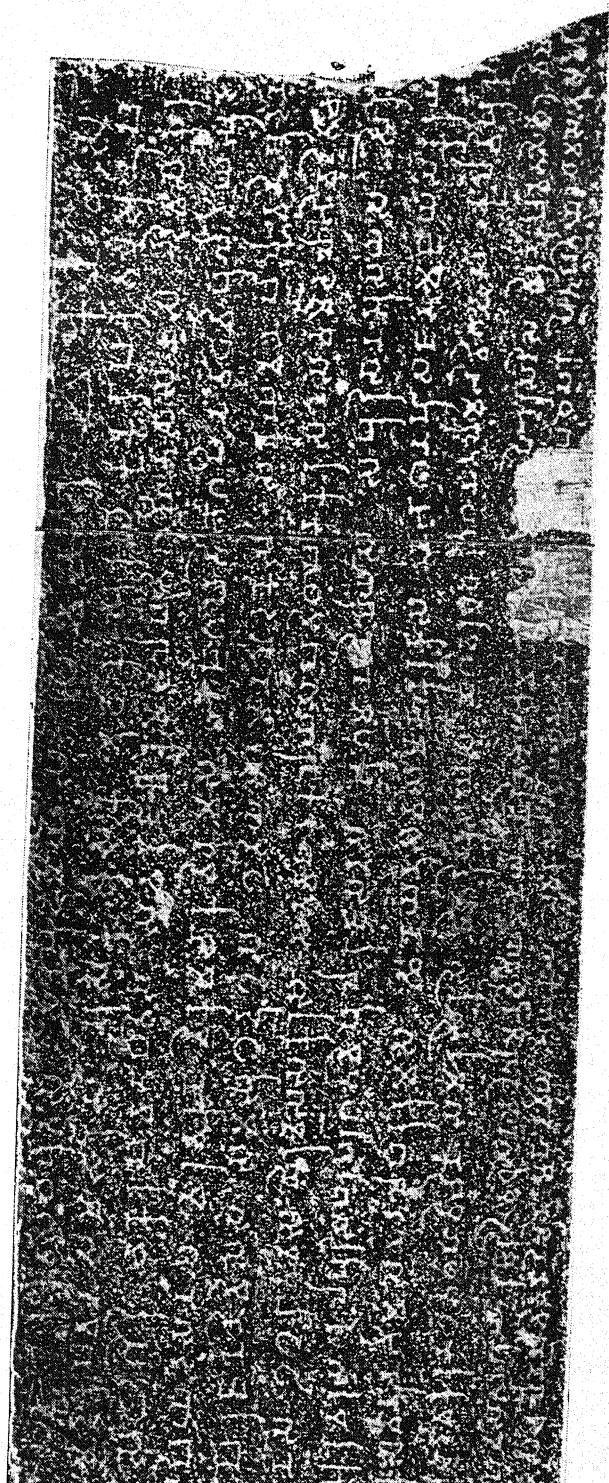
1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.* VIII. This record also may have been copied on the cave wall from a grant on plates of copper or cloth. The gift of the cave to a new sect of monks suggests that the earlier occupants had vacated it. The unusual eulogy of the dead king is possibly due to the fact that the queen-mother wanted to recapitulate the family's glory at a time when much of his son's conquests were reconquered by the Śakas. There is no proof that Gautamīputra and Pulūmāvi ruled conjointly.

2 The marks above व do not appear to be any part of the letter

3 Vindhya=Eastern Vindhyas; Rikshavat=Vindhyas to the south of Mālwa; Pāriyātra=Aravelly and Western Vindhyas; Sahya=Western Ghāts; Kṛishṇa-giri=Kanheri. See also p. 172, n. 1; p. 197, n. 1; 198, n. 5.

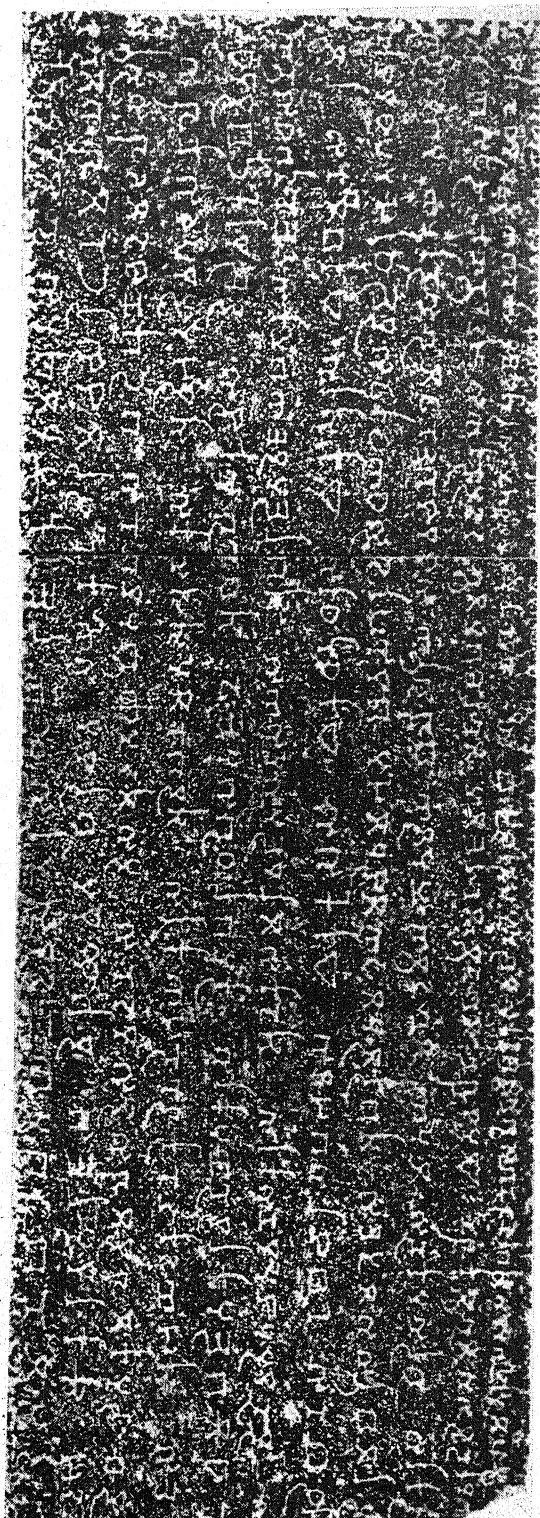
4 A letter was originally inscribed here, but was afterwards erased

5 Some read वात०.



esv : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., VIII).

Nāsik Inscription of Puṣumāvi (Ek. II, No. 86). Section I.



esey : Arch. Surv. Ind. (*Ep. Ind.*, VIID).

Nāśik Inscription of Puṣṭāvi (Bk. II, No. 86). Section II.



- 3 **सेटगिरि-चकोर-पवत-पतिस**¹ सवराज[लोक]म[']डल-पतिगहीत-सासनस दिवसकर-
[क]र-विबोधित-कमलविमल- सदिस-वदनस तिसमुद-तोय-पीत-वाहनस पटिपू[']ण²
-चद-मडल-ससिरीक-
- 4 पियदसनस वर-वारण-विक्रम-चारु-विक्रमस भुजगपति भोग-पीन-वाट-विपुल-दोघ-
सुद[र*]-भुजस अभयोदकदान-किलिन-निभय-करस³ अविपन-मातु-सुसूसाकस
सुविभत-तिवग-देस-कालस
- 5 पोरजन-निविसेस-सम-सुख-दुखस⁴ खतिय-दप-मान-मदनस **सक-यवन-पल्लव**-⁵
निसूदनस धमोपजित-कर-विनियोग-करस कितापराधे पि सतु-जने अ-पाणहिसा-रुचिस
दिजावर-कुटूब-विवध-
- 6 नस **खखरात**-वस-निरवसेस-करस **सातवाहनकुल**-यस-पतिथापन-करस सव-मंडला-
भिवादित-च[र*]णस विनिवतित-चातूवण-संकरस⁶ अनेक-समरावजित-सतु-
सधस अपराजित-विजयपताक-सतुजन-दुपधसनीय-

1 Cf. the list of countries with that in *supra*, No. 67. What Gautamīputra gained from Nahapāna, he lost to Chashtāna and Rudradāman. The reference to Malaya (Western Ghāṭs to the south of Nilgiri) and Mahendra (Eastern Ghāṭs) points to a vague claim of suzerainty over the Deccan Peninsula possibly based on a *digvijaya* (cf. ति-समुद-तोय-पीत-वाहन).

2 Senart : पटिपुण.

3 Cf. सर्वदानाधिकमभयप्रदानम्, Vishṇu, 92. 1.

4 Cf. प्रजासुखे सुखी राजा तदुःखे यश्च दुःखितः । स कीर्तियुक्तो लोकोऽस्मिन् प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥ विष्णुसंहिता । ३।७०

5 The Sakas have again been referred to as Khakharāta (=Kshaharāta, cf. *supra*, No. 58f.). Their success was responsible for the insignificance of the Sātavāhana kingdom for many years before Gautamīputra who reestablished his family's fortune. The Yavanas (Greek) and Pahlavas (Perso-Parthians) ruled in the Panjāb-N.W.F.P.-Sind region. For their existence in Western India, see *supra*, p. 171, n. 5. Some take Kshatriya in the sense of the Khatri tribe; but cf. *eka-bamhana* and the tradition referring to the Brāhmaṇa-Nāga origin of the Sātavāhanas.

6 Senart reads चातुवण-सकरस. Cf. चातुर्वर्ण्ये स्वर्गस्थे मर्यादानामसङ्करे । दण्डनीतिकृते चेमे प्रजानामकुतोभये ॥ etc. महाभारत । शान्तिपर्व । ६।१।७७

- 7 पुरवरस कुल-पुरिस-परपरागत-विपुल-राज-सदस आगमान [नि]लयस सपुरिसानं
असयस सिरि[ये] अधिठानस उपचारान पभवस एककुसस एक-धनुधरस एक-सूरस
एक-बम्हणस राम-
- 8 केसवाजुन-भोमसेन-तुल-परकमस छण-धनुसव-समाज-कारकस¹ नाभाग-नहुस-
जनमेजय-सकर-य[या]ति-रामाबरीस-सम-तेजस अपरिमितमखयमचितमभुत पवन-
गरुळ-सिध-यख-राखस-विजाधर-भूत-गधव-चारण-
- 9 चद-दिवाकर-नखत-गह-विचिण-समरसिरसि जित-रिपु-सघस नागवर-खधा गगनतल-
मभिविगाढस कुल-विपु[लसि]रि-करस सिरि-सातकणिस मातुय महादेवीय
गौतमीय बलसिरीय सचवचन-दान-खमाहिसा-निरताय तप-दम-निय-
- 10 मोपवास-तपराय राजरिसिवधु-सदमखिलमनुविधीयमानाय कारित देयधम
[केलासपवत*]-सिखर-सदिसे [ति]रण्डु-पवत-सिखरे विम[ान*]वर-निविसेस-महि-
ढीकं लेण[।*] एत च लेण महादेवी महाराज-माता महाराज-[पि]तामही ददाति
निकायस भदावनीयान भिखु-सघस [।*]
- 11 एतस च लेण[स] चितण-निमित महादेवीय अयकाय सेवकामो पियकामो च
ण[ता] * * * * [दखिणा*]पथेसरो पितु-पतियो धमसेतुस [ददा]ति गामं
तिरण्डु-पवतस अपर-दखिण-पसे पिसाजिपदक सब-जात-भोग-निरि²[।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धं (=सिद्धिः अस्तु) ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य श्रीपुलुमावेः संवत्सरे एकोनविंशे १६ ग्रीष्मस्य
पक्षे द्वितीये २ दिवसे त्रयोदशे १३ (=चैत्रशुद्ध-त्रयोदश-दिवसे) राजराजस्य गौतमी-पुत्रस्य
हिमवन्मेरु-मन्दरपर्वतसम-सारस्य, ऋषिकाशमकमूलक-सुराष्ट्र-कुकुरापरान्तानूप-विदर्भाकरावन्ति-
राजस्य³ विन्ध्यर्चवत्-पारियात्र-सह्य-कृष्णगिरि-मर्त्यश्री-स्तन-मलय-महेन्द्र-श्रेष्ठगिरि-चक्रोर-

1 The first word may also be छणा

2 The absence of the usual formulae of charters proves that some passages of the original have been omitted here. Read निरुद्धं.

3 Cf. विदर्भानृषिकांश्चैव रम्यान्माहिषकानपि (*Rāmāyaṇa*, IV, 41, 11). As a passage of the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela would suggest, the Asika = Rishika country possibly lay between the Krishnā and the Godāvarī, and to the south of Āsmaka. The city of the Asikas is there placed on the Krishnā. Āsmaka was on the Godāvarī near Mūlaka which was the district round Pratiśṭhāna (mod. Paithān), the Satavāhana capital. Vidarbha is mod. Berar. For the other countries, see *supra*, p. 172, n. 1.

पर्वत-पतेः, सर्व-राजलोकमण्डल-प्रतिगृहीत-शासनस्य, दिवसकर-कर-विवोधित-कमलविमल-सदृश-वदनस्य, त्रिसमुद्र-तोय-पीत-वाहनस्य¹, परिपूर्ण-चन्द्रमण्डल-सश्रीक-प्रियदर्शनस्य, वर-वारण-विक्रम-चाह-विक्रमस्य भुजगपति-भोग-पीन-वृत्त-विपुल-दीर्घ-सुन्दर-भुजस्य, अभयोदक-दान-क्लिन्न-निर्भयकरस्य अविपन्न-मातृ-शुश्रूषकस्य² सुविभक्त-त्रिवर्ग-देश-कालस्य (=धर्मार्थकाम-लाभाय स्थान-कालव्यवहारकस्य), पौरजन-निर्विशेष-सम-सुख-दुःखस्य, क्षत्रिय-दर्पमान-मर्दनस्य, शक्र-यवन-पल्लव-निसूदनस्य, धर्मोपचित-कर-विनियोगकरस्य (=धर्मशास्त्रसमर्थित०) कृतापराधे अपि शत्रुजने अ-प्राणहिंसा-रुचेः, द्विजावर-कुटुम्ब-विवर्द्धनस्य (=द्विजाद्विज-कुल-वर्द्धकस्य), क्षत्रात-वंश-निरवशेष-करस्य, शातवाहनकुल-यशः-प्रतिष्ठापनकरस्य, सर्वमण्डला-भवादि-चरणस्य, विनिवर्तित-चातुर्वर्ण्य-सङ्करस्य, अनेकसमराजित-शत्रुसङ्घस्य (=०समरेषु विजितशत्रुसङ्घस्य), अपराजित-विजयपताक-शत्रुजनदुःप्रधर्षणीयपुरवरस्य, कुलपुरुषपरम्परा-गत-विपुलराजशब्दस्य, आगमानां निलयस्य (=वेदादिशास्त्रज्ञानस्य आधारस्य), सत्पुरुषाणाम् आश्रयस्य, श्रियः अधिष्ठानस्य, उपचाराणां प्रभवस्य (=सदाचाराणाम् उद्भवस्य), एकाङ्कुशस्य, एकशूरस्य, एकब्राह्मणस्य (यद्वा, ०ब्राह्मणस्य), राम-केशवाज्जुन-भीमसेन-तुल्य-पराक्रमस्य, क्षण-घनोत्सव-समाज (=शुभदिवसेषु महोत्सवादि०)-कारकस्य, नाभाग-नहुष-जनमेजय-सगर-ययाति-रामाम्बरीष-सम-तेजसः अपरिमितम् अक्षयम् अचिन्त्यम् अद्भुतं पवन-गरुड-सिद्ध-यक्षराक्षस-विद्याधर-भूत-गन्धर्व-चारण(=स्वर्गाय-गायक०, किन्नर०)-चन्द्र-दिवाकर-नक्षत्र-ग्रह-विचीर्ण(=जुष्ट०, ईक्षित०)-समर-शिरसि जित-रिपुसङ्घस्य³, नागवर-स्कन्धात् गगनतलम् अभिविगाढस्य, कुल-विपुलश्री-करस्य, श्रीशातकर्णैः माता महादेव्या गौतम्या बलश्रिया सत्यवचन-दान-क्षमाहिंसा-निरतया (=०क्षमाशीलया अहिंसापरया च) तपो-दम-नियमोपवास-तत्परया राजर्षिवधूशब्दम् अखिलम् अनुविदधत्या (=०धारयन्त्या) कारितः देयधर्मः कैलास-पर्वत-शिखर-सदृशे त्रिश्रिण-पर्वत-शिखरे विमानवर-निर्विशेषं महर्द्धिकं (=पर्वतशिखरस्थ-पुष्पक-सदृशं महासमृद्धियुक्तं) लयनम् । एतत् च लयनं महादेवी (=महाराजपत्नी) महाराज-माता महाराज-पितामही ददाति निकायाय भद्रायणीयानां (भद्रायनीयानां, महायानीयानां?) भिक्षु-सङ्घाय । एतस्य च लयनस्य चित्रण-निमित्तं (=उत्कर्षाय) महादेव्याः आर्यकायाः (पितामह्याः) सेवाकामः प्रियकामः च नप्ता...दक्षिणापथेश्वरः (=पुलुमाविः) पितृ-प्रीतये (=स्वर्गत-पितृ-प्रीणा-

1 Cf. त्रिसमुद्रान्तर्वर्तिभुवनमण्डलाधीश्वर of Chalukya records and त्रिसमुद्राधिपति of the *Harshacharita*, VII. *Mayuravyamsaka samāsas* like *kamala-vimala* are common in early records.

2 अविपन्न = unobstructedly ; or, not ill. 3 For चारण see *Sākuntala*, II, 14.

नाय) धर्मसेतवे (=युलोक-भूलोकान्तरे सेतुरूपाय धर्मदानाय लयनाय) ददाति ग्रामं तिरश्चिमपर्व-
तस्य अपरदक्षिणपार्श्वे [स्थितं] पिशाचीपद्रकं सर्वजात-भोगनिरस्तं (=राजभोगादिपरिहृतम्) ॥

No. 87—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Vāsisthīputra Pulumāvi—Regnal Year 22 (=c. A.D. 152)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres. Engraved in continuation of *supra*, No. 86.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 555, No. 3; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 110, No. 19; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 65ff., No. 3; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1124 (for references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम्^२ । नवनर-स्वामी वासिठी-पुतो सिरि-पुल्लुमवि [आ]नययति
गोवधने आम्रच
- 2 सिवखदिल य अ[म्हेहि] सव १० (+*)९ गि प २ दिव १० (+*) ३ धनकट-
समनेहि यो^३ एथ [पवते] तिर[गहुम्हि*]...न थं[म]सेतुस [ले]णस पटिसंथरणे^४
[दत्त^५] अखय[नीवि*]-हेतु एथ गोवधनाहारे दखिण-मगे गामो सुदिसणा भिखुहि
देवि-लेण-वासीहि^६ निक्कायेन भदायनिचेहि [प]तिगय दतो [।*] एतस दान-गामस
सुदिसन[स]^७ परिवटके एथ गोवधन[हारे] पुव-मगे

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

2 This line is a continuation of l. 11 of the preceding grant which is separated from the present record by a *svastika* followed by another symbol. Navanara (=Navanagara; cf. Kusinārā=Kusinagara) may have been a new city near the old capital Pratiṣṭhāna. See *supra*, p. 191, n. 4

3 Dhānyakāṭa was the old name of Amarāvati. Senart : य. Read तिरगहुम्हि पतिवसतान भिखुन

4 Senart : ०सथरणो.

5 The letters are indistinct.

6 Others read वासेहि. Note that in this record ०भ्यः has been Prakritized into ०हि. For the 3rd case-ending instead of the 4th, see *supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 38-43.

7 Senart read सदसनान.

- 3 गाम **समलिपद्** ददाम [१*] एत त मह-अइरकेन ओदेन धमसेतुस लेणस पटिसंथरयो^१ अखय-निवि-हेतु गाम सामलिप[द्] [भिखुहि देवि]^२-लेण-[वासीहि*] [निका]येन भदायनियेहि पति[ग]य्ह^३ [ओ]यप[पे]हि [१*] एतस च गामस **सामलि-पदस** भिखुहल-परिहार]^४
- 4 वितराम अपा[वे]स अनोमस अ[लो]णखादक अरठसविनविक सवजात-पारिहारिक च [१*] एतेहि न परिहारेहि परिहरेहि [१*] एत च गाम-**समलिपद्**-प[रि]हारे च एथ निवधापेहि **सु[दिसन]** गामस च [१*] सुदिसना[स]^५ विनिव[ध*]कारेहि^६ अणता[१*] महासेनापतिना मेधुनेन.....ना छतो [१*] वटि[का]..... केहि^७ तो^८ [१*] दता पटिका **सव २२** गि पखे * दिव ७ [१*] * तकणिना कटा [१*] **गोवधन**-वाथवान फा[सुकाये] विणहुपालेन स्वामि-वणन एत [१*] नम भगत-सपति-पतपस जिनवरस बुधस [१*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नवनगरस्वामी (= नवनगरस्थ-नृपः) वासिष्ठीपुत्रः श्रीपुल्लुमाविः आज्ञापयति गोवर्द्धने अमात्यं शिवस्कन्दिलं यत्—“अस्माभिः संवत्सरे एकोनविंशे]१६ ग्रीष्मपक्षे [द्वितीये]२ दिवसे त्रयोदशे]१३ (= चैत्र-शुक्लपक्षस्य-त्रयोदशदिवसे) धान्यकट-श्रमणोभ्यः यः अन्नं पर्वते

1 It is compared with Pāli पटिसन्धारो and translated “repairs” (Bühler or “care” (Senart).

2 Upper portions of these letters are lost.

3 Bühler: पटिखय “to be administered” (= पटिखेयं from क्ति, to govern, or पटिखाय from प्रतीक्षा); Senart: प्रतिगृह्यः or प्रतिगृह्यं, “to be owned”. These interpretations suit the third case-ending in भदायनियेहि.

4 हल originally means land that can be annually ploughed by one ploughman, and secondarily, ploughable land dedicated to monks, gods, etc. Here भिखुहल means the property of the monks. भिखुहल occurs also in a Kārlē cave inscription. Cf. देवहल and देवभोगहल in *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 94-95.

5 Others who read सुदसनान here and also in l. 2, may be right. The plural number may refer to the fact that the village had divisions like East Sudisana and West Sudisana.

6 Senart suggests: निवधापेहि सुदिने ; गामस च सुदसनानं विनि० etc.

7 Some read ०तो विनिकटवासकहि or ०तो पटिका *वासकेहि ; but that is hardly possible. The intended reading is possibly पटिकापालकेहि.

8 Some read हथछता or हथिछता. Probably the reading intended is उपरखितो.

9 Some restore [सा]तकनिना. 10 Some read फासुकार्यं.

विरश्मौ [प्रतिवसतां भिच्छूणां] धर्मसेतोः लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय (=संस्ताराय=वर्द्धनाय, प्रतिसंस्करणाय ?) दत्तः अक्षयनीविहेतोः अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे (=गोवर्द्धनाख्यप्रदेशस्य विभागविशेषे) दक्षिणमार्गे (=दक्षिणभागे ; यद्वा, दक्षिणराजपथपार्श्वे [स्थितः]) ग्रामः सुदर्शनः, भिच्छुभ्यः देवीलयन-वासिभ्यः (=पुलुमावि-महिषो-लयन० ; यद्वा, गौतमीलयन०) निकायेन (=सम्प्रदायेन) भद्रायणीयेभ्यः प्रतिगृह्य (=प्रतिग्रहणं कृत्वा) दत्तः [सः ग्रामः] । एतस्य दानग्रामस्य सुदर्शनस्य परिवर्तके अत्र गोवर्द्धनाहारे पूर्वमार्गे ग्रामं शाल्मलीपद्रं दद्वः [वयम् भद्रायणीयेभ्यः] । एतं तु महार्यकेण (=राज्ञः प्रमातामहेन ?) औदेन (=तदाख्यद्वारा) धर्मसेतोः लयनस्य प्रतिसंस्तरणाय अक्षयनीविहेतुं ग्रामं शाल्मलीपद्रं भिच्छुभ्यः देवीलयनवासिभ्यः निकायेन भद्रायणीयेभ्यः [पूर्वदत्तं ग्रामं] प्रतिगृह्य [एतं नवं दान-ग्रामं] अवोपप्रापय । एतस्य च ग्रामस्य शाल्मलीपद्रस्य भिच्छुहल-परिहारं वितरामः—अप्रावेश्यम्, अनावमर्श्यम्, अलवणखातकम्, अराष्ट्र-सांविनयिकं, सर्वजात-पारिहारिकं (=सर्वविधपरिहारवर्गं) च । एतैः एनत् [क्षेत्रं] परिहारैः परिहर । एतं च ग्राम-शाल्मलीपद्र-परिहारम् अत्र (=शासने) निबन्धय, सुदर्शनग्रामस्य [परिहारं] च ।¹ सुदर्शनस्य [पूर्वदानस्य] विनिबन्धकारैः (=दान-निबन्धापसारकैः राजपुरुषैः) आज्ञप्तम् ।² महासेनापतिना मैथुनेनन क्षतः (=लिखितः लेखः) । पट्टिका-पालकैः (=पुस्तपालराजपुरुषैः) उपलक्षितः (=परीक्षितः)³ [दत्ता] पट्टिका संवत्सरे द्वाविंशे २२श्रीष्मपक्षे* दिवसे सप्तमे । तक्रणिना (?) कृता (=उत्कीर्णा पट्टिका) । गोवर्द्धनवास्तव्यानां [दानप्राप्तानां भिच्छूणां] स्पर्हाकाय (=सुखाय) विष्णुपालेन स्वामिवर्णनं (=राज-शासनं) [राजधानीतः भिच्छूणां समीपे] नीतम् । नमः अभ्युद्गत-संपत्ति-प्रतापाय जिनवराय बुद्धाय ॥⁴

1 It seems that Sudisana had been granted to the Śramaṇas of Dhāṇyakata during the temporary absence of the Bhadrāyaniyas, but no charter was prepared recording the transfer. The difficulty was felt only when the Bhadrāyaniyas came back. Some take ओयपपेहिं, निबधपेहिं, परिहरेहिं as first person singular aorist of causatives with the Prakrit suffix ०आपयामि (e.g., परिहारयामि).

2 *Ājñā* or *Ājñapti* of later South Indian inscriptions (corresponding to *Dūtaka* of North Indian records) was possibly entrusted with the execution of the grant made by the charter. In these records however the word *ājñapta* refers to an order (usually written?) to prepare a document. The business of the *Dūtaka* seems to have been done in this case by Viṣṇupāla.

3 If महास्वामिक in *supra*, No. 83, may indicate a class of officials, it may also mean "marked" (cf. लक्षित of later records which is a Prakrito-Sans. form of लक्षित).

4 For a number of Kadamba charters ending with similar adorations, see *Suc. Sātavā.*, pp. 256, 271, 276, 278, 297, etc. Senart: "with a view for the well-being of the inhabitants of Govadhana, Viṣṇupāla proclaims the praise of the Lord: Obeisance to the Being exalted in perfection and majesty, the excellent Jina, the Buddha." He suggests सम्प्राप्ति-प्रताप. Bühler: भग(व*)तस०

No. 88—Kārlē Cave Inscription of Vāsisthīputra Puṣumāvī—Regnal Year 24 (= c. A. D. 154)

KARLE, Poona Dist., Bombay Pres.

BURGESS and INDRAJI, *Ins. Cave-Temp. W. Ind.*, p. 36f, No. 26;
BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 113, SENART, *Ep. Ind.*,
VII, p. 71, No. 20; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1106 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिध [1*] रजो वासिठिपुतस सिरि-पुळुमाविस सवळरे चतुविसे २०(+*)४
हेमंतान पखे ततिये ३ दिवसे वि-
- 2 तिये २ उपासकस हरफरणस सेतफरण-पुत्तस्य सोवसकस्य अबुलामाय वथवस्य इम
देयधम मडपो
- 3 नव-गभ माहासघियानं परिगहो² सघे चातुदिसे दिन मातापितुनं पुजा(ये*) सव-
सतानं हित-सूख-स्थितये [1*] एक[वि]से³ सं-
- 4 वळरे निठितो सहेत च मे पुन बुधरखितेन मातर चस्य दि⁴ ...उपासिकाय [1*]
बुधरखितस मातु देयधम पिठो⁵ अनो [11*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः वासिष्ठोपुत्रस्य श्रीपुळुमावेः संवत्सरे चतुर्विंशे २४ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये
३ दिवसे द्वितीये २ (=पौषकृष्णपक्षस्य द्वितीयदिवसे)—उपासकस्य हरपर्णस्य श्वेतपर्ण-पुत्रस्य
सोवायिकस्य (=सुवासितद्रव्य-विक्रयिणः ; यद्वा, सुवासाख्यदेश-जातस्य) अम्बुरामायां वास्तव्यस्य
अयं देयधर्मः मण्डपः नवगर्भः (=नवापवारकयुक्तः) माहासाङ्घिकानां (=बौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां)
परिग्रहः, सङ्घाय चातुर्दिशाय (=अखिलदेशवर्तिनं सङ्घम् उद्दिश्य) दत्तः मातापित्नोः पूजायै,
सर्व-सत्त्वानां [च] हित-सुख-स्थितये । एकविंशे संवत्सरे निष्ठितः (=समाप्तः) मण्डपः सहितं
(=सह) मया च हरपर्णेन, पुनः बुद्धरक्षितेन, माता च अस्य...उपासिका । बुद्धरक्षितस्य
मातुः देयधर्मः पीठः अन्यः (=तस्याः स्वकीयं अपरं निजस्वं दानं पीठः अपि अस्ति) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VII. Note the looped त and developed medial u; also words like पुत्तस्य. They are due to Setapharana being a foreigner.

2 Some read परिगहे

3 Some read एकतिसे

4 Some read मातरखिय

5 Some read पाठो or पाठो

No. 89—Nāsik Cave Inscription of Yajña Śātakarni

(c. A.D. 174-202)—Regnal Year 7 (=c. A.D. 181)

NĀSIK, Nāsik Dist., Bombay Pres.

On the back wall of the Veranda in Cave No. 20.

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Bomb. Gaz.*, XVI, p. 596f., No. 24; BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 114, No. 22; SENART, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 94, No. 24; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1146 (for other references)

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं [।*] रजो गोटमिपुतस सामि-सिरि-यज-सातकणिस संवछरे सातमे ७ हेमताण पखे ततिये ३
- 2 दिवसे पथमे कोसिकस महासे[णा]पतिस² [भ]वगोपस भरिजाय महासेणापतिणिण्य वासुय लेण
- 3 बोपकि-यति-सुजमाने अपयवसित-समाने बहुकाणि वरिसाणि उकुते पयवसाण नितो चातुदि-
- 4 सस च भिखु-सघस आवासो³ दतो ति ॥⁴

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः गौतमीपुत्रस्य स्वामि-श्रीयज्ञशातकर्णोः संवत्सरे सप्तमे ७ हेमन्तस्य पक्षे तृतीये ३ दिवसे प्रथमे १(=पौषकृष्णपक्षस्य प्रथमदिवसे) कौशिकस्य (= कौशिकसगोत्रस्य) महासेनापतेः भवगोपस्य भार्यया महासेनापत्न्या (=महासेनापति-गृहिण्या) वास्त्रा लयनं बोपकि-यति-सुजमानम् अपर्यवसित-समानं (=असमाप्तप्रायं) बहुकानि वर्षाणि अवकृतम् (=बहुवर्षपर्यन्तम् अवहेलितं) पर्यवसानं (=समाप्तिं) नीतं, चातुर्दिशाय च भिक्षुसङ्घाय आवासः (=वासार्थं) दत्तः इति ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

2 *Mahāsenāpati* and similar other official designations sometimes indicate feudatory chiefs. This refers to the custom of appointing military chiefs as governors of provinces. The forming of feminine forms from masculine official titles is interesting.

3 Others read आवासो.

5 The full stop is indicated by a short slightly curved horizontal stroke.

No. 90—Myākadoni Rock Inscription of Puḷumāvi (c. A. D. 217-25)¹

—Regnal Year 8 (=c. 225 A. D.)

The inscribed rock lies midway between the villages Myākadoni and Chinnakaḍabūru, Bellary Dist., Madras Pres.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 155

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī

TEXT²

1 [सि]व['] [॥*] रजो सातव[र]हनानं [सि]रि-पुळुमाविस सव ८ हेम २ दिव १

2 [मस]² महासेनाप[ति]स खंद[ना]कस जनपदे³ स[र]ितव[र]हणिहारे

3 [गा]मिकस⁴ कुमारदत्तस ग्रामे वेपुरके वथवेन गृहपतिकेन [कौ]तानं [संवे]न

4 तळाकं खानितं [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ राज्ञः शातवाहनानां (=शातवाहनकुलजस्य) श्रीपुळुमावेः संवत्सरे अष्टमे] ८
हेम[न्त-पक्षे द्वितीये] २ दिव[से प्रथमे] १ (= मार्गशीर्ष-शुक्लपक्षस्य प्रथमदिवसे)—स्वामिनः
(=राज्ञः पुळुमावेः) महासेनापतेः स्कन्दागस्य जनपदे शातवाहनीयाहारे ग्रामिकस्य (यद्वा,
गौलिमकस्य) कुमारदत्तस्य ग्रामे वेपुरके वास्तव्येन गृहपतिकेन (= गृहस्थेन) कौन्तानां
(=कौन्तवंशीयेन) साम्बेन तडागः खानितः ॥

1 He is different from the earlier Puḷumāvi and seems to be the same as Pulomā, the last king of the main line according to the Purāṇas. The base of न is curved and has a loop at the left side. The difference between त and न is only in the former's right foot which is curved towards the left, as in the case of त and न of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa ins. For Later Śātavāhana chronology from Gautamiputra to this king, see *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, pp. 161-64.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV.

3 Possibly the word intended is स्वामिस (i. e. of the lord, Śrī-Puḷumāvi).

4 Sukthankar: जनपादे. Of. साताहनिरट्ट of the Hirahadagalli grant.

5 Sukthankar suggests गुमिक (=गौलिमक) ; but ग्रामिक is better. The महासेनापति ruled the जनपद, while affairs of the ग्राम were conducted by the ग्रामिक.

B—EASTERN DECCAN

(i) Inscriptions of the Ārya-Mahāmeghavāhana-Chedis of Kalinga

No. 91—Hāthīgumphā Cave Inscription
of Khāravēla

UDAYAGIRI Hills, near Bhubaneśwar, Purī Dist., Orissa

PRINSEP, *J. A. S. B.*, VI, pp. 1075-91; CUNNINGHAM, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, I, pp. 27f. ; 98-101; 132ff.; R. L. MITRA, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, p. 16ff; Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes du Sixieme Congres international des Orientalistes*, pt. III, sec 2, pp.152-77; BÜHLER, *Indian Studies*, III, p. 13; FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1910; 242ff; 824; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1345; K. P. JAYASWAL, *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, p. 425ff; IV, p. 364f; XIII, p. 221ff; XIV, p. 150ff; STEN KONOW, *Acta Orientalia*, I, p. 12ff; F. W. THOMAS, *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 83f; K. P. JAYASWAL and R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 72f; B. M. BARUA, *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 261ff.

Language : Prakrit resembling Pāli**Script :** Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.¹TEXT²1 [Crown][Svastika]³ नमो अरहंतानं [॥*] नमो सव-सिधानं [॥*] ऐरेण

1 Earlier scholars identified Sātakarni mentioned in l. 4 of this record with the Sātavāhana king of that name in the Nānāghāt inscriptions, and placed Khāravēla about the middle of the 2nd century B. C. As has been noticed above (p. 185 n.) the Nānāghāt records are later than the middle of the 1st cent. B. C. The angular forms and straight bases of letters like व, म, प, ह and य, which are usually found in the Hāthīgumphā record suggest a date not much earlier than the beginning of the 1st century A. D. (cf. ड). On grounds of palaeography, it is to be placed later probably than the Nānāghāt records and certainly than the Besnagar inscription of Heliodoros. The development of the Kāvya style exhibited by the *ojo-guṇa* of its composition also points to a late date. It is interesting in this connection to note that authorities on Indian art believe that the sculptures of the Mañchapuri cave (in which there is an inscription of Khāravēla's queen) "are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bhārhut" (*Camb. Hist. Ind.*, I, p. 639ff.). S. K. Chatterji and Przyluski have written on the etymology of the name Khāravēla. Their views are not satisfactory.

2 From the facsimile in *J. B. O. R. S.*, III, 1917. 3 In the margin of ll. 2, 4-5.

महाराजेन महामेघवाहनेन¹चेति-राज-व[]स-वधनेन पसथ-सुभ-लखनेन² चतुरंत-
-लुठ[ण]-गुण-उपितेन³ कलिंगाधिपतिना सिरि-खारवेलेन

- 2 [प]ंदरस-वसानि सीरि-[कडार]-सरीर-वता कीडिता कुमार-कीडिका [॥*] ततो लेख-
रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सब-विजावदातेन नव-वसानि शोवरज [प]सा-
सितं [॥*]संपुंण-चतुर्वीसति-वसो तदानि वधमानसेसयो-वेनाभिविजयो⁴ ततिये
3 कलिंग-राज-वसे पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं⁵ पापुनाति [॥*] अभिसितमतो च
पथमे वसे वात-विहत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति कलिंगनगरि-
खिवी[र]⁶ [॥*] सितल-तडाग-पाडियो च बंधापयति सबूयान-प[टि]संथपनं च
4 कारयति पनति(सि?)साहि सत-सहसेहि पकृतियो च रंजयति [॥*] दुतिये च वसे
अचितयिता सातकनिं⁷ पडिम-दिसं हय-गज-नर-रध-बहुलं दंडं पठापयति [॥*]
कन्हवेणा-गताय⁸ च सेनाय वितासिति⁹ असिकनगरं¹⁰ [॥*] ततिये पुन वसे
5 गंधव-वेद-बुधो दप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदसनाहि उसव-समाज-कारापनाहि च कीडापयति

1 Mahāmeghavāhana is a family name like Sātavāhana. Some read चेत. चेत=चेदि and चेत=चैद्य. Apparently Khāravela claimed connection with the Chedis mentioned in ancient Indian literature; cf. l. 17, *infra*.

2 Barua: लखणेन.

3 Barua: ०गुण-उपेतन; Jayaswal: ०लुठितगुणोपहितेन.

✓4 Barua: वधमान-सेसयोवनाभिविजयो.

5 Jayaswal माहा०.

6 Jayaswal and Banerji separate खिवीर from कलिंगनगरि and read खिवीर-इसि-
ताल-तडाग.

7 This king seems to be the Sātakarṇi who ruled shortly after the husband of Nāganikā according to the Purāṇas. Palaeographically the Hāthigumpha record is slightly later than the Nānāghāt record. It may be pointed out that the letters of the Sāñchi inscription of Sātakarṇi (plate in *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1917) resemble the script of the present record and may belong to Sātakarṇi II. Of course, if this slight development is overlooked, we may identify both these Sātakarṇis with Sātakarṇi I. But it should be remembered that the big Nānāghāt record was possibly engraved after the death of that king.

8 Jayaswal and Banerji: कन्ह०.

9 Jayaswal: वितासितं.

10 Jayaswal and Banerji: मुसिक०. For the Asika country, see *supra*, No. 86. The chief city of the country thus appears to have been situated on the Kṛishṇā.

नगरिं [॥*] तथा चवुथे वसे विजाधराधिवासं अहतपुवं कलिंग(?) पुव-राज-
[निवेसितं].....वितथ-म[कु]ट¹.....च निखित-छत(?)

6 भिंगारे [हि]त-रतन-सपतेये सव-रटिक-भोजके पादे बंदापयति [॥*] पंचमे च दानी
वसे नंद-राज-ति-वस-सत-ओ[घा]टितं तनसुलिय-वाटा पणाडिं नगरं पवेस[य]ति
सो.....[१*] [अ*]भिसितो च [छठे वसे*] राजसेयं² संदंसयंतो सवकर-वणा-³

7 अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-जानपदं [॥*] सतमं⁴ च वसं
[पसा]सतो वजिरघर.....⁵ स मतुक पद.....[कु]म.....⁶[१*].....अठमे
च वसे महता सेन[१].....गोरधगिरिं

8 घातापयिता राजगह⁷ उपपीडयति [१*] एतिन[१] च कंसपदान-स[१]नादेन
.....सेन-वाहने⁸ विपमुचितुं मधुरं अपयातो यवनरा[ज] [डिमित ?]⁹
.....यद्धति.....पलव...

9 कपरुखे हय-गज-रथ-सह यति¹⁰ सव-घरावास¹¹ सव-गहणं च
कारयितुं ब्रह्मणानं ज[य] परिहारं¹² ददाति [१*] अरहत...[नवमे च वसे*]...

1 Barua: मकुटे. The following *aksharas* which are indistinct are read by Jayaswal and Banerji: सविलंडिते and by Barua: सविप्रवजिते.

2 Jayaswal: राजसुयं which is improbable for a Jain king like Khāravela.

3 The reading and interpretation of the closing part of these lines are doubtful.

4 Barua: सतमे च वसे (अ)स-सतो.

5 Barua: वजिरघर-खतिय-सत-घटनि-समतक-पदपंन संतिपद...; Jayaswal: घरवति-
बुसित-घरिनि स मतुक-पद-पुंग.....The readings are doubtful and the theory of Khāravela's wife of the Vajiraghara family is problematical.

6 Prinsep and Cunningham: सवत-कहदपन-नरप. All the readings are problematical. The account of the achievements of the 7th year is thus doubtful.

7 Prinsep: राजगमं उपपीडयति; Cunningham: राजगंभुउपपीडयति; Indrajī: राजगहनपं पीडापयति which Sten Konow thinks not impossible.

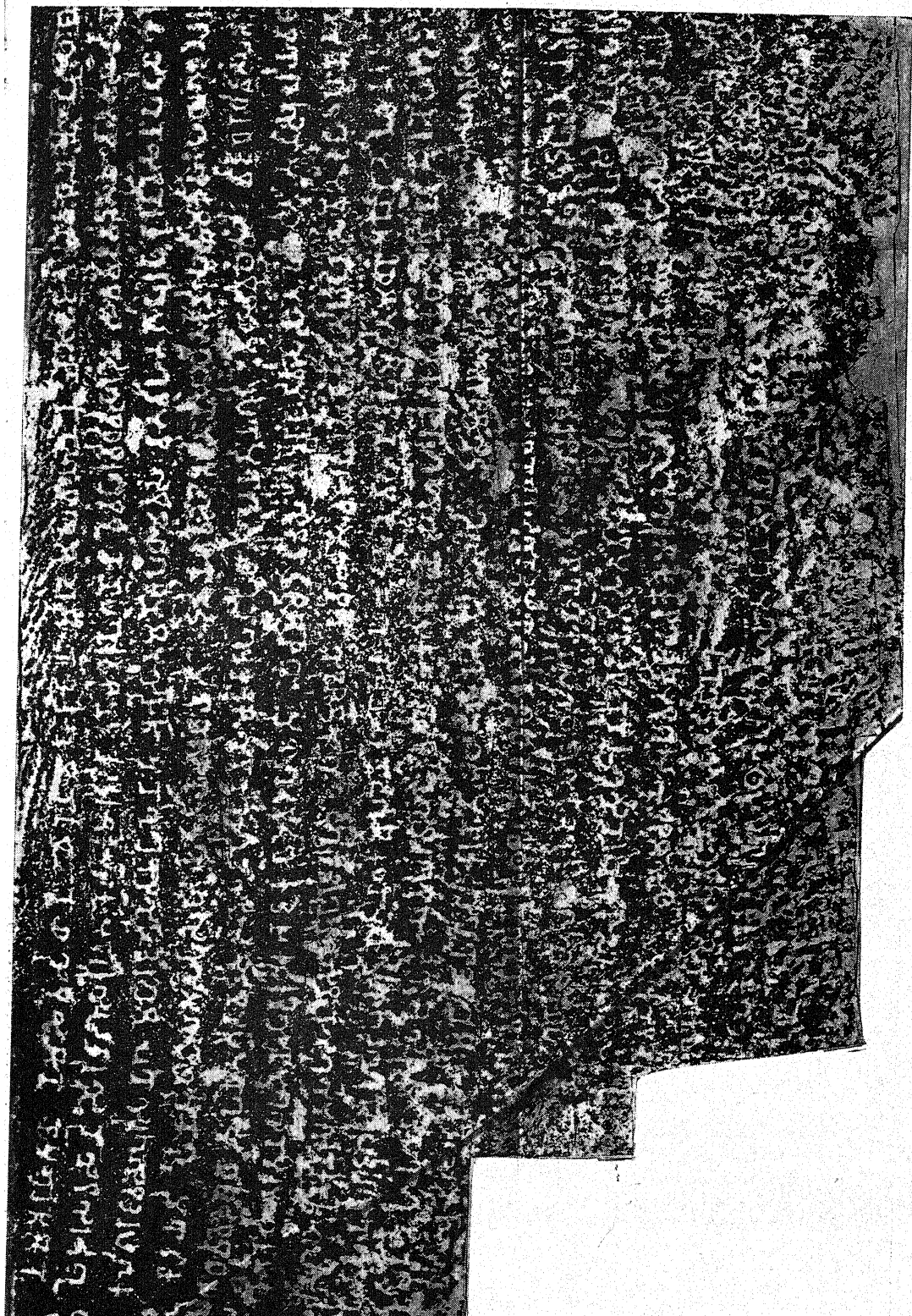
8 Prinsep: पंवात; Jayaswal: संबित; Barua: पवंत.

9 Sten Konow: डिमित. The reading यवनराज is clear, but डिमित or डिमित is doubtful. Even if the reading be correct, this डिमित cannot be identified with Demetrios son of Euthedemos, who lived in the first half of the 2nd century B. C.

10 Barua: यंति; Indrajī: सह-यत; Jayaswal: सह-यंते.

11 Prinsep: घरवसप; Cunningham: घरवसय-अनतिकगवय; Indrajī: घरवसधं; Jayaswal: घरावास-परिवेसने अगिराथिया.

12 Prinsep: जत; Jayaswal: जातिं परिहारं





Courtesy: B. O. R. S. (J. B. O. R. S., III).

Hathinurupa Inscription of Kharavela, (Br. II, No. 91) Section II.

- 10¹महाविजय-पासादं² कारयति अठतिसाय सत-सहसेहि [॥*]
दसमे च वसे दंड-संधी-सा[ममयो](?)³ भरधवस-पठा(?)नं मह[?]जन(?)⁴
.....कारापयति⁵ [॥*] [एकादसमे च वसे*].....प[?]यातानं च म[नि]-
रतनानि उपलभते(?)
- 11पुवं राज-निवेसितं⁶ पीथुंडं गदभ-नंगलेन कासयति [॥*] जन[प]द-
भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कृतं⁷ मि[?]दति तमिर-देह(?)-संधातं⁸ [॥*] बारसमे च
वसे.....⁹[सह]सेहि वितासयति उत्तरापथ-राजानो.....
- 12 म[?]गधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथसं गंगाय¹⁰ पाययति [॥*] म[ग]ध[?] च
राजानं बहसतिमितं¹¹ पादे वंदापयति [॥*] नंदराज-नीतं च का[लि]ग-जिनं¹²
संनिवेस.....¹³अंग-मगध-वसुं च नयति [॥*]...
- 13[क]वु[?] जठर-[लखिल-गोपु]राणि सिंहाराणि निवेसयति सत-विसिकनं [प]रि-
हारेहि [॥*] अभुतमच्छरियं च हथी-निवा[स]¹⁴ परिहर.....हथि-हथि-रतन-
[मानिकं] पंडराजा.....[मु]त-मनि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत[सहसानि]

1 Barua: वसुविजय [l. 9] ते उभय प्रचि तटे राजनिवासं ; Jayaswal: मानतिराज-संनिवासं.

2 Jayswal: महाविजयं.

3 Reading is doubtful. Cunningham read दतिभिसरः.

4 Cunningham: महयन.

5 The record of the 10th year cannot be made out.

6 Jayaswal: मंडं अवराज-निवेसितं; Barua: पुवराज-निवेसितं पिथुडग-दभ नगले नेकासययि, "caused the grassy overgrowth of Prithudaka (city), founded by a former king, to be let out in the Lāngala (river)".

7 Jayaswal: सतिकं अभि० We have possibly the round number 1300 and not 113.

8 Indrajī: तमर-देह-संधातं ; Jayaswal: तमिरदेशसंधातं "confederacy of the Tamil countries."

9 Barua suggests सिक्कानं.

10 Jayaswal: हथी सुगंगीय[?] पाययति and finds a reference to the Maurya palace सुगंग mentioned in the मुद्राराक्षस.

11 The name may be बृहस्पतिमित ; but his identification with Pushyamitra on the ground that बृहस्पति is the lord of the पुष्या constellation is utterly fantastic. Moreover palaeographically and stylistically this record should be placed about a century and a half after Pushyamitra Śuṅga. See *supra*, p. 97, n. 3.

12 Barua: नंदराज-जितं च कलिगजन-संनिवेसं

13 Indrajī: गह-रतन-परिहारेहि ; Jayaswal: पडीहारेहि ; Barua: कितव-नय-निपुनेहि.

14 Prinsep: हथिनवुन ; Cunningham: हथि-नवेन ; Barua: हथि-नाव[तं].

- 14सिनो वसीकरोति [।*] तेरसमे च वसे सुपवत-विजय-चके कुमारीपवते
अरहते(हि*) पखिन-सं[सि]तेहि कायनिसीदियाय¹ यापूजावकेहि² राज-
मित्तिन³ चिन-वतानि⁴ वास[।][सि]तानि⁵ पूजातुरत-उवा[सग-खा]रवेल्सिरिना⁶
जीवदेह[सयि]का⁷ परिखाता⁸ [।*]
- 15सकत-समण सुविहितानं च सव-दिसान'⁹ ज[नि]नं[?] तपसि-इ[सि]न¹⁰
संधियनं अरहतनिसीदिया-समीपे पाभारे वराकार-समुथापिताहि अनेकयोजना-
हिताहि.....सिलाहि¹¹ ...¹²¹³
- 16¹⁴ चतरे च वेडुरिय-गमे थंमे पतिठापयति पानतरीय-सत-सहसेहि
[।*] सु[खि]य¹⁵-कल¹⁶-वोळ्णिन'¹⁷ च चोय[ठि]-अंग¹⁸ संतिक[']¹⁹ तुरियं

1 Barua: कय्य=Sanskrit: कल्य=Pāli कल्ल.

2 Prinsep: यापुहवकेहि ; Cunningham: यापुजकेहि ; Jayaswal: यापवकेहि.

3 Barua suggests भीतिनं.

4 Barua correctly connects the word with Pāli चिन्नवतानं.

5 Barua suggests वसासितानं.

6 Barua: पूजाय रत.

7 Prinsep: जि...देत ; Cunningham: जिविमक ; Jayaswal: सिरिका ; Barua suggests सयिका for सिरिका.

8 Prinsep and Cunningham: रिखित. Barua suggests पनिखाता.

9 Jayaswal: सत

10 Cunningham: सिमपुस ; Barua: [सम]पसि[नं].

11 Barua: पक्क सिसेहि सत[सहसा]हि सिलाहि

12 Prinsep: सपप ; Cunningham: भगप ; Jayaswal: सिंहपथ ; Barua: सिपज.

13 Prinsep: सपपथ-धरसि धनस्य ; Jayaswal: ०रजी-सिंधुलाय निसयानि ; Barua: अम[नि]वधसयाना[स]नानि.

14 Prinsep: पठलके ; Cunningham and Indrajī पटालके ; Jayaswal: पटलको.

15 Prinsep: ...रिय ; Cunningham: ...य ; Indrajī and Sten Konow: मुरिय ; Barua: [म]खिय. There seems to be no reference to any Maurya-kāla or Maurya era.

16 Fleet and Indrajī: काल ; Cunningham कल which is supported by Barua.

17 Barua: वळ्णिने.

18 Prinsep: च चोयथ अगि ; Cunningham: च चोयठ अगे ; Indrajī: च चोयथ अगे ; Barua: च चोयठ अंगे.

19 Prinsep and Cunningham: सतिक ; Indrajī: सतिकु ; Sten Konow: सतिकं.

उपादयति [॥*] खेम-राजा स वढ-राजा¹ स भिखु-राजा धम-राजा पसं[तो] सुनं-
[तो] अनुभव[तो] कलानानि

- 17गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-दे[वाय]तन-सकार-कारको अपतिहत-
चक्र-वाहनबलो² चक्रधरो³ गुतचको पवतचको राजसिचस्सु कुल-विनिश्रितो⁴ महावि-
जयो राजा खारवेलसिरि [॥*] [Branched tree within railing]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

नमः अर्हद्भ्यः । नमः सर्वे-सिद्धेभ्यः⁵ । आर्येण महाराजेन माहामेघवाहनेन⁶ चेदि-
राजवंश-वर्द्धनेन प्रशस्त-शुभ-लक्षणैः चतुरन्त-लुण्ठन-गुणोपेतैः (=सकलभुवनव्यापिगुणगणा-
लङ्घनेन) कलिङ्गाधिपतिना श्रीखारवेलेन पञ्चदशवर्षाणि श्रीकङ्गार-शरीरवता (=श्रीमत्-पिङ्गलदेह-
भाजा) क्रीडिता कुमारक्रीडिका (=बालक्रीडा) । ततः लेख-रूप-गणना-व्यवहार-विधि-विशार-
देन (=लेखनविद्यायां मुद्रापरिचये गणिते विवाद-मीमांसाविद्यायां प्रवर्त्तना-निवर्त्तनात्मकशास्त्रेषु
च निष्णातेन), सर्वविद्यावदातेन नववर्षाणि शौवराज्यं (=युवराजत्वेन) प्रशिष्टम् (=शासितम्) ।
सम्पूर्ण-चतुर्विंशतिवर्षः तदानीं वर्द्धमानाशौशव-वैरयाभिविजयः (=वेणुतनयस्य राजर्षेः पृथो-
इव यस्य जयश्रीः शिशोः कालात् प्रभृति प्रचीयमाना आसीत् सः) तृतीये कलिङ्गराज-
वंशे पुरुषयुगे (=कलिङ्गराजान्वयस्य तृतीयपुरुषे) महाराजाभिषेचनं प्राप्नोति (=प्राप्नोत्) ;
अभिषिक्तवान् (=अभिषेकवान्=अभिषिक्तः) च प्रथमे वर्षे वात-विहत-गोपुर-प्राकार-निवेशनं
प्रतिसंस्कारयति (=प्रतिसंस्कारयत्) कलिङ्गनगरीं खिबीरम् ; शीतलतडाग-पाल्यः (=पारान्)
च बन्धयति (=अबन्धयत्) ; सर्वोद्यान-प्रतिसंस्थापनं च कारयति (=अकारयत्) ; पञ्चविंशता
शतसहस्रैः [मुद्राणां=कार्षापणानां ?] प्रकृतीः च रञ्जयति (=अरञ्जयत्) । द्वितीये च वर्षे अचिन्त-
यित्वा (=अगणयित्वा) शातकर्षिं पश्चिमदिशं हय-गज-नर-रथ-बहुलं दण्डं (=सेनादलं) प्रस्था-

1 Barua: वध.

2 Jayaswal: चक्रि.

3 Jayaswal: चक्रधुर०.

4 Barua: राजसि-वंस-कुल. Cunningham: विनिगत. It is possible that here is a reference to Khāravela's claim to have descended from the ancient Chedi king Uparichara Vasu.

5 For an *arhat*, see *supra*, p. 118, n. 2. The Jain saints are sometimes called Buddha, Kevalin, Siddha, Tathāgata and Arhat. Khāravela was a Jain by faith.

6 This seems to be the name of a family like Sātavāhana. *Aira* is found also in *infra*, No. 93. It is tempting to connect it with *Aila*=belonging to the lunar dynasty; but that is problematical.

पयति (=प्रास्थापयत्) ; कृष्णवेगवा-गतया (= कृष्णानदीतीरगतया) च सेनया विद्वास-
यति ऋषिकनगरम् । तृतीये पुनः वर्षे गन्धर्व-वेद-बुधः दर्पनृत्यगीतवादित्र-सन्दर्शनैः¹
उत्सव-समाज-कारणाभिः च क्रीडयति (=अक्रीडयत्) नगरीम् (=राजधानीम्) ।
तथा चतुर्थे वर्षे विद्याधराधिवासम् अहत-पूर्वं कलिङ्गपूर्वराजनिवेशितं.....वितथ-
मुकुट.....च निक्षिप्तच्छत्रभृद्भारं हतरत्नसम्पत्तिकं सर्व-राष्ट्रिक-भोजकं² पादौ वन्दयति ।
पञ्चमे च इदानीं वर्षे नन्दराज-त्रिवर्षशतोद्घाटितां (=विंशतवर्षे³) तन-सुलिय (=तृणा-सूर्य ?)-
वर्त्मनः प्रणालीं नगरं (=राजधानीं) प्रवेशयति.....। अभिषिक्तः च षष्ठे वर्षे राजेश्वर्यं
सन्दर्शयन् सर्वाकारवर्णानुग्रहानुकानि शतसहस्राणि [मुद्राणां] विसृजति पौर-जानपदम्
[उद्दिश्य] । सप्तमं च वर्षं प्रशासत्...। अष्टमे च वर्षे महता सेनया...गोरथ-गिरिं घातयित्वा
(=धर्षणानन्तरं) राजगृहम् उपपीडयति (=उपापीडयत्) ; एतेन कर्मापदान-संनादेन (=दुष्कर-
कर्मसम्पादनशब्देन) सेनावाहनं विप्रमोक्तुं [भयात्] मथुरां (=मथुराम्) अपयातः (=पलायितः)
यवनराजः डिमितः(?)...यच्छति...पल्लव...कल्प-वृक्षः हयगज-रथैः सह यतिः [खारवेलः]
सर्व-गृहावास.....सर्वग्रहणं च कारयितुं ब्राह्मणेभ्यः जय-परिहारं ददाति (=अददात्) ।...
.....[नवमे च वर्षे].....राज-सन्निवासं महाविजय-प्रासादं कारयति अष्ट-
विंशता शतसहस्रैः [मुद्राणाम्] । दशमे च वर्षे दण्ड-सन्धि-साम[मयः खारवेलः]
भारतवर्ष-प्रस्थानं.....कारयति (=अकारयत्) । एकादशे च वर्षे.....अपयातानां
(=पलायितशखूणां) च मणिरत्नानि उपलभते (=उपलभत्)...पूर्वं राजनिवेशितं पीथुगडं
गर्दभ-लाङ्गलेन कर्षयति (=अकर्षयत्) ; जनपदभावनं च तयोदशवर्षशतकृतं (=वर्षतयो-
दशशत कृतं) भिनत्ति (=अभिनत्) तिमिर-हृद-सङ्घातं (यद्वा, लमिरदेश-सङ्घातम् ?) ।
द्वादशे च वर्षे.....सहस्रैः विद्वासयति उत्तरपथ-राजान्...मागधानां च विपुलं भयं जनयन्
हस्त्यश्वं गङ्गायां पाययति ; मागधं च राजानं बृहस्पतिमित्रं पादौ वन्दयति ; नन्दराज-नीतं च
कलिङ्ग-जिनं सन्निवेश.....अङ्ग-मगध-वसुं च नयति³ ;.....कर्तुं जठर-लक्ष्मी-
गोपुराणि (=दृढद्युन्दरतोरणसमन्वितानि) शिखराणि निवेशयति मुद्राणां शत-विंशकानां

1 दप = दर्प-क्रीडा = मल्लपुङ्गव-विशेषः (अर्थशास्त्र, II, 3, 58) or =द्वकम्म or comics *Mahāniddesa*, p. 379).

2 राष्ट्रिक=provincial governor; भोजक=jāgirdār. For the Rāṭhika and Bhojaka tribes of Western India, see *supra*, pp. 23, 37.

3 Rājagriha (Rājgir), ancient cap. of Magadha (South Bihār). Bhāratavarsha =N. India? Uttarāpatha=N. W. India. Aṅga=East Bihār. Pīthtundra near Masulipatam (*Suc. Sāt.*, p. 48f). Note the retaliation of the conquest of Kāliṅga by Nanda and Aśoka.

परिहारैः ; अद्भुतम् आश्चर्यं च हस्तिनिवासं (=०वस्त्वसज्जां) प्रतिहरति ;...हयहस्तिरत्नमा-
 णिक्यं ; पाण्ड्यराजात्...मुक्ता-मणिरत्नानि आहारयति इह शतसहस्राणि...वासिनः वशीक-
 रोति । तयोदशे च वर्षे सुप्रवृत्तविजयचक्रे कुमारीपर्वते (Udayagiri-Khandagiri Hills)
 अर्हद्भ्यः प्रक्षीण-संश्रितेभ्यः (= क्षीणाश्रयेभ्यः) काय-निषद्यायै (=वर्षासु विश्राम-लाभाय) यापो-
 द्यापकेभ्यः राजभृतानां चीर्णव्रतानां (= राजपुष्टानां व्रताचरकाणां) वर्षाश्रितानां पूजानुरक्तो-
 पासकखारवेलश्रिया जीवदेहाश्रयिकाः (= आश्रयगृहाणि) परिखानिताः ।...सत्कृतश्रमणः सुवि-
 हितानां च सर्वदिशानां ज्ञानिनां तपस्वृषोणां सङ्क्षोयानाम् अर्हन्निषद्य-समीपे पाभारे (=पाभाराख्ये
 स्थाने) वराकारसमुत्थापिताभिः अनेकयोजनाहिताभिः...वैदूर्यगर्भान् स्तम्भान् प्रतिष्ठापयति
 पञ्चोत्तर-शत-सहस्रैः [मुद्राणां] ; मुख्यकलावच्छिन्नं (= गीतनृत्यादिसमन्वितं) चतुःषष्ठ्यङ्गं
 (= चतुःषष्टिप्रकारवाद्यविशिष्टं) शान्तिकं तौर्यं (= रणरहितकालोपयोगितौर्यनृत्यम्) उत्पाद-
 यति । क्षेमराजः सः वृद्धिराजः सः भिक्षुराजः धर्मराजः पश्यन् श्रयन् अनुभवन्
 कल्याणानि...गुणविशेष-कुशलः सर्वपाषेद-पूजकः¹ सर्वदेवायतन-संस्कार-कारकः अप्रतिहत-
 चक्रवाहिनीबलः चक्रधरः गुप्त-चक्रः प्रवृत्तचक्रः राजर्षि-वसु(चेदिराजोपरिचरवसु०)-कुल-
 विनिःसृतः महाविजयः² राजा खारवेलश्रीः (= श्रीमान् खारवेलः) ॥

No. 92—Mañchapuri³ Cave Inscription of the Chief Queen of Khāravela

UDAYAGIRI Hills, Purī Dist., Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes 6 me Congres Or. à Leide*, part III,
sec. ii, p. 152 ff; R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 159; BARUA,
O. Br. Ins., p. 55f; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1346 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.

1 *Pāṣaṇḍa* in the sense of a religious sect is found in Jain literature and also in Aśoka's inscriptions. See *supra*, pp. 27, 33f, 66f. I am now informed that its derivation from Sanskrit *Pārshada* has been suggested by Schubring. He seems to be right.

2 The name of his palace in l. 10 possibly suggests that Mahāvijaya was Khāravela's *viruda*.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. In the upper story (also called Svargapuri) of the cave.

TEXT

- 1 अरहंत पसादाय¹ कलिंगा[न] [सम]नानं लेनं कारितं [॥*] राजिनो ललाक[स]
- 2 हथि[सि]हस² पपोतस धु[तु]ना(या?) कलिङ्ग-च[कवतिनो सिरि-खार*]वेलस
- 3 अग्रमहिसि[य?] [कारितं] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

अरहन्त-प्रसादाय (= अर्हताम् अनुग्रहलाभाय) कलिङ्गेभ्यः (= कलिङ्ग-देशीयेभ्यः) भ्रमणेभ्यः (= जैनभिन्नेभ्यः [=तेषां वासार्थं]) लयनं कारितम् । राज्ञः लालार्कस्य (=ललार्क-पुत्रस्य?) हस्तिसिंहस्य प्रपौत्रस्य दुहिता कलिङ्ग-चक्रवर्तिनः (= कलिङ्गाधिराजस्य) श्रीखारवेलस्य अग्रमहिष्या [लयनं] कारितम् ।

No. 93—Mañchapurī Cave Inscription of Vakradeva³ (?)

UDAYAGIRI Hills, Purī Dist., Orissa

Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, *Actes 6 me Congres Or. à Leide*, III, iii, p. 152 ff.; R. D. BANERJI, *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 160; BARUA, *O. Br. Ins.*, p. 63f; LÜDERS, *List*, No. 1347 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī of about the end of the 1st century B. C.

TEXT⁴

- 1 ऐरस⁵ महाराजस कलि[]गाधिपतिनो माहा[मेघ]वाह[नस] [व?]कदेप-सीरोनो लेन [] [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

आर्यस्य महाराजस्य कलिङ्गाधिपतेः माहामेघवाहनस्य वक्रदेवश्रियः (= श्रीमता वक्रदेवेन [कारितं]) लयनम् ॥

1 प was read by Indrajī as न

2 Indrajī read °साहानं ; Banerji: साहस.

3 The king's name is sometimes read Kūḍepa or Kadampa. He may have been a successor of Khāravēla. Another record in the cave refers to a Kumāra called Vaḍukha (Lüders, No. 1348).

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII.

5 Some read: वेरस ; Banerji: खरस. The use of the same word in l. 1 of *supra*, No. 91, suggests that it is connected with the name of the family.

(ii) INSCRIPTIONS FROM ANDHRADEŚA

(a) Records From Bhaṭṭiprolu

No. 94-97—Bhaṭṭiprolu Casket Inscriptions
of the time of Kuberaka

BHATṬIPROLU Stūpa, Kistna Dist., Madras Pres.

G. BÜHLER, *Ēp. Ind.*, II, p. 323 ff.; LÜDERS, List, Nos. 1329-39
(for other references).**Language:** Prakrit.**Script:** Brāhmī of *circa* end of the 2nd century B. C.¹TEXT²

Casket No. 1.

(On the rim of the lower stone.)

A कुर-पितुनो च कुर-मा[तु] च कुरष सिव[ि] च मजुसं पणति फाळिग-षमुगं च

1 Bühler says, "If one does this and places on the one side the alphabets of the Aśoka Edicts and on the other those of the Nānāghāt, Hāthigumphā and Bhārhut-Torāṇa inscriptions, which belong to about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., one can only come to the conclusion that the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions hold an intermediate position between the two sets, but are much more closely allied to the first than to the second. On this evidence, which, I repeat, may mislead, they cannot be placed later than 200 B. C., but may be somewhat earlier" (*op. cit.*, p. 325). According to him, क, ख, छ, ज, ट, ठ, या, त, थ, ध, न, प, फ, ब, य, र, व, स and ह agree exactly with those of the southern variety of the Maurya alphabet. But in some cases, the belly of व is vertically elongated and the neck is very short. ग has both the angular form and that with rounded top; च has the vertical a little prolonged downwards; ङ has slanting strokes instead of straight ones; द is open to the right; and म is written upside down. घ is expressed by the sign for ग with a curve to the right; ञ has the angular form without the central horizontal bar; ण is turned topsy-turvy; ल has a long slanting line to the right of the vertical stroke; ष looks like क; ङ looks like प with a short horizontal bar to the right of the vertical stroke; the sign of medial *a* is marked by an ordinary medial *ā* like horizontal stroke to the right of the consonant (except when an *anusvāra* follows); medial *ā* is shown by a horizontal stroke with a vertical hanging from its end. Some letters are turned to left or right and some downwards. This is reminiscent of an age when Brāhmī was written from right to left (*cf. infra*, No. 106). Forms of च, ङ, ज and medial *ā* suggest that the records are not much earlier than B. C. 100.

2 From facsimile in *Ēp. Ind.*, II. No. 4 is prepared from Bühler's eye-copy.

बुध-सरिराणं निखेतु [॥*] B : वनव-पुत्रस्य कुरस्य वपीतुकस्य मज्जुष [॥] C : उत्तरो
पिग्रह-पुत्रो काणीठो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

A : कुर-पितुः च कुर-मातुः च कुरस्य शिवस्य च मञ्जूषा प्रणीता (=उत्सृष्टा ; यद्वा,
निमिता), स्फाटिक-समुद्रः च बुद्ध-शरीराणि (=देहावशेषान्) निक्षेप्तुम् ॥ B : वनव-पुत्रस्य
कुरस्य सपितृकस्य मञ्जूषा (=पाषाणपिटकः) ॥ C : [शिल्पी] उत्तरः विग्रह-पुत्रः कनिष्ठः ॥

TEXT

Casket No. 2.

(On the centre of the lid)

- A. (Centre) 1 गोठि
2 हिरण्यवधवा
3 [वु]गाळको काळहो
4 विसको थोरसिसि
5 समणो ओदलो
6 अपक[ठो?] षसुदो
7 अजुग[हो] कुरो
8 सतुघो जेतको [जे]तो आळिनक
9 वरुणो पिग[ल]को कोषको
10 सुतो पापो कमेर[खो] [गाळे]को
11 समन[दा]षो भरदो
(Left) 12 ओढालो(?) थोरतिसो तिसो
13 गीलाणो जंभो
(Right) 14 पुडर(?) [आ]वो
15 गालवत्त * * जनको
16 गोसालकानं कुरो
17 उपोषथपुतो उत्तरो
18 कारहपुतो [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

गोष्ठी—हिरण्यव्याघ्रपात, उद्धारकः, कालहः, विश्वकः, स्थूलशीर्षा, श्रमणः, औदलः, अपकरः, समुद्रः, अनुग्रहः, कुरः, शत्रुघ्नः, जयन्तकः, जयन्तः, आलीणकः, वरुणः, पिङ्गलकः, कोषकः (कौशिकः ?), श्रुतः, पापः, कुम्भीरकः (?), गालेकः, श्रमणदासः, भरतः, औदलः (औदारः ?), स्थूलतिष्ठः, तिष्ठः, ग्लानः, जम्भः, * * *, आम्रः, * * *, जनकः गोशालकानां (=गोशालकवंशजः), क्रूरः उपोसथपुत्रः, उत्तरः कारह-पुत्रः [एतेषां जनानाम्] ॥

B On the rim, to the left

सम[णदा]ष[तोहित] * * * बुधष सरिरानि महियानु षंमाष
(=श्रमणदासतः हितानि [नीतानि ?] बुद्धस्य शरीराणि महनीयानि (=पूज्यानि) शर्मणे ।

C On the outer rim, to the right

1 गोठि-समनो कुबो [1*]

2 हिरण्यकार-गामणी-पुतो बूबो [1*]

(=गोष्ठी-श्रमणः कुम्भः । हिरण्यकारः (=स्वर्णकारः) गामणी-पुत्रः बूबः ।)

D On the rim of the lower stone.

ष गठि निगम-पुतानं राजपामुखा [1*] षारिरष पुतो खुबिरको राजा षीहगोठिया पामुखो [1*] तेषं अंनं म[जूष] फालिग-षमुगो च पाषाण-षमुगो च ॥

(=सा गोष्ठी निगम-पुत्राणां राज-प्रमुखाणां । शवीरस्य पुत्रः राजा कुबेरकः सिंह-गोष्ठ्याः प्रमुखः (=प्रधानः) । तेषां (=सिंहगोष्ठीय-जनानां) अन्या मञ्जूषा, स्फाटिक-समुद्रः च पाषाण-समुद्रः च ॥)

E On the rim of the lower stone outside D.

समणो चघज (खो ?)-पुतो उत्तरो आरामु तर [पू ?] त [1*]

(=श्रमणः जघन्य-पुत्रः उत्तरः, आरामः तर-पुत्रः ।

Casket No. 3.

A On the upper stone.

1 नेगमा

2 वछो चघो

3 जेतो जंभो तिसो

- 4 रेतो अचिनो षभिको
- 5 अखघो केलो केसो माहो
- 6 सेटो छदिको [घ] खबूलो
- 7 सोणुतरो समणो
- 8 समणदाषो सामको
- 9 कामुको चीतको [॥*]

(=नैगमाः—वत्सः, चङ्गः, जयन्तः, जम्भः, तिष्यः, रैवतः, अचीर्णः, सभिकः, अक्षन्नः, केलः, केशः, माघः, श्रेष्ठः, छर्दिकोघः, खबूलः, सुवर्णोत्तरः, श्रमणः, श्रमणदासः, श्यामकः, कामुकः, चित्तकः ॥)

B On the rim of the lower stone.

अरहदिनानं गोठिया मजूस च षमुगो चः[॥*] तेन कम येन कुबिरको राजा
अं[कि] [॥*] (=अर्हद्दानां गोष्ठ्याः मञ्जुषा च समुद्रः च । तस्य कर्म, येन कुबेरकः
राजा अङ्कितः [=राज्ञः कुबेरकस्य प्रतिमा अङ्किता] ।)

No. 4.

On a Hexagonal piece of crystal found inside one of the boxes.

- 1 मातुगामस [नं]दपुराहि
- 2 सुवर्णमाहा
- 3 शमनुदेशानं च
- 4 गिलानकेरस अयसक-
- 5 [स]ठिय
- 6 गोहिया अ*ग दानं [॥*]

(=मातृग्रामस्य नन्दपुरात् हि, सुवर्णमाघात् श्रमणोद्देशानां(?) च, ग्लानकार्यस्य
आयसक-श्रेष्ठिनः गोहिका (=गृहम्) अत्यग्र-दानम् ।)

(b) INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IKSHVĀKUS OF
THE KISTŪNA-GUṆTŪR REGION

No. 98—Nāgarjunikōṇḍa Inscriptions of
Virapurushadatta¹—Regnal year 6

Remains of a Stūpa in the valley of the NĀGARJUNIKONḌA Hill,
Guṇtūr Dist., Madras Pres.

Vogel, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 16, 19f.

Language : Prakrit

Script : Southern Brāhmī of the second half of 3rd century
A. D.

No. 1

TEXT²

- 1 सिधं [॥*] नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस सुपबुध-बोधिनी सवञ्जुनो
- 2 सब-सतानुकंपकस जित-राग-दोष-मोह-विपमुतस महागणि-वसभ-
- 3 [गं]धहधिस संम-सं[बुध]स धातुवर-परिगहितस [॥*] महाचेतिये⁴ महाराजस
- 4 विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगहितस⁵ हिरण⁶ कोटि-गोसतसहस हलस-

1 Bühler suggested that Purushadatta is the king's name and *vīra* is only an epithet. But here the epithet seems to form a part of the name.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Ayaka pillar inscription C. 3.

3 According to Buddhist works the qualifications of a *bhagavā* are *issarīya* (*animā*, etc.), *dhamma* (transcendental virtues), *yasa* (pure fame of universal recognition), *sirī* (all-round accomplishment), *kāma* (all objects of desire) and *payatana* (supreme effort to gain sovereignty over all). See also *supra*, p. 92, n. 2.

4 Some of the Nāgarjunikōṇḍa records read इमम्हि or इस्मिन्हि before महाचेतिये.

5 Some records read अग्निहोतागिठोम-वाजपेयासमेधयाजिस after परिगहितस. Aśvamedha is usually seen to have been performed by kings to celebrate their victory over other kings, especially the former overlords of their families. Sānta-mūla apparently ousted the Sātavāhanas from their suzerainty over the Kistṇa-Guṇtūr region.

6 Some records read हिरण्य

- 5 तसह[स]-दायिस सवथेसु अपतिहतसंकपस वासिठिपुतस इस्वाकुस
 6 सिरि-चातमूलस¹ सोदरा भगिनि रंओ माढरीपुतस सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस
 7 पितुञ्जा महासेनापतिस महातलवरस वासिधी-पुतस² पूक्रीयानं कंदसिरि[स]³
 8 भरिया समण-बमण⁴-कवण-वनिजक-दीनानुगह-वेलामिक⁵-दान-पटिभागवो-
 9 छिन-धार-पदायिनि सव-साधु-वज्जला महादानपतिनि महातलवरि खंदसागरनक-माता
 10 च[र]ितिसिरि⁶ अपनो उभयकुलस अतिछितमनागतवटमानकानं⁷ परिनामेतुनं⁸
 11 उभय-लोक-हित-सुखावहथनाय⁹ च अतनो च निवाण-संपत्ति-संपादके
 12 सव-लोक-हित-सुखावहथनाय च इमं खंभं पतिथपितं ति [।*]
 13 रंओ सिरि-वीरपुरिसदतस सव ६ वा प ६ दि १०¹⁰ [।।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराजसत्कृताय सुप्रवृद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकाय
 जितरागदोषमोह(= ० आसक्किवृणाज्ञान०)-विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि-वृषभगन्धहस्तिने
 (= बहुसङ्ख्यकशिष्य-महाचार्येषु प्रधानः) सम्यक्-संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय (= निर्वाण-
 प्राप्ताय) । महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य¹ हिरण्यकोटि-

1 Some records read चांतमूलस. For the change of श in to च, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 17, n. 1.

2 Some records have वासिठोपुतस which is the correct expression.

3 Some records have खंदसिरि

4 Read बम्हण

5 One record has वैलामिक and two others वेलामि. Velāma was a person celebrated for charity in Buddhist mythology (*Jātaka*, vol., I, p. 228; *Vibhaṅgaṭṭha-kathā*, p. 414; *Ang. N.*, IV, 894f; *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 33); cf. reference to Karna in later records.

6 Some records have चांतिसिरि

7 Some records read वटमानके

8 Some records have परिनामेतुन

9 Some records have ० सुखनिवाणथनाय

10 वा प ६ is written under the line.

11 *Virupāksha* is supposed to have been the *gaṇa* of which Skanda was the leader. The Kadambas of Banavāsi and, imitating them, the Chalukyas of Bādāmi also claimed to have been protected by Mahāsena.

गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-दायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-संकल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः
 (=इक्ष्वाकुवंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरा भगिनी, राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य
 पत्न्युषसा, महासेनापतेः महातलवरस्य (=राजप्रदत्तपट्टबन्धभूषित-राजस्थानीयस्य) वासिष्ठी-
 पुत्रस्य पूकीयानां (=पूकीयवंशजस्य) स्कन्दश्रियः भार्य्या, श्रमण-ब्राह्मण-वणिजक (=दुर्गत)-
 कृपण (=कृपाई)-दीनानुग्रह-वैलामिक (=वेलामाह्वय-दानशौण्ड-सम्बन्ध) दान-प्रतिभागा-
 नवच्छिन्न-(=दानविसर्जनस्य निरवच्छिन्न०)-धारा-प्रदायिनी सर्वसाधुवत्सला महादानपत्नी
 (=महादान-पत्युपाधिकस्य पत्नी) महातलवरी (=महातलवर-पत्नी) स्कन्दसागर-माता¹
 शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः उभयकुलस्य (=माता-पितृ-कुलस्य; यद्वा, स्वामि-पितृ-कुलस्य) अल्यार्च्छिता-
 नागतवर्त्तमानकानि (=अतीत०) [कल्याणानि] परिणमस्य (=उद्दिश्य) उभयलोक-हित-सुखा-
 वाहार्थनाय (०सुखानयनं प्रार्थयितुं) आत्मनः च निर्वाण-सम्प्राप्ति-सम्पादकं² सर्वलोक-हित-
 सुखावाहार्थनाय च इमं स्तम्भं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] इति । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे षष्ठे
 ६ वर्षापक्षे षष्ठे ६ दिवसे दशमे १० (=आश्विनशुक्लपक्षस्य दशमदिवसे) ॥

No. 2

TEXT³

- 1 सिधं [॥*] नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस सुपबुध-वोधिना सर्वज्जुनो सवसत[ानु*]-
- 2 कंपकस जित-राग-दोह-मोह-विपमुत्तस महागणि-वसभ-गंधहृदिस⁴
- 3 संम-संबुधस धातुवर-परिगहितस [॥*] महाचेतिये उज्जैनिका-महार-बलिका⁵
- 4 महादेवि रुद्रधरभट्टरिका इमं सेल-खंभं अपनो हित-सुख-निवाणधनाय⁶
पतिठपितं [॥*]

1 See *supra*, p. 185, n. 3.

2 According to Childers (*Pāli Dictionary*, s. v. *Nibbāṇo*) the expression निब्बाण-सम्पत्ति in the *Khuddakapāṭha* means "the enjoyment of Arhatship."

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Ayaka-pillar inscription B 5

4 Other records have गंधहृदिस

5 We may accept Vogel's correction ०महाराज-बालिका. Many Saka kings of Ujjain had *rudra* at the beginning of their names; see *Sac. Sāt.*, p. 22f.

6 Vogel likes to correct it to निवाणाथनाय.

- 5 महातलवरिहि च पूकियानं चांतिसिरिणिकाहि इमस महाविहारस महाचेतियं
 6 समुत्थपियमाने महातलवरीय उभयिता दिनारि-मासका¹ सतरि-सतं १००(+*)७०
 खंभो च [१*]
 7 रंनो सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस संव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सुप्रबुद्धबोधये सर्वज्ञाय सर्वसत्त्वानुकम्पकाय
 जित-राग-दोष-मोह-विप्रमुक्ताय महागणि-वृषभ-गन्धहस्तिने सम्यक्-संबुद्धाय धातुवरपरि-
 गृहीताय । महाचैत्ये उज्जयिनिका-महाराज-बालिका (= उज्जयिन्याः शकराजकन्या) महा-
 देवी (= वीरपुरुषदत्त-महिषी) रुद्रधरभट्टारिका इमं शैलस्तम्भम् आत्मनः हित-सुख-निर्वाण-
 धनाय (यद्वा, निर्वाणार्थनाय) प्रतिष्ठापित[वतो] । महातलवरीभिः च पूकियानां शान्तिश्रीभिः
 (= महातलवर्या च पूकियानां शान्तिश्रिया) अस्य महाविहारस्य महाचैत्ये समुत्थाप्यमाने
 [रुद्रधरभट्टारिकया] महातलवरीभ्यः (= महातलवर्यै शान्तिश्रियै) ऊर्द्धिताः (यद्वा,
 उद्धाविताः = दत्ताः) दिनार-माषकान् (= माषकाणां) सप्तति-शतं (= सप्तत्यधिकं शतम्)
 १७०, स्तम्भः च । राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षापक्षे ६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 3

TEXT²

- 1 सिधं [॥*] नमो भगवतो देवराज-सकतस संम-संम-संबुधस³ धातुवर-
 2 परिगृहितस [१*] महाचेतिये महारजस विरूपखपति-महासेन-परिगृहितस
 3 अगिहोतागिठोगिठोम⁴-वाजपेयासमेध-याजिस हिरणकोटि-गोसत-
 4 सहस-हलसतसहस-पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहत-संकपस
 5 वासिठी-पुतस इखाकुस सिरि-चातमूलस सोदराय भगिनिय हंम-
 6 सिरिणिकाय बालिका रंनो सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस भया महादेवि बपिसिरिणिका

1 Cf. दीनार of later records, derived from the Roman *denarius*. Possibly दिनारि refers to actual Roman coins (imported in South India) and not to their Kushāna imitations. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 27 n.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Ayaka pillar inscription C 2.

3 Read संम-संबुधस

4 Read अगिहोतागिठोम,



- 7 अपनो मातरं हंमसिरिणिकं परिणमतुन अतने च निवाण-संपति-सपादके
 8 इमं सेलथंमं पतिठपितं [।*] अचरि[या]नं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं सुपरिगहित[.*]
 9 इमं महाचेतिय-नवकमं [।*] पणगाम-वथवानं दीघ-मझिम-पंद-म[।]तुक-देस[क-वा*]-
 चकानं¹
 10 अ(च*)रयान अयिर-ह्वान अंतेवासिकेन दीघ-म(झिम*)-निगय-धरेन भदंतान-
 देन
 11 निठपित[.] इम[.] नवकम[.] महाचेतियं² खंभा च ठपिता ति [।*] रजो सरि-
 चिरिपुरिसदतस
 12 संव ६ वा प ६ दिव १० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते देवराज-सत्कृताय सम्यक्संबुद्धाय धातुवर-परिगृहीताय ।
 महाचैत्ये महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिगृहीतस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-
 याजिनः हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसंकल्पस्य
 वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इच्छाकोः (= इच्छाकुवंशीयस्य) श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सोदरायाः भगिन्याः हर्म्य-
 श्रियाः बालिका (= तनया) राज्ञः श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्या³ महादेवी बप्पीश्रीः आत्मनः
 मातरं हर्म्यश्रियं परिणामय्य (= उद्दिश्य) आत्मनः च निर्वाणसम्प्राप्तिसम्पादकम् इमं शैलस्तम्भं
 प्रतिष्ठापित[वती] । आचार्यैः अपरमहावनशैलीयैः⁴ सुपरिगृहीतम् इदं महाचैत्य-नवकम्
 (= महाचैत्यस्य संस्कृतांशः ; यद्वा, वर्द्धितांशः) । पर्णग्रामवास्तव्यानां दीर्घ-मध्यम-पञ्च-
 मातृका⁵ -देशक-वाचकानां (= दीघनिकाय-मज्झिमनिकायादि-पञ्चग्रन्थानां व्याख्यातृपाठकानाम्)⁶
 आचार्याणाम् आर्यसङ्घानाम् (= आर्यसङ्घीयानाम्) अन्तेवासिकेन (= शिष्येण) दीर्घ-

1 Read पंच

2 The same thing seems to be twinmentioned in the same sentence through over sight.

3 For the cross-cousin marriage, see *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, p. 13.

4 See *ibid.*, p. 25f.

5 मातृका = matrices, i. e. texts on original, basic or fundamental doctrines. The word here seems to refer to the five *nikāyas* of the *Suttapīṭaka*, viz. दीघ-निकाय, मज्झिम, संयुत्त, अङ्गुत्तर, खुद्दक.

6 See *supra*, p. 80, n. 1. Some scholars believe that भदन्त is derived from भद्रं ते, the blessing always in the mouth of the monks.

मध्यम-निकायधरेण तद्वभवता आनन्देन निष्ठापितं (= समाप्तिं नीतम्) इदं नवकर्म
महाचैल्यम्, स्तम्भाः च स्थापिताः इति । राज्ञः श्रीवीर-पुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरे ६ वर्षापक्षे
६ दिवसे १० ॥

No. 101—Nāgārjunikōṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta—Regnal Year 14

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 22

Language: Prakrit.

Script: Southern Brāhmī of the 2nd half of 3rd cent. A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधं [॥*] नमो भगवतो इखाकराज-पवररिसितपभव-वंस-संभवस देव-
मनुस-सव-सत-हित-सुख-मग-देसिकस जित-काम-कोध-भय-हरिस-तरिस-मोह-दोसस²
दपित-मार-बल-दप-मान-पसमन-करस दसबल-महबलस अठग-मग³-धमचक
पवतकस चक-लखण-सुकुमार-सुजात-चरणस तरुण-दिवसकर-पभस सरद-ससि-सोम-
दरिसनस सव-लोक-चित-महितस बुधस [॥*] रंजो मा[ढ]रिपु[त*][स]⁴
[संवछरं*] चोदं १० (+*) ४ हेमंत-पखं छठं ६ दिवसं तेरं १० (+*) ३ [॥*]

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Second Apsidal Temple inscription F.

2 H. Sastri's suggestion is better than Vogel's दोस-सद[॥*]पितमार०.

3 The "noble eight-fold path" consists of सम्मा दिट्ठि (right views), सम्मा संकप्पो (right resolution), सम्मा वाचा (right speech), सम्मा कम्मन्तो (right action), सम्मा आजिवो (right living), सम्मा वायाम (right exertion), सम्मा सत्ति (right recollec-
tion), and सम्मा समाधि (right meditation). Daśabala is a name of Buddha derived
from his knowledge of ten kinds. The story of Māra's defeat by Buddha is famous
in Buddhist mythology. The inauguration of the Buddhist doctrine is technically
known to the Buddhists as Buddha's turning of the Wheel of Law.

4 विरपुरिसदत्त seems to have been omitted owing to inadvertence.

[भ*][द]त-[रा]जाचरीयानं¹ कस्मीर-गंधार-चीन-चिलात-तोसलि-अवरंत-
वंग-धनवासी-यवन-[दमिल]-[प]लूर-तंबपणिदीप-पसदकानं थेरियनं तंबप-
णकानं सुपरिगहे

2 सिरिपवते विजयपुरोय पुव-दिसा-भागे विहारे चुल-धंमगिरीयं चेतिय-धरं सपट-
संथरं स-चेतीयं सव-नियुतं कारितं उवासिकाय बोधिसिरिय अपनो भतुनो
बुधि[']नकस पितुनो च से गोवगाम-वथवस रेवत-गहपतिस मातुय च स
बुधंनिकाय भातुनं च से चंदमुखनस करुंबुधिनस हर्धनस भगिनीय च रेवतिनिकाय
भातु-पुतानं च महाचंदमुख-चुलचंदमुखानं भागिनेयानं च महामूल-चुलमूलानं अपनो
च अयकस मूलवानियस अयिकाय बुधवानिकि[नाय] मातुलक.....²कोठ[1]-
कारिकस भदस बोधिसंमस चंदस बोधिक[स] महामातुकाय भदि[ला]य बोधिय च
अपनो [पितुनो] बुधि[वा]नियस मा[तुय].....

3 भातुनो मूलस भगिनीनं बुधंनिकाय मूलनिकाय नागबोधिनिकाय धृतुय
वीरनिकाय पुतानं नागनस वीरनस च सुंन्हानं च भदसिरि-मिसीनं [1*] एवमेव
च कुलह-विहारे चेतियधरं सीहळ-विहारे वीधि-रुख-पासादो महाधंमगिरीयं
ओवरको १ महावि(हा*)रे मंडव-खंभो[११] देवगिरियं पधान-साला पुवसेले
तळाक['] अळ[']दा-मडवो च कंटकसोले महाचेतियस पुव-दारे सेल-मंडवो
हिरुमुठवे ओवरका तिणि ३ पपिलायं ओवरका सत ७ पुफगिरीय['] सेल-मंडवो
धं³.....विहारे सेल-मंडवो[११] [1*] एतं च सवं उपरि-वंणि[तं*]
.....[सा*]धुवगस अचत-हित-सुखाय थवितं सव[स] च लोकस [1*] इमं
नवकंमं तिहि नवक[']मिकेहि कारितं चंदमुख-थेरेन च

4 ⁴धंमनंदि-थेरेन च नाग-थेरेन च [1*] सेल-वढाकिस विधिकस कंमं ति [11*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते इक्ष्वाकुराज-प्रवरर्षिशतप्रभव-वंश-संभवाय (=इक्ष्वाकुराज-
वरस्य राजर्षिशतजनयितरि वंशे जाताय) देव-मनुष्य-सर्वसत्त्व-हित-सुख-मार्ग-देशिकाय

1 For भदंत see *supra*, p. 80 n. 1. It is also suggested that the word is derived from the benediction भद्रं ते.

2 The reading seems to be मातुलकनां (or, ०कनं च) अंक-कोठाकरिकस.

3 Some ten aksharas are lost after धं.

4 The line begins from below इमं of 1. 3.

(=०निर्देशकाय) जित-काम-क्रोध-भय-हर्ष-तर्ष(=तृष्णा)-मोह-दोषाय (=०अज्ञानघृणाय) दर्पित-मार-बल-दर्प-मान-प्रशमनकराय दशबल-महाबलाय अष्टाङ्गमार्गधर्मचक्र-प्रवर्त्तकाय चक्र-लक्षण-सुकुमार-सुजात(=सुगठित)-चरणाय तरुण-दिवसकर-प्रभाय शारदशशि-सौम्यदर्शनाय सर्वलोक-चित्त-महिताय (=०पूजिताय) बुद्धाय । राज्ञः माठरी-पुत्रस्य [वीरपुरुष-दत्तस्य] संवत्सरः चतुर्दशः १४ हेमन्तपक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः त्रयोदशः १३ (=माघशुक्ल-पक्षस्य त्रयोदशदिवसे) । तत्रभवतीनां राजाचार्याणां काश्मीर-गन्धार-चीन-किरात-तोसल्यपरान्त-वङ्ग-वनवासि-यवन-इमिल-पल्लूर-ताम्रपर्णाद्वीप-प्रसादकानां^१ (=परिव्रजनेन धर्म-प्रचारेण च तोषकाणां) स्थविराणां ताम्रपर्णकानां (=सिंहलकीयानां) सुपरिग्रहे (=पोषणाय ; यद्वा, ग्रहणाय) श्रीपर्वते विजयपूर्याः^२ पूर्वदिशाभागे विहारे क्षुद्रधर्मगिरौ चैत्यगृहं सत्पट्ट-संस्तरं सचैत्यं सर्वनियुक्तं (=सर्वावश्यकद्रव्यसंयुक्तं) कारितम् उपासिकया बोधश्रिया—आत्मनः, भ्रातुः बुद्धेः, पितुः च अस्याः गोपग्राम-वास्तव्यस्य रैवत-गृहपतेः, मातुः च अस्याः बुद्धायाः, भ्रातृणां च अस्याः चन्द्रमुखस्य करुम्बुद्धेः सङ्घस्य, भगिन्याः च रेवत्याः, भ्रातृपुत्रयोः च महचन्द्रमुख-क्षुद्रचन्द्रमुखयोः, भागिनेययोः च महामूल-क्षुद्रमूलयोः, आत्मनः च आर्य्यकस्य (=पितृमहस्य) मूलवाणीकस्य, आर्य्यिकायाः (=पितामह्याः) बुद्धवाणीकायाः, मातुलकानां... कोप्रागारिकस्य भद्रस्य, बोधिशर्मणः, चन्द्रस्य, बोधिकस्य [च], महामातृकायाः (=मातामह्याः) भद्रिलायाः,—बोध्या च [कारितम्]—आत्मनः, पितुः बुद्धिवाणीकस्य मातुः...भ्रातुः मूलस्य, भगिनीनां बुद्धायाः मूलायाः नागबोधेः च, दुहितुः वीरायाः, पुत्रयोः नागस्य वीरस्य च, स्तुषयोः च भद्रश्री-मिस्योः [एतेषां सर्वेषां कल्याणाय] ।^३ एवम् एव च [कारितं] कुलह-विहारे (=कुलहक-वंशीयैः स्थापिते विहारे) चैत्य-गृहं, सिंहल-विहारे (=सिंहलीय-भिक्खूणां वासाय निर्मिते विहारे) बोधिवृक्ष-प्रासादः, महाधर्मगिरौ अपवरकः (=गुहागृहं) १, महाविहारे मण्डप-स्तम्भः १, देवगिरौ प्रधानशाला, पूर्वशैले तडागम् आलिन्द-मण्डपः च, कण्टक-शोले (यद्वा ; ०शैले) महाचैत्यस्य

1 Kāśmīra to the north of the Panjāb; Gandhāra=Rawalpindi and Peshāwar Districts of the Panjāb; Kirāta in the Himalayas, possibly Tibet; China in China beyond Kirāta. Tosali=Dhauli in Puri Dist. Aparānta=North Konkan. Vaṅga=parts of Central, Eastern and Southern Bengal. Vanavāsī=Banavasi in North Kanara Dist. Damila=Tamil country. Yavana=Greek colony of North West or South India or Southern Anam. See *Sac. Sāt.*, pp. 28-32.

2 Vijayapuri in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley was possibly the capital of the Ikshvākus. Śrīparvata was the name of the Nallamalur range. The old name is represented by mod. Śrīśaila which is only a point in the range. Cf. Mahendragiri (=Eastern Ghāṭs) and Mahendrāchala in the Ganjam and Tinnevely Dists.

पूर्वद्वारे शैल-मण्डपः, हिरुमुस्तूपे (२) अपवरकाः त्रयः ३, पपिलायाम् अपवरकाः सप्त ७, पुष्पगिरौ शैलमण्डपः, ध.....विहारे शैलमण्डपः १—एतत् च सर्व्वम् उपरिवर्गितं साधुवर्गस्य अत्यन्त-हितसुखाय स्थापितं, सर्व्वस्य च लोकस्य [हितसुखाय]। इदं नवकर्म (=निर्माण-वर्द्धन-संस्कारादि-कर्म) त्रिभिः नवकर्मिकैः कारितं—चन्द्रमुख-स्थविरेण च धर्म-नन्दिस्थविरेण च नाग-स्थविरेण च। शैलवर्द्धकेः (=शिला-तत्क्षणः) विधिकस्य कर्म इति ॥

No. 102—Nāgarjunikōṇḍa Inscription of Vīrapurushadatta—Regnal year 18.

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 21

Language : Prakrit

Script : Southern Brāhmī of the 2nd half of 3rd cent. A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधम्। नमो भगवतो बुधस[॥*] चेतिय-चर² महारजस विरूपखपति-
महासेन-परिगहितस अगिहोत[॥]गिठोम-वाजपेयासमेध-याजिस अनेक-हिरन-
कोटि-गोसतसहस-हलसतस(हस*)-पदायिस सवथेसु अपतिहतसंकपस वासेठिपुतस
इखाकुलस³ सिरि-चातमूलस सहोदार भगिनि महातलवरस वासेठिपुतस
पुगियान खंदसिरिस भरिय महातलवरि खंदसागरंनग-म[॥]ता चातिसिरि
अपनो जामतुकस रजो मठरिपुतस इखकुनं सिरि-विरपुरिसदतस अयु-
वधनिके वेजयिके
- 2 अपनो च उभय-[लोक]-हित-सुख-[निवाणथनाय]...[संम-संबुधस] [धा]तुपरिगहितस
महाचेतिय-पादमूले⁴ पवजितानं नाना-देश-समनागतानं⁵ सब-साधून् महा-

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. First Apsidal Temple inscription E.

2 Vogel prefers a fullstop here. I am inclined to suggest ०चरे.

3 Read इखाकुस which is the reading of the other records.

4 हा is written under the line.

5 Cf. Kura Inscription of Toramāna and *supra*, No. 101, l. 1. Records at Sāñchi and Barhut show that pious people from all parts of the country visited the Buddhist establishments on pilgrimage and offered pillars, etc., with a view to acquire merit.

भिखु-स[']घस अप[नो] [च] [उ]भय-कुलस अतिछित[म]नागत-वटमानके निकपनिके
 (तिक्रपतिके ?) च परिनामेतुनं अपरमहाविनसेलियानं परिगहे सव-नियुत
 चातुसल-परिगहितं सेल-मंटव पतिठ[र]पित [।*] रंजो सिरि-वीरपुरिसदतस
 संवछरं अठार सं १०(+*)८ हेमंत-पखं छठं ६ दिवसं पंचमं ५ [।*] सवसतानं
 हित [र]य सुखाय होतु ति [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय । चैत्यगृहे—महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-
 परिगृहीतस्य (= अनुगृहीतस्य) अभिहोताभिष्टोमवाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटि-
 गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः¹ सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहत-सङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकोः
 श्रीशान्तमूलस्य सहोदरा भगिनी, महातलवरस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य पुत्रीयानां स्कन्दश्रियः
 भार्या महातलवरी स्कन्दसागर-माता शान्तिश्रीः आत्मनः जामातृकस्य² राज्ञः माठरीपुत्रस्य
 इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य आयुर्वर्द्धनिकं वैजयिकम् (= आयुर्वृद्धये विजयाय च) आत्मनः च
 उभयलोकहितसुखनिर्वाणार्थनाय (= निर्वाणालाभार्थं) ...सम्यक्-सम्बुद्धस्य धातुपरिगृहीतस्य
 (= लब्धनिर्वाणस्य) महाचैत्यपादमूले प्रव्रजितानां नानादेश-समन्वागतानां सर्वसाधूनां
 महाभिजुसङ्घस्य आत्मनः च उभयकुलस्य (= मातापितृ-कुलस्य ; यद्वा, पतिपितृकुलस्य)
 अत्यार्च्छितम् (= अतीतं कालम्) अनागतवर्त्तमानकं (= भावि-वर्त्तमानकालं) लिक्ल्पान्तिकं
 (= त्रिकल्पपर्यन्तं) च परिणमय्य (= उद्दिश्य) अपर-महावन-शैलीयानां [आचार्याणां]
 परिग्रहे (= ग्रहाय ; यद्वा, पोषणाय) सर्वनियुक्तं (= सर्वविश्यकवस्तुसनाथं)
 चतुःशालपरिगृहीतं (= चतुःशालावेष्टितं) शैलमण्डपं प्रतिष्ठापित[वती*] । राज्ञः
 श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य संवत्सरः अष्टादशः सं १८ हेमन्तपक्षः षष्ठः ६, दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (= माघ-
 शुक्लपक्षस्य पञ्चमदिवसे) । सर्वसत्त्वानां हिताय सुखाय [च] भवतु इति ॥

1 For हल, see *supra*, p. 201, n. 4.

2 Note that *supra*, No. 100 refers to the lady simply as the king's paternal aunt. Here is another reference to cross-cousin marriage.

No. 103—Nāgārjunikōṇḍa Inscription of

Ehuvula Śāntamūla II—Regnal year 2.

NĀGĀRJUNIKONḌA, Guṇṭūr Dist., Madras Pres.

J. Ph. VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 62**Language :** Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit**Script :** Southern Brāhmī of the end of the 3rd cent. A.D.TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् [॥*] नमो भगवतो बुद्धस्य [॥*] महाराजस्य
- 2 विरूपकखपत्ति-महासेन-परिगहितस्य अग्निहोतागिठोमवाजपे-
- 3 यस्यमेध-याजिस्य अनेक-हिरंगकोटि-गोसतसहस-हलसतसह-
- 4 [स-पदायि*]स्य सवधेषु अप्रतिहत-संकम्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वा[कुन*]
- 5 सिरि-चंतमूलस्य सुन्हाय महाराजस्य² मा[ठ]रीपुत्रस्य सिरि-वीरपुरि-
- 6 सद्गत्तस्य भग्याय महादेवीय [भट्टिदेवाय] देयधर्म इमं सव-जात-नियुतो
- 7 विहारो अचरियानं बहुसुतियानं पतिद्विपितो [॥*] रजो वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वा[कुन]
- 8 सिरि-एहुवुल-चंतमूलस्य² संवत्सरं वितियं गिम्ह-पक्खं छठं ६ दिवसं
दसमं १० [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते बुद्धाय ॥ महाराजस्य विरूपाक्षपति-महासेन-परिग्रहीतस्य
अग्निहोताग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजिनः अनेकहिरण्यकोटी-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः
सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठी-पुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य स्नुषायाः महा-
राजस्य माठरी-पुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य भार्यायाः महादेव्याः भर्तृदेवायाः देयधर्मः
(=धर्मार्थं दानम्) अयं सर्वजातनियुक्तः (=सर्वावश्यक-द्रव्यसनाथः) विहारः आचार्य्येभ्यः
बहुश्रुतिकेभ्यः (=तेषां बौद्धाचार्य-विशेषाणां व्यवहाराय) प्रतिष्ठापितः । राज्ञः वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य
इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः द्वितीयः ग्रीष्मपक्षः षष्ठः ६ दिवसः दशमः १०
(=ज्यैष्ठ्यशुक्लपक्षस्य दशम-दिवसे) ॥

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Ayaka pillar Ins. G 2. This is the only record (but cf. नत्तिय, No. 104, l. 8). of the Ikshvākus in which conjuncts are employed as in the case with the Mayidavolu grant of the Pallava Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman, *infra*. Ehuvula Śāntamūla therefore appears to have ruled about the time of Śivaskandavarman's father.

2 In his own records Vīrapurushadatta calls himself *rājā*.

No. 104—Nāgarjunikonda Inscription of
Ehuvula Śāntamūla II—Regnal year 11

VOGEL, *Ep. Ind.* XX, p. 24

Language : Prakrit

Script : Southern Brāhmī of the end of the 3rd cent. A.D.

TEXT¹

- 1 सिधम् । नमो भगवतो समा-सं-
- 2 बुधस [1*] महाराजस वासेठिपुतस
- 3 इखाकुनं सिरि-एहुवल-चा[त*]मूलस² सव १०(+*)१
- 4 [गि प³ ?] १ दिव ७ [1*] महाराजस अगिहातांगधेम-वाजवेज⁴-
- 5 असमध-याजिस⁵ [अनेक]-हिरणकोटि-गोसतसहस-
- 6 हलसतसहस-पद[गि]स सवथेसु अपतिहत-
- 7 संकपस वासेठिपुतस इखाकुन सिरि-चतमुल[स*]
- 8 नत्तिय महाराजस माठरिपुतस सिरि-विरपुरिस-
- 9 दतस धूतुय महाराजस वासेठिपुतस इखाकुनं
- 10 सिरि-एहुवल-चतमुल[स] भगिनिय वानवासक⁶-महाराज-
- 11 महादेविय कोद[ब]लिसिरिय इमं खनियं विहारो च
- 12 अचरियानं महि[सा]सकनं सुपरिगहे चातुदिसं

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX. Detached Pillar inscription H.

2 In another record the name appears to be एहुवल-चा[*]तमूल. Cf. the name हिंणुल-देवन of a Darsi ins. of the 7th century (*An. Rep. S.I.E.*, 1933-34, p. 41).

3 Not noticed by Vogel. गि seems to be clear.

4 Read °होतागिठोम-वाजपेय.

5 Read °मेध-याजिस. Usually Śāntamūla I is called *mahārāja* and his son *rāja*. But here all the kings are styled *mahārāja*.

6 Better read वनवासक. Here is possibly a reference to the Chuṭu kings

- 13 संघं उद्दिषाय सव-सतानं हित-सुखार्थं ठापितं [।*] अचरिष्ये-
 14 ना महा-धर्मकथिकेन धर्म[घो]स-थेरेन अनुष्ठितं ति ।

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ नमः भगवते सम्यक्सम्बुद्धाय । महाराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां
 श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य संवत्सरः एकादशः ११ ग्रीष्म-पक्षः प्रथमः १ दिवसः सप्तमः ७
 (= चैत्रकृष्णपक्षस्य सप्तमदिवसे) महाराजस्य अग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेधयाजिनः अनेक-
 हिरण्यकोटि-गोशतसहस्र-हलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिनः सर्वार्थेषु अप्रतिहतसङ्कल्पस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य
 इक्ष्वाकूणां श्रीशान्तमूलस्य नप्त्या, महाराजस्य माठरीपुत्रस्य श्रीवीरपुरुषदत्तस्य दुहित्रा,
 महाराजस्य वासिष्ठीपुत्रस्य इक्ष्वाकूणां श्री-एहुवुल-शान्तमूलस्य भगिन्या, वनवासक-महाराज-
 महादेव्या (= ०महिष्या) कोदवलिश्रिया इयं खनिका (=गुहा) विहारः च आचार्य्याणां
 महीशासकानां (= बौद्धाचार्यविशेषाणां) सुपरिग्रहे (=ग्रहणाय ; यद्वा, पोषणाय)
 चातुर्दिशं सङ्गम् उद्दिश्य सर्वसत्त्वानां हितसुखार्थं स्थापितौ । आचार्य्येण महा-धर्मकथकेन
 (= धर्मशास्त्रव्याख्याता) धर्मघोष-स्थविरेण अनुष्ठितौ (=निर्वाहितौ) इति ॥

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTION OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—CEYLON

No. 105—Āṇḍiyā-kanda Cave Inscription of Tissa Abaya (= Tishya Abhaya)

RITEGAL Hill-range, 25 miles south-east of Anurādhapura, Ceylon.

Don Martino de Zilva WICKREMASINGE, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, p. 144

Language : Prakrit influenced by the local language

Script : Brāhmī of the second-first century B. C.¹

TEXT²

- 1 देवनपिय-महरम्³-गमिणि-तिसह पुत्त[स*] देवनपिय-तिस-अ[वय]ह लेने अगत-
अनगत-च[तु-दि]दश⁴-शगश⁵ [दि*][ने] [॥*]

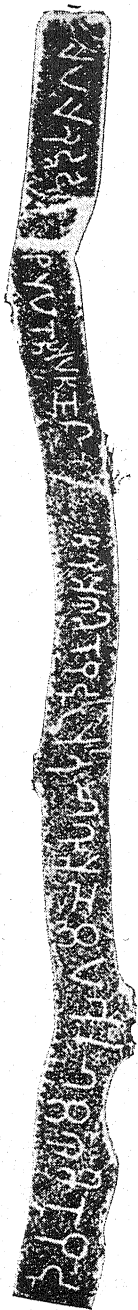
1 Gamini Tissa has been identified by Wickremasinghe with Saddha-Tissa [Abhaya] who reigned at A'pura in c. 77-59 B.C. and his son Tissa Abaya with Lajji-Tissa or Lāmāṇi-Tissa who ruled in c. 59-49 B.C.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Zel.*, I. and a photo print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

3 Read ०रज. The use of the word महाराज is interesting. In India, the Indo-Greek king Eukratides (circa 175-155 B.C.) is the earliest ruler who has been called महरज (Smith, *Catalogue*, p. 12) on his coins. The title possibly indicates Ceylon's intercourse with the northwestern part of India, because royal titles like महाराज, राजातिराज, महाराजाधिराज etc. were popularised by foreigners who settled in that region.

4 Read दिस. The photo-print reads चदु-दिस. The *aksharas* in brackets cannot be read in the print.

5 Read सगस.



Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.

Āṇḍiyā-Kanda Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 105).



Courtesy : Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, Ceylon.

Duwé Gala Cave Inscription (Bk. II, No. 106).

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

देवानांप्रिय-महाराज-ग्रामणी-तिष्यस्य पुत्र[स्य] देवानांप्रिय-तिष्याभ्यस्य लयनम् आगता-
नागत-चातुर्दिश-संघाय (= ० सर्वदेशीयाय भिक्षुसङ्घाय) दत्तम् ॥

No. 106—Duwé Gala Cave Inscription, No. 7

DUWE GALA Cave, Ceylon.

Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, III, p. 104, Plate XX

Language : Prakrit influenced by the local language.

Script : Brāhmī (to be read from right to left)¹ of about the 1st century B. C.

TEXT²

1 गाले शत्रमिदिग शतद्व [= वदतश गदिमित्तश लेणां]³

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भवतः (= तत्रभवतः) गतिमित्तस्य लयनम् (= गुहा) ॥

1 This peculiar characteristic of the record which appears to belong to about the first century B. C. suggests that either the Brāhmī script was introduced in Ceylon before Aśoka (c. 273-32 B. C.) who writes it from left to right or less probably that it was influenced by an earlier script of the south. Excepting some portions of the barbarously engraved Yerragudi MRE, Aśoka's Brāhmī records are not to be read from right to left. The present epigraph possibly proves that, like Kharoshthī, Brāhmī too was originally written from right to left. This fact again connects the Brāhmī alphabet with the pre-historic writing of the Indus Valley from which it was undoubtedly derived. द has a much developed form; but other letters have not. Development of Brāhmī characters outside India was not uniform with their development in this country.

2 From a photo-print kindly supplied by the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon.

3 There is the figure probably of a ship engraved at the right side of the inscription.

B—CENTRAL ASIA

Nos. 107-114—Documents from Chinese Turkestan¹

Language: Prakrit² influenced by local languages.

Script: Kharoshthī³ of the 3rd-4th century A.D.

No. I (=BRS No. 14)

Double-wedge Tablet

1 These records were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in his three expeditions to Chinese Turkestan in 1900-01, 1906-08, 1913-16, beyond the Niya River in the regions of Niya, Lou-lan, Tun-huang, Imām Ja'far Sādiq and Endere. They are described and the circumstances of their discovery are recorded respectively in Stein's *Ancient Khotan*, 1907, *Serindia*, 1921, and *Innermost Asia*, 1928. The records discovered in the first and second expeditions were published by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson and E. Senart in their celebrated work entitled *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, part I, 1920, part II, 1927. Part III (1929) of the work dealing with the records of the third expedition were published by Rapson and P. S. Noble. Their number has been given here in brackets. The results of the researches of T. Burrow have been published in his *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (Cambridge, 1937) and *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents* (London, 1940). Most of these records are written with ink on wedge-shaped wooden tablets; but some are on other materials such as leather. Many documents, a good many works in Sanskrit and Prakrit and in other languages and scripts, sometimes entire libraries have been unearthed in Central Asia by missions sent by the governments of different countries of the world, especially Russia, Germany and Japan.

2 It may be a variety of what is called the Paiśācī Prakrit by grammarians. A few records are in Sanskrit and in verse (e.g., BRS Nos. 511, 523). Kharoshthī has been made to suit the requirements of Sanskrit.

3 The late date of the records is also responsible for many peculiarities of the script. Interesting is the *visarga* indicated by two dots placed above the letter and the length of the vowel by a slanting curved stroke to the right of the base of a letter. Signs for *e* and length indicate *ai*. Modification of consonantal sounds is indicated usually by a sign resembling the subscript *r* (here marked by

TEXT¹

Covering-Tablet: Obverse

²चोम्बो-भिमय षोठंग³-ल्यिपेसु च दद्वो [॥*]

Under-Tablet.

- 1 महनुअव महूरय लिहति चोम्बो-भिमय-षोठंग-ल्यिपेय-
- 2 स च मत्त देति [॥*]सु च अहो नो इश षमेक बिजवे,ति यथ एष खोतंनमि दुत्तियाय गद [॥*] चलमदनदे
- 3 वलग, दितंति याव सचंमि गद [॥*] सचदे वलग, दितंति

Covering-Tablet: Reverse

- 1 याव निनंमि गद [॥*] निनदे याव खोतंनमि चडोददे⁴ वलग, दद्वो होअति [याव] [खो]तं.....⁵
- 2 यहि एद किलमुद्र अत्त एशति प्रठ यहि पुविक निनदे खोतंनंमि वलग,स परिकेय
- 3 तेन विधनेन सुध अयोगे,न दद्वो[॥*] यथ धर्मेन निश्चि कर्तवो [॥*]

Under-Tablet: Reverse

षमेकसु [॥*]

a dot below the letter); cf. र., ज, ड, व, etc. The editors of the records have also noticed modified क (=क्ल ?), ग (=ग), ग. (=ग.), च (=च), म (=मै), ष (=ष्ण) स (=स्न), ह (=ह) with a horizontal stroke above them. Modified क (=ख ?) with the right arm touching the vertical base, and letters like फ. (=ह), ठ. (=ठ ?) etc. may be conjuncts. The modified प (subscript) is either य or व. *Hasanta* ब्र, त्र or द्र is indicated by a *visarga*-like sign put below the preceding letter. There are also some peculiarities in the numerals.

1 From the transcript of *Khar. Ins.*, I. See Lüders, *Act. Or.*, XVII p. 36.

2 *Cojhbo* is a title of the chief local official. It is possibly of Iranian origin; cf. Av. *cazdahvant*. It is also found in the Maralbashi records as *cazba*.

3 *Shoṭhaṃga*: (tax-collector ?) is also an official title; possibly the same as *soshṭānkān* of the Tokhari records. च is superfluous.

4 *Coḍoda* is the ruined establishment on the Niya river. It was the name of the headquarters of Niya. It has been indentified with the chief city of the territory called Ching-chüeh by the Chinese.

5 About 19 letters are lost.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोम्बोभिमय(= भिमयाख्यः चोम्बो इति मुख्यकर्मचारिविशेषः)-षोठंग-ल्यिपेयाभ्यां
(=षोठंगाख्यमुख्यकर्मचारी ल्यिपेय-नामा)च[द्वाभ्यां] दातव्यम् ।

महाबुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोम्बोभिमय-षोठंगल्यिपेयाभ्यां च मन्त्रं ददाति ।—तत्
(=यत्) च—“अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] षमेकः (=षमेकाख्य-जनः) विज्ञापयति—यथा एषः
(=सः)खोतम्ने (=खोतन्नाख्ये देशे ; Khotan) दौत्याय गतः । चल्मदानतः (=चल्मदानाख्य-
स्थानात् ; Charchan) पालकं (=अश्वयायिनं रक्षिणं) ददाति यावत् साचं (=साचनामकं
स्थानम् ; Endere?) गतः । साचतः पालकं ददाति यावत् निनं (=निनाख्यं स्थानं ; Niya)
गतः । निनतः यावत् खोतम्नं [गमनाय], चडोदतः(= चडोदाख्यात् स्थानात्) पालकः दातव्यः
भवति यावत् खोतम्नं गतः....। यदा एष कीलमुद्रा (=मुद्राङ्कित-कीलाकारकाष्ठखण्डलिखितादेशः)
अत्र (=तत्र) एष्यति, प्रष्ठं(=अविलम्बेन) यथापौर्विकं (=यथापूर्वं निर्दिष्टम्) निनतः खोतम्ने
(=यावत् खोतम्नं) पालकस्य परिक्रये (=वर्तनं) तेन विधानेन (=यथाविधानं) सार्द्धम् आयोगेन
(=वृद्ध्या ; यद्वा पारितोषिकेन) दातव्यं—यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः (=परिक्रयेयायोगयोः अवधारणं)
कर्तव्यः” । षमेकस्य (=षमेक-सम्बन्धीया कील-मुद्रा) ॥

No. 2 (=BRS No. 45)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT¹

Covering-Tablet²: Obverse

चोम्बो-यितक-तोंग²-बुक्तोस् च ददवो [॥*]

Under-Tablet: Obverse

- 1 महनुअव महरय लिहति चोम्बो-यितक-तोंग-बुक्तोस् च मत देति [॥*]
- 2 स् च अहोनो इश वखु-ल्यिपेय विजवेति यथ एदस् दमि चिमिकए धितु रुलयस्
उनिति गिटए इश रय-द्वरंमि
- 3 कुठ-क्विरस् तिर्ष अश्य व्योछिंनिदग [॥*] एद प्रचे द्विति लिति वर किल-मुद्र
गछति[॥*] यव अजक दिवस् निश्चे न करितु [॥*]
- 4 यहि एद किलमुद्र अत्र एशति प्रठ अत्र समुह अनद प्रोछिदवो यथ रयद्वरंमि

1 From the transcript in *Khar. Ins.*, I.

2 *Tomga* may have been a transport-official. Burrow suggests a military rank, 'captain.'

Cover-Tablet: Reverse

- 1 व्योङ्छिनिदग्, सियति तेन विधनेन अत्र विभशितव्य [१*] यति अञ्ज विवद किञ्चि
सियति अत्र यथ-धर्मेन निश्चे कर्तवो [१*] अत्र न परिबु-
- 2 जिशतु हस्तगद रय-द्वरंमि विस,जिदेवो [१*] इशेमि समुह निश्चे भविष्यति [११*]

Under-Tablet: Reverse

वसु-ल्यिपे रुत्रयेन स,ध [११*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

चोम्भबोयितक-तोंगवुक्कोभ्यां च दातव्यम् ।

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोम्भबोयितक-तोंगवुक्कोभ्यां मन्त्रं ददाति [च] । तत्
(=यत्) च—“अधुना अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वसु-ल्यिपेयः विज्ञापयति यथा—एतस्य (= ल्यिपे-
यस्य) दास्याः चिमिकायाः दुहिता रुत्रयस्य उन्नोतिः (=पालनं=पालनार्थं गृहीता कन्या)
गृहीतिका [सती] अस्मिन् राज-द्वारे कृष्ट-क्षीराय (=मातृस्तन्य-धारशोधनाय) ⁺तिर्ष
अश्वः व्यवच्छिन्नकः (=निर्द्धारितः) ।¹ एतत्-प्रत्यये (= एतद्विषये) द्वितीयं तृतीयं वारं कीलमुद्रा
(= लेखः) गच्छति ; यावत् अद्यतनं दिवसम् [त्वया] निश्चयः न कृतः । यदा एतत्-कीलमुद्रा
अत्र (=तत्र) एष्यति, प्रष्टुम् अत्र (=तत्र) सम्मुखं [यथा तथा युवाभ्याम् उभयपक्षः] आज्ञप्तं
(=राजाज्ञा) प्रष्टव्यः ; यथा राजद्वारे व्यवच्छिन्नकः स्यात् तेन विधानेन अत्र (=तत्र) विभाषि-
तव्यं (=वक्तव्यं [त्वया]) । यदि अन्यः विवादः कश्चित् स्यात् अत्र (=तत्र) यथाधर्मेण निश्चयः
कर्तव्यः । [यदि कः अपि] अत्र (=तत्र) न परिबोधिष्यते (=मीमांसां प्रमाणयति), हस्तगतं
[कार्यं] राजद्वारे विसर्ज्जयितव्यं (=प्रेरयितव्यम्) । अस्मिन् [स्थाने] सम्मुखः (=साक्षाद्-
भावेन) निश्चयः भविष्यति” ॥ वसु-ल्यिपेयः रुत्रयेण सार्द्धम्² ॥

No. 3 (=BRS No. 152)

Rectangular Double-Tablet

TEXT³

Covering-Tablet: Obverse

प्रियदर्शनस् देव-मनुश-संपुजितस् प्रियभ्रतु षोटंघ-ल्यिपेयस् वियलिदवो [११*]

1 A payment (here, a horse) was due to the parents from the people who adopted the child as a return for having nourished the child in its infancy.
तिर्ष=three ?

2 I.e., Vasu-Ly'ipey versus Rutraya.

3 From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, I.

Under-Tablet : Obverse

- 1 प्रियदर्शनस्य देव-मनुश-संपुजितस्य प्रियभ्रातु षोडश-ल्यपेयस्य
- 2 चोम्बो-नस्तित नमकेरो करेति दिव्य-शरीर अरोगियो प्रेषेति बहु अप्रमेय[१*] एवं
- 3 च स च अदेहि गदेमि तहि प्रसदेन अरोगेमि [१*] [को]लियंमि श्वसु...न^१ ...
इदनि...[१*]
- 4 अहुनो अल रयक उटियन विसृजिदेमि [१*] तल ले-वर्षग उट १ [१*] एष भूय रज्यमि
- 5 अम्भतु ओडिदवो [१*] किलमुंल अल ह...^२ सगमोयस्य वंति [१*] एद किलमुंल
वजिति पु
- 6 नु सगमोयस्य ददवो धरंनए अवश[१*] एदे किलमेचिये सर्वभवेन मेनिग सि-
- 7 यंति [१*] प्रथदे एत लेख अल प्रहिदेमि [१*] प्रहुड अर्थय न तिमिदवो [१*] अवि
एदस्य सुमतस्य

Covering-Tablet : Reverse

- 1 एष^३ उटियन पिचविदेमि[१*] इतु उवु तय अचोविन अचोयदे तुर निखलिदवो[१*] अवि
- 2 श्रमंन धर्मप्रिय नम सलुवअए गोठंमि वुच्यति [१*] यहि एष सुमत अल एश्यति
- 3 तपदय एद श्रमंन सुमतस्य हस्तंमि अनविदवो पिचवंनए [१*] एष श्रमंन भरि-मण्डि-
- 4 गेय नि मोङ्गेयस्य^४ दम्भ असि [१*] महि वंति पद विक्रित सर्व निश्चेय किडम [१*]
षए श्रमंन
- 5 अहुनो दहि होतु [१*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED.

प्रियदर्शनस्य देवमनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रियभ्रातुः षोडश-ल्यपेयस्य [समीपे] विजालयितव्या
(=निर्ग्रन्थीकर्तव्या [एषा कीलमुद्रा]) ॥

प्रियदर्शनाय देवमनुष्यसम्पूजिताय प्रियभ्रातुः षोडश-ल्यपेयाय चोम्बो-नस्तितः (=चो-
म्बो-पदाधिष्ठित-नस्तित्वाख्यः जनः) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं [च] (=तद्विषयकं
आशीर्वचनं) प्रेषयति बहु अप्रमेयम् [च] । एवं च तत (=यत) च—“अतः
(=ततः) [आ]गतोऽस्मि, तव प्रसादेन अरोगोऽस्मि । कोलिये (=कालियाख्ये स्थाने)
.....इदानीं..... । अधुना अल (=तल) [यं] राजकं (=राजकीयं) उष्ट्री-गणं

1 According to Rapson's suggestion, the two *aksharas* preceding *n* may be किलमे.

2 Read हेतु.

3 ए was originally omitted and subsequently added above ष. 4 Or, मोतोयस.

विसर्जितवानस्मि, तत्र (=तन्मध्ये) त्रि-वर्षकः (=त्रिवर्ष-वयस्कः) उष्ट्रः १ । एषः भूयः
 राज्याय (=राष्ट्राय) अध्यातं (=निर्विचारं) उद्घातव्यः (=प्रतिदातव्यः) । कीलमुद्रा (=मुद्रा-
 क्लित-कीलकाकार-काष्ठखण्डस्थः लेखः) अत्र हेतौ सगमोयस्य उपान्ते (=सगमोयं प्रति) ।
 एतत्-कीलमुद्रा वाचयित्वा पुनः सगमोयाय दातव्या धारणाय (=रक्षणार्थं) अवश्यम् ॥
 एते किल्मेकीयाः (=किल्मे-सम्बन्धिनः जनाः ; यद्वा किल्मे-वासिनः) सर्वभावेन [तत्र] ध्यायिकाः
 (=ध्यानविषयाः ; परिचरणार्हाः) स्युः^१ । प्रथतः (=प्रथनामक स्थानतः ; यद्वा, पथितः)
 एतं लेखं अत्र (=तत्र) प्रहितवान् अस्मि ; [अतः] प्राश्रुतार्थाय (=पुरस्कारार्थाय) न स्तिमि-
 तव्यं [इति विचिन्त्य] ॥ अपि [च]—एतस्य सुमतस्य (=सुमताख्यस्य जनस्य [हस्तेन]) एतम्
 उष्ट्रीगणं प्रत्यर्पितवानस्मि । इतः उपादाय (=वर्तमानात् प्रभृति)^२ अचोविनाः (=लेखहारक-
 विशेषाः ?) ^३ अचोयतः (=गुल्मात् ?) त्वरया निज्जालयितव्याः^४ (=प्रेषयितव्याः) ॥
 अपि [च]—श्रमणः धर्मेप्रियः नाम सलुवयायाः (=सलुवयानाम्नायाः नार्याः) गोष्ठे [अस्ति इति]
 उच्यते । यदा एषः सुमतः अत्र (=तत्र) एष्यति तत् उपादाय (= ततः प्रभृति=तदा) एतस्य
 श्रमणस्य सुमतस्य हस्ते आज्ञापयितव्यं प्रत्यर्पणाय^३ । एषः श्रमणः भरि-मष्टिगेय-नि
 (=मष्टिगेयापरनामा)-मोक्षेयस्य दासः आसीत्^४ । मां प्रति पादः (+तस्य श्रुत्यस्य
 [=श्रुत्यसम्बन्धिनः श्रमस्य] चतुर्थः भागः) विक्रीतः ; सर्वं (=कय-विषयकं) निश्चयं
 कृतवन्तःस्म । एषः श्रमणः अधुना तत्र भवतु [पादेन ?] ॥

1 Were the Kilmeciya bearing the letter ? Kilme=district, according to Burrow. Kilme=estate; Kilmemci=tenant, according to Thomas (Act. Or., XIII, p. 63).

2 The Achovinas were possibly a kind of special messengers to report among other things impending attacks from enemies. Acho may be a kind of frontier outpost. Thomas connects them with *ājava* or *ājuh*. The writer possibly wanted to have informations regarding any attempt to steal the camels on the way.

3 Burrow: "orders must be given for handing over this Sramana into the hands of Sumata".

4 It is interesting to note the degraded condition of the Buddhist monks in this period. नि=*alias*? Burrow makes नि = निज and suggests that often a word like *putra* or *dāsa* is omitted after नि. This interpretation seems to suit some of the cases.

No. 4 (=BRS No. 165)
Rectangular Under-Tablet

*TEXT*¹

Under-Tablet: Obverse.

- 1 प्रियदर्शन चोम्बो-क्रनय-षोठंघ-ल्यिपेयस् च ओगु-किर्तिशर्म अरोग्य परि-
- 2 प्रोच्छति पुनपुनो बहो अप्रमेयो [१*] एवं च स च प्रथमदरो इमदे मगे-न-पगोस् च
- 3 हस्तंमि लेख प्रहुङ् प्रहिदेमि [१*] तदे अदर्थं भविदवो [१*] अवि-पेत-अवन्मि पल्यि पर-
- 4 वर्षि शेष यं च इम-वर्षि पल्यि तह सर्व स्वर तौमिहि² सध इश विसृजिदवो [१*] यति
- 5 तदे पुरिम पश्चिम विसृजिष्यतु पंथंमि परस् भविष्यति तुओ षोठंग ल्यिपेय
- 6 तनु गोठदे व्योषिशसि नधन भगेन [१*] यं च भुम-नवक-अ'नेन प्रिद अतिबहो
- 7 किनिदवो इश प्रहदवो [१*] वेग-किल्मि-स्त्रियन पल्यि भुम-नवक-अ'नेन स्वर विसृजित-
- 8 वो [१*] अवि पल्यि उट तेनेव सध इश विसृजितवो [१*] म इ'चि तौगन परिदे उट
- विथिष्यतु [*]
- 9 तस्, उट-प्रचेय रय-सक्कि लिहिदग, किदग, [१*] तिविस्तरंमि अनति-लेख
- अल गद [१*]
- 10 तहि चोम्बो-क्रनयस्, लिहमि एद कर्यमि तुओ चित कर्तव्य [१*] एष ल्यिपेय न चित
- 11 करेति [१*] यो पुन तहि कर्यमि हक्कन्ति शक्कन्मि अहो करनय [१*] यो अल शुभाशुभ-
- 12 स् प्रवृत्ति हक्कन्ति एमेव लेहरग, स हस्तंमि लेख इश प्रहदवो [१*] यो इश वर्तमान
- 13 ल्यिम्बुअस्, परिदे अदर्थं भविदवो [१*]

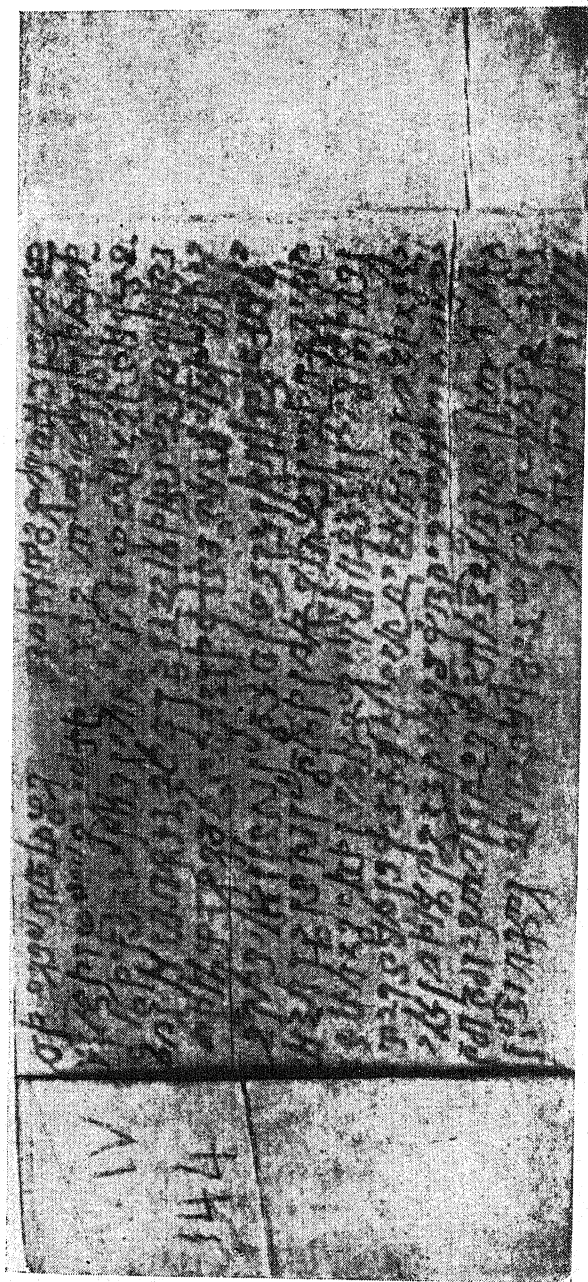
TEXT SANSKRITIZED

प्रियदर्शन-चोम्बो-क्रनय-षोठंघ-ल्यिपेयौ (=० चोम्बोपदाधिष्ठितक्रणयनामानं षोठंघ-
पदाधिष्ठित-ल्यिपेयनामानं च) ओगु-कीर्तिशर्मा (=ओगुपाधिक०) आरोग्यं परिपृच्छति पुनःपुनः
बहु अप्रमेयम् । एवं च तत् (= यत्) च—प्रथमतः (=प्रथमतः) इतः मगे-न-पगोः च (=मगे-
नाख्यस्य पयुनात्रः च पुरुषयोः) हस्तेन लेखं प्राभृतं (=उपहारं [च]) प्रहितवान् [अस्मि [अहम्] ।
ततः ज्ञातार्थाभ्यां [युवाभ्यां] भवितव्यम् । अविपेत्वापणे (= नानाजातीयमेष-विक्रय-स्थाने ;
यद्वा, अपि [च]०) [लभ्यः] बलिः (=करः) पूर्ववर्षीय-शेषः (= पूर्ववर्षीयकरस्य [अवशिष्टांशः] यः
च (= एवं च) एतद्वर्षीयः बलिः तथा सर्वं स्फुरं (=स्फूर्तियुक्तं=त्वरया) तोम्निभिः (=तोम्नि-

1 From the facsimile in *Kharoṣṭī Inscriptions*, I.

2 तोम्मि is equated by some with तोमि (=त्वया) of some records.

PLATE XLIII



Courtesy : Cambridge University Press (Khar. Ins., I).

Central Asian Document (Bk. II, No. 110).

संज्ञैः राजभृत्यैः ?) सार्द्धं अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यम् । यदि ततः पूर्वपश्चिमं (=अग्रतः पश्चात् च=असकृत्) [बलि] विसर्जयिष्यथः, पथि परस्य (=दस्युतस्करादेः=दस्युतस्करादिहतः) भविष्यति [च], [ततः] त्वं षोडश-लियपेयः तनु-गोष्ठतः (=आत्मनः०) व्यवशेषसि (=क्षतिपूरणं करिष्यासि) नद्यानां (=बद्धानां पशूनां, यद्वा, शस्यभाराणां) भागेन (=अंशानुसारेण) ॥ यत् च —भूमिनवकान्ने न (=भूमिजात-नवशस्येन) घृतम् अतिबहु (=बहुपरिमाणं) केतव्यम्, अस्मिन् [स्थाने] प्रहेतव्यं [च] । वेगकिल्विस्त्रीणां (=भारवाहि-घोटक-खामिनीनां ?)¹ बलिः भूमिनवकान्नं स्फुरं (=त्वरितं) विसर्जयितव्यः । अपि [च] बलिः उष्ट्रः (=बलिस्वरूपः उष्ट्रः) तैः (=तोम्मिभिः) एव सार्द्धम् अस्मिन् [स्थाने] विसर्जयितव्यः । न किञ्चित् [कालं] तोज्जानां (=राजभृत्यविशेषान्) परितः (=सकाशे) उष्ट्रः वितिष्ठतु (=उष्ट्रः रक्षितव्यः)² । तस्य उष्ट्र-प्रत्यये (=उष्ट्रस्य विषये) राज-सच्चि[कं] लिखितकं (=लेखः) कृतकम् (=कृतः) ; लिपि-स्तरे (=लिपिविस्तारेण) आश्रयि-लेखः अत्र (=तत्र) गतः [च] । त्वां चोभब-करणं लिखामि— एतत्-कार्यं त्वया चित्तं (=मनोयोगः) कर्तव्यम् । एषः लियपेयः न चित्तं करोति । यानि पुनः तव कार्याणि [अपराणि] सन्ति, शक्यामि अहं करणाय [तेषाम्] । या अत्र शुभाशुभस्य प्रवृत्तिः (=वार्ता) अस्ति, एवम् एव लेखहारकस्य हस्ते[तद्विषयकः] लेखः अस्मिन् [स्थाने] प्रहेतव्यः (=प्रेषयितव्यः) । यः अस्मिन् [स्थाने] वर्तमानः [व्यापारः], लियम्सुयस्य (=लियम्सुय-नामकस्य जनस्य) परितः (=सकाशात्) [तद्विषये] ज्ञातार्थेन भवितव्यम् [त्वया]” ।

No. 5 (=BRS No. 288)

Double-wedge Tablet

TEXT³

Covering-Tablet : Obverse

- 1 भटरग.स. चोभबो-सौचक.स.
- 2 पदमुलंमि वियलिदबो [॥*]

Under-Tablet : Obverse

- 1 भटरग.स. प्रिय-देव-मंनुश.स. देव-मंनुश-संपुजित.स. प्रचक्क-बोधिसत्त्व.स. महचोभबो-सौचक-

1 Burrow explains the passage as widowed district-women. Thomas suggests 'women of the land irrigated by Vega.' Alternatively, भुमन वक अनं=corn paid as rent for the lands (Burrow)

2 Burrow : Do not keep back the camel from the Tongas.

3 From the facsimile in *Kh. Ins.* I.

- 2 स पदमुलंमि चोम्बो-यिलि नमिलगअए सच नमकेरो करेति दिव्य-शरिर
अरोगिय च
- 3 प्रेषेति बहु अप्रमेयगो[१*]एवं च विवति सच बहु-चिर-कल हुद न शक्तिदम तेहि वंति
लेख-
- 4 प्रहुङ्-प्रेषनए [१*]तेन करंन सुठ संजवेयम न इंचिय दिव्यजं अंजत हक्कति[१*]^१एष
षमने-
- 5 र चक्र...[क]^२ अल विसृजिद तेहि दिव्यशरिर-अरोगि-प्रेषनए[१*]यो से अल वेधन

Covering-Tablet : Reverse

- 1 किंचि करिशति अवश मंत श्रुनिदवो [१*] से श्रमनेर तेहि भेनिग, स्यति [१*]
म इंचि अबो-
- 2 मत किंचि करेति[१*]प्रहुङ्, अर्थ येन न दिमिदवो लहुग, प्रहुङ् प्रहित[१*]पश्चदर
धर्मेप्रि-
- 3 यस हस्तंमि लेख-प्रहुङ् प्रेषिशम यो तेहि पिचर स्यति[१*]यिलियस, परिदे रजु १
नमिलग,-
- 4 अप परिदे लस्तुग, १[१*]अपरिमित-गुनंस, मंन्म(नं)-गतस, प्रियभ्रतु चोम्बो-
बुधरविक्षयस
- 5 पदेभ्यं धर्मप्रिय अरोगि संप्रेषयति बहु [॥*]

Under-Tablet.

समरेन [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

भट्टारकस्य चोम्बो-सौचकस्य (=चोम्बोपदाधिष्ठित-सौचकाख्यस्य) पादमूले विजालयि-
तव्यम् (=उन्नोचयितव्यं) [लिखितकाष्ठ-द्वय-बन्धनम्] ॥

भट्टारकस्य प्रिय-देवमनुष्यस्य देव-मनुष्य-सम्पूजितस्य प्रत्यक्ष-बोधिसत्त्वस्य महाचोम्बो-
सौचकस्य पादमूले चोम्बो-यिलियः नमिलगयया (=यिलियपत्न्या नमिलगयाख्यया) ^१ सचा
(=साङ्ग) नमस्कारं करोति दिव्यशरीरम् आरोग्यं च प्रेषयति बहु अप्रमेयम् । एवं च विज्ञायते
तत् (=यत्) च—बहुचिरकालः भूतः न शक्ताः स्मः तव उपान्ते (=सकाशे) लेखप्राभृत-प्रेष-
णाय । तेन कारणेन सुष्ठु संज्ञापयामः—न किञ्चित् (=न) दिव्याज्ञा (=भवतः आज्ञाज्ञानि)
[आस्माभ्यां] अज्ञाता अस्ति । एषः श्रामणोरः चक्र*कः अल (=तल) विसर्जितः तव दिव्यशरीरा-

1 Burrow : "For that we earnestly beg your indulgence. Nothing should be unknown to your divine knowledge." हक्कति = हच्छति=अच्छिइ=Bengali आछे.

2 The alternative suggested is : चक्रमेर, Burrow : चक्कल,

रोग्यप्रेषणाय (=स्वास्थ्यदिज्ञापनाय) । यत् सः अन्न (=तन्न) वैधानं (=विधान-समूहं=कर्मजातं) किञ्चित् करिष्यति, अवश्यं [तव] मन्त्रः [तेन] श्रोतव्यः । सः श्रामणेरः तव ध्यानिकः (=ध्यान-विषयः) स्यात् । मा किञ्चित् (=न) अभ्यवमतं (=अनभिप्रेतं त्वया ; यद्वा, अननुज्ञातं त्वया) किञ्चित् करोतु । प्राभृतस्य अर्थे येन (=यथा) न स्तिमितव्यम् (=विलम्बः न स्यात्), [तत्-कारणात् मया] लघुकं (=किञ्चिन्मात्रं) प्राभृतं प्रहितम्¹ । पश्चात्तरं (=पश्चात्) धर्मप्रियस्य हस्ते लेखप्राभृतं प्रेषयिष्यामः यत् तव प्रत्यहं (यद्वा, प्रीत्यहं) स्यात् । यिलियस्य परितः (=सकाशात्) रज्जुः १, नमिल्यायाः परितः लस्तुकः (=बन्धन-विशेषः² ; यद्वा, लस्तूकः=धनुर्मध्यम्) १ ॥” अपरिमितगुणस्य मनोगतस्य (=हृदये दत्त-स्थानस्य=प्रियस्य) प्रियभ्रातुः चोम्बो-बुद्धरक्षितस्य पदाभ्यां धर्मप्रियः आरोग्यं संप्रेषयति बहु ॥³ श्रामणेरः [इति पत्रवाहकः] ॥

No. 6 (=BRS No. 358)

Leather Document

TEXT⁴

Obverse

- 1 महनुअव महरय लिहति चोम्बो-सोंजकस्⁵ मंल देति[!*] एवं च जनंद भविदव्य यो लिहमि [!*] सच यहि रज-किचस् क्रि-
- 2 देन अनदि दित तह रज-कर्यामि ओसुक अवजिदव्य [!*] अवि स्वस, जिविद-परिचगे,न अनद रक्किदव्य यहि खेम खोतंनदे वर्तमन सियति [!*] एम चेव महि महरयस, पदमुत्तमि विवविदव्य[!*] यो च अदेहि लेहरग,-चडियस, ह-

1 Burrow: "Whatever communication he makes to you there, by all means his words must be listened to. Let this *Srāmaṇera* be under your care. Let them do nothing in disregard of him. We have sent a small present, so that you need not worry about the present."

2 Of. Hindi *latti* 'the string of a child's top; a cloth tied to the end of a pale to direct the flight of pigeons; a fillet.'

3 This sentence appears to bear a message from Dharmapriya in a letter actually from Chojhbo-Yiliy and his wife Namilgyā to the Great Chojhbo Somchaka.

4 From the facsimile in *An. Khot.*, Pl. 93. The record has been translated by F. W. Thomas in *Acta Orientalia*, XIII (1235), p. 64, and Burrow, *Translation*, p. 69f.

5 Evidently the same as Somchaka of the previous inscription.

- 3 स्तमि विंजति-लेख प्रहितेसि तह सर्व-अर्थो स्मि [1*] अवि च विंजवैतु कल-**पुर्णबलस** उट २ न इश थियंति पलर्यंति [1*] एदे उट अल लंचग, परिपलि-तव्य [1*] पिवरए होतु शरतंमि [1*] न इचि इश अनिदवो [1*]
- 4 अवि विंजवैसि यथ कल-**पुर्णबल** नि चमकस् मनुशन अंजे जन कर्मवै.ति [1*] लिहिदग् सक्कि नस्ति [1*] से मनुश कल-**पुर्णबलस** नमेन निखलिदवो [1*] येष विवद सियति रय-द्वरंमि गरहिदव्य [1*]
- 5 अवि च यो इश [अवर]धि हुयंति इशेव तेष मर्तव्य हुअति [1*] इत्यर्थ अल विसृजिदम [1*] श्रुयति **विहरवल** अल दनु-**किल्मिचियन** मसु-मंत्सेन सुठ विहेड्देति विन[जे.ति] [1*] [दिवसि.] निसग^२ विहरवल-
- 6 स^१ स^१ पुत्त-परि[वर]स्य च दनु **किल्मियदे** ददवो अट यं च^३ सतु वचरि ४ [1*] यथ-अवरधि-धर्मेन रक्किदवो न हस्त पददे ओडिष्यति न बलस्त^३ भविष्यति [1*] अवि **सुदर्शनस** इमदे कुड
- 7 [२] विसृजितंति [1*] एदे तस् वंति ओडिदवो [1*] तेन विधनेन तनु किल्मेयदे भत ददव्य एम चेव सुरक्किद कर्तव्य [1*] अवि अल सदर्शनस अल किल्मेचि गोठ २ [1*] एदे जंन
- 8 शवथ शवाविदव्य न इमदे पप कर्य मत्त जलिपदव्य न अदेहि शुनिदव्य [1*] वेल्-वेलय एदे जंन सुदर्शनस वंति ओडिदवो [1*] अवि बहुवर अजदि-लेख गद षोठ-
- 9 ग-**सलुवियस** पलयंने-मनुश-देयंनए [1*] यव अजक न देनसि खंनवटगे.सि [1*] चवल ददवो [1*] यदि अहुनो भुय चवल न दस्यसि मनस^१मि हुतु [1*] **सिहधर्मस** पुत्त चवल श्रमनेर दनु
- 10 निखलिदवो [1*] कुतिश-धर्मे श्रमन अंजेस दम्भ ददवो [1*] मसे. ४(+*)२ दिवसे. १०(+*)३ [11*]

Reverse

चोभवो- सोंजकस ददवो [11*]

1 BRS read यं भ् in the text.

2 BRS: विनटे ये दिनसि Burrow connects निसग. with निस्सय.

3 Thomas बलस्त=वा लस्त. Burrow points out the improbability of the change of initial व into व. He takes it to be an unknown word.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

महानुभावः महाराजः लिखति, चोम्बो-सौजकस्य मन्त्रं ददाति ।—“एवं च जानता भवितव्यं [त्वया] यत् लिखामि । तत् (=यत्) च—यथा राज-कृत्यस्य कृतेन आज्ञप्तिः दत्ता, तथा राजकार्ये औत्सुक्यम् आवर्जयितव्यम् (=विधेयम्) । अपि [च] स्वस्य जीवित-परित्यागेन आज्ञप्तं (=आज्ञा) रक्षितव्यम्, यथा (=येन) ज्ञेयं (=मङ्गलं) खोतस्मन्तः (=राजधानीतः= राजसकाशात्) वर्तमानं स्यात् (=आगच्छेत्) । एवं च एव[सर्व]मम महाराजस्य पादमूले विज्ञापयितव्यम् । यं च अतः (=अमुष्मात् स्थानात्) लेख-हारक-चडियस्य हस्ते [त्वं] विज्ञप्ति-लेखं प्रहितवानसि, तथा (=तत्पाठात्) ज्ञातसर्वार्थोऽस्मि । अपिच [त्वया] विज्ञापितं [यत्] कल-पूर्णावलस्य (=कलोपाधिकपूर्णावलस्य) उष्ट्रौ २ न अस्मिन् [स्थाने] तिष्ठतः, [परंतु] पलायेते । एतौ उष्ट्रौ अत्र (=तत्र) रञ्जकं (=रञ्जयित्वा)¹ पालयितव्यौ । पीवरौ भवताम् । शरदि² [तौ उष्ट्रौ] न किञ्चित् (=न) अस्मिन् [स्थाने] आनेतव्यौ ॥ अपि [च] [त्वं मां] विज्ञापयसि यथा कल-पूर्णावल-नि (=कल-पूर्णावलापराख्य)-चमकस्य मनुष्येण³ (=भृत्येन) अन्ये जनाः कर्मयन्ति (=भृत्यकर्म कारयन्ति) । लिखितकं (=स्वामित्वप्रत्यायकं पत्रादि) साक्षी [च] नास्ति । सः मनुष्यः कलपूर्णावलस्य नाम्ना निष्कालयितव्यः (=भृत्यकर्मणः बहिष्कर्त्तव्यः परेषाम्) । येषां विवादः स्यात्, राजद्वारे गृहयितव्यं (=अभियोक्तव्यं) [तैः] ॥ अपि च 'यैः अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] अपराधिभिः भूयते अस्मिन् [धर्माधिकरणे] एव तैः मर्त्तव्यम् भवति' इत्यर्थम् (=त्वया एवं विज्ञापितत्वात्) अत्र (=तत्र) [अपराधिनः] विसर्जितवान् अस्मि । भूयते, विहारपालः अत्र (=तत्र) तनु(=आत्मनः)-किल्मे-कीयानां मद्यमांसेन सुष्ठु विहतयति (=विशेषेण विहारं करोति=अपचिनोति) विनाशयति [च] । दिवसीयः निश्रयः (=दैनिकं खाद्यादिकं) विहार-पालाय सार्द्धं पुत्रपरिवारेण तनु-किल्मियतः (=विहारपालस्य स्व-विषयतः) दातव्यः—अट्टं (=गोधूमचूर्णं)⁴, यत् च शक्नुवचरो ४ (=चतुर्वचरीमानम् अट्टशक्नुकम्) । [सः] यथापराधिधर्मेण रक्षितव्यः ; न हस्त-

1 Burrow: "properly".

2 Thomas takes शरदि with the previous sentence.

3 I.e., servant; cf. Bengali *munish*. Burrow: "a man belonging to Chamaka of kala Purnabala is doing work there, and not other people; (and that) there are neither written documents nor witnesses".

4 Cf. the Bengali and Hindi word आटा.

पादतः उद्धास्यते (=वञ्चयिष्यते=पाणिपादं न कर्त्तव्यते) ; न तस्य बलास्तं (=शक्तिक्षयः)¹ भविष्यति ॥ अपि सुदर्शनाय अतः कुटौ (=पाले) २ विसर्ज्यते । एतौ तस्य उपान्ते उदात्तव्यौ । तेन विधानेन (=पूर्वोक्तविधानेन [सुदर्शनाय]) तनु-क्लिमयतः भक्तं (=आहार्यं) दातव्यम् ; एवं च एव सुरक्षितः कर्त्तव्यः [सः] । अपि[च] अत्र (=तत्र) सुदर्शनस्य अत्र क्लिमक्रीय-गोष्ठे २ । एतैः जनैः (=क्लिमेकोयैः) शपथः शापयितव्यः 'न अतः पापं कार्यं, मन्त्रः[च]जल्पितव्यः ; न अमुतः (=कारास्थ-सुदर्शनात्) [मन्त्रः] श्रोतव्यः ।' वेलायां वेलायां (=काले काले) एते जनाः सुदर्शनस्य उपान्ते उदात्तव्याः ॥ अपि च बहुवारं आज्ञप्तिलेखः गतः (=प्रेषितः) सोठंग-सलुवियाय पलायन-मनुष्य-दानाय (=पलायित०) । यावत् अथ न दत्तवान् असि । क्षणवर्त्कः (=कालक्षेपकः) असि । चपलं दातव्यः [मनुष्यः त्वया] । यदि अधुना भूयः चपलं न दास्यसि, मनसि [ते मनुष्य-दान-कथा] भवतु ॥ सिंहधर्मस्य पुत्रः चपलं श्रामणेरः [त्वया] ⁺तनुः (=स्वयं) निष्खालयितव्यः । [सिंहधर्मपुत्रस्य] कृतीशधर्मः (=प्रभुधर्मा)² श्रमणः [अस्ति चेत्, तस्मै] अन्यस्य दासः दातव्यः" ॥ मासि ६, दिवसे १३ ॥ चोभवो-सोझकाय दातव्या [कील-मुद्रा] ॥

1 Burrow: "He is to be kept under the conditions (prescribed) for criminals (in such a way, namely that) he shall not be free either hand or foot and shall not be *balasta*....These people are to be made swear an oath, and no mere scandal is to be talked from here or heard there". Thomas: "Further we have sent to you to the effect that those who are here offenders are to die here. We hear that the monastery-master causes much damage to the vine crops of his own *kilma*-people with flesh, by reason of the corpses (*vinashṭe*) which you give him. On the part of the monastery-master and from the sons and family (of the condemned man) is to be supplied from their own *kilmi* flour, and any meal, *vacaris* 4, so that the offender may (during the interval before his execution 'here') be kept properly alive"...

2 कुतिश (from a stem कु?)=कोऽपि, according to some.

No. 7 (=BRS No. 579)
Rectangular Double-Tablet

*TEXT*¹

Covering-Tablet: Obverse

- 1 एष प्रवंनगः **मोगत** नि भुमस् प्रचेय [1*]
- 2 तिविर-रमषोत्सस् अनद धरिदवो [11*]

Under-Tablet: Obverse.

- 1 **संवत्सरे** ४ (+*)४ (+*)१ **महरय-रयतिरयस्** महंतस्, जयंतस्, धर्मियस्, सच-
धर्म-स्थिदस्,
- 2 महनुअव-महरय-अंकग-देवपुत्रस्, कल्लुनंमि मसे, ४ (+*)२ तिवसे, १० (+*)४
(+*)१ [1*] अस्ति मनु-
- 3 श चर-पुरुष **मोगत** नम [1*] से, उथिद तिविर-रंसोत्सस् वंति अक्रि-भुम विक्किद
अङ्गि-
- 4 नि-भिज्ज-पयति मिलिम १ खि १० गिड मुलि तवस्तग, हस्त १० (+*)३ बदश
मुलिये-
- 5 न संम संम सरजितंति [1*] तह एदस् भुमस् वंति तिविर-रंसोत्सस् एण्वर्य हु-
- 6 द ववंनए किषंनए अंजस् प्रहुड देयंनए सर्व-बोग, -परिभुञ्जंनए
- 7 क्रिकम करंनि सियति [1*] एद क्रय-विक्र किटंति पुरठिद महत्वन [1*]
सक्कि जंन-
- 8 ति रज-दरो **कित्सैत्स** पितेय काल-करंत्स [1*] स् च सक्कि अप्पुअन अप्पिय-
शांच[r] [1*] स् च
- 9 सक्कि भियो अंज सक्कि तोघ-कुवय सक्कि वसु-चडिय सक्कि

Covering-Tablet: Reverse.

- 1 अप्पु-करंत्स सक्कि चोमबो-लुस्तु सक्कि वुर्यग-प्पित सक्कि त्सधि[नव]-
कपोत सक्कि
- 2 कोरि-ण्वल्य यस् वटयग, शिरास सक्कि [1*] को पश्चिम-कलंमि वेतेयति चोतेयति

1 From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 261, plate XXIII.

- 3 सजेयति तह रयद्वरंमि मो चोदंति अप्रमनं च सियति [1*] एष प्रवंनग लिखि-
 4 दग महि दिविर-तमस्व-पुत्वेन दिविर-मोगतस् [1*] त[न] महत्वन अनतेन
 प्रमन व-
 5 ष-सहस्रमि [1*] यवजिवो
 6¹ सुव-छिनिदं कित्सत्सस् वटयग.
 7 श्रोङ्ग कर्सेनव शोदि(ते?)ङ्गस् च [11*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

एतत् प्रपर्णकं² (=पलं=आज्ञापत्नी) मोगत-निज (=मोगतस्य)=भून्नः प्रत्यये (=सम्पर्कं) ।
 दिविर-रमषोत्सस्य (=रमषोत्सेण) आज्ञप्तं धर्तव्यम् ॥³

संवत्सरे [नवमे] ६ महाराज-राजातिराजस्य महतः जयतः धार्मिकस्य सत्यधर्मस्थितस्य
 महानुभावमहाराजाङ्ग-देवपुत्रस्य क्षणे (=शासन-समये) मासे ६ दिवसे १४ । अस्ति मनुष्यः
 चर-गुरुषः (=गूढचारः) मोगतः नाम । सः उत्थाय (=स्वेच्छया) दिविर-रमषोत्सस्य उपान्ते
 (=रमषोत्सं प्रति) अग्रयभुम्नं (=उत्तम-भूमिं) विक्रीतवान् ; [अस्मिन्] अङ्घ्रिनिवीजपर्याप्तिः⁴
 (=अङ्घ्रिनिनामकशस्यबीजानां वपनाय पर्याप्तपरिमाणं) मिलिम० १ खि० १० ; गृहीतं मूल्यं
 तापवन्नकाणि हस्ताः १३ (=त्रयोदशहस्तपरिमितानि) द्वादश (=द्वादशसंख्यकानि)⁵ मूल्येन
 सम्यक् सम्यक् संरञ्ज्येते [क्रेताविक्रेतारौ] । तथा एतस्य भून्नः उपान्ते (=भूमिं प्रति) दिविर-
 रमषोत्सस्य ऐश्वर्यं (=स्वामित्वं) भूतं वपनाय कर्षणाय अन्यस्मै प्राभृत-दानाय सर्वभोगररिभोगाय
 —किंक्रमं (=यत्किमपि कर्म) करणीयं स्यात् [भूम्यां अस्याम्] । [क्रेताविक्रेतारौ] एतत् कय-
 विक्रयं कुरुतः पुरःस्थितौ [सन्तौ] महात्मनोः (=मुख्यराजपुरुषयोः) ; [महात्मानौ] साक्षिणौ एतत्
 जानीतः—राज-दारकः कित्सैत्सः, पितृव्यः (=राजपितृव्यः)⁶ कल-करंत्सः [च] । तौ च साक्षिणा
 अप्सूनां (=अप्सुयवंश्यानां ?) अप्णीय-शांचौ (=तदाख्यौ) । ते च साक्षिणः भूयः अन्ये—साक्षी
 तौघ-कुवयः, साक्षी वसु-चडियः, साक्षी अप्सु-करंत्सः, साक्षी चोभवो-लुस्तुः, साक्षी वुर्यग-ग्गितः,

1 The letters are in the middle of the line.

2 Cf. the Persian word *parwana*.

3 Burrow: "This receipt concerning land of Mogata is to be carefully preserved by the scribe Ramshotsa." दिविर=कायस्थ.

4 Cf. the word द्रोणवाप, कुल्यवाप etc. मिलिमा and खि (abbreviations?) are names of measures.

5 Burrow: "thirteen hands of carpet valued at twelve."

6 Burrow: "the royal administrator, the *kitsaitsa* Peteya." महात्मा=magistrate.

साक्षी त्सधिनव-कपोतः, साक्षी कोरि-ष्वल्यः यस्य वर्तकः (=स्थलवर्ती=प्रतिनिधिः)¹ शिरासः साक्षी । कः (=यः कश्चित्) पश्चिमकाले विवादयति (यद्वा, वेदयति), चोदयति (=विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), सज्जायते [विवादयितुं] (यद्वा, संजयति भुक्तेतारं), तथा राजद्वारे मुखं चोदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), [तस्य विवाद-चोदना-संजयनादिकं सर्वं] अप्रमाणां (=अयथार्थं=प्रमाणविरुद्धं) स्यात् । एतत् प्रपणकं लिखितकं (=लिखितं) मया दिविर-तमस्व-पुत्रेण दिविर-मोगतेन तेषां महात्मनाम् (=साक्षि-भूतानां राजदारक-राजपितृव्यदीनां) आज्ञप्तेन (=आज्ञया) । [अस्य] प्रमाणां (=प्रामाण्यं) वर्ष-सहस्रे (=०सहस्रं व्याप्य) [भविष्यति] । यावज्जीवं (=चिराय) सूत्रचिह्नितं [क्षेपं=क्षेपसीमा]² क्लिप्तैस्सस्य वर्तकेन श्रोत्रेण, कर्षेणव-शोदिङ्गेन च ॥

No. 8 (=BRS No. 661)

Oblong Tablet

TEXT³

Obverse

- 1 सवत्सरे १० मसु ३ धिवक्त १० (+*) ४ (+*) ४ [1*] इज जुनमि खोतन-महरयरयतिरय-हिनभदेव-विजि⁴-
- 2 दसिंहस्य [1*] त-कलि अस्ति मनुश(=शे) नगरग.(=गे) ख्वर्नसे नम [1*] तथ मद्र(=द्रे)दि [1*] अस्ति मयि उटः [1*] तनुवगः सो उटः अ-
- 3 व्हिजनु हरदि धहि-अधि तद्रिजु.⁵ वशो [1*] त इदनि सो उटो विक्रिनामि मुल्य(=ल्ये)न मष(=षे)-सहस्र-अष्टि ४ (+*)
- 4 ४ (X*) १००० सुलिग-वगि.ति-वधग.स्य सग.जि [1*] तस्य उटस्य किद(=दे) वगिति-वधग.(=ग.) निरवशिषो मुल्यो मसु(=से.) धितु ख्व-
- 5 नर्सस्य ग्रहिदु शुधि उवग.दु [1*] अजि उवदयि सो उटः वगि.ति-वधग.स्य तनुवगः संव्रितः यथग.म ग.रनीयः [1*]

1 I.e., साक्षिणः कोरि-ष्वल्यस्य प्रतिनिधिः शिरासः साक्षी । Burrow: "attendant."

2 Burrow: "cut the string."

3 From Stein, *Serindia*, p. 291, plate XXXVIII and *Khar.Ins.*, II, plate XII. See Noble, *BSOS*, V, p. 445f.; Burrow, *ib*, VI, p. 430f; Konow *Act. Or.*, XIII, p. 231 f. A consonant with a dot above (possibly representing short *e*) is indicated here as in श (=शे), etc.

4 BRS: ०कस्य अवि०

5 BRS: अघित दज. अधि = अङ्गे (Konow); = अङ्क (Burrow).

- 6 सर्वक्चि करनीयः [1*] यो पचेम-कलि तस्य उटस्य किद(=दे) चुदियदि विदियदि
विवदु उथवियदि त(=ते)न तथ
- 7 धडु धिनदि यथ रजधर्मु स्यदि [1*] मय धलवगु-बहुधिव(=वे) लिखिदु ख्वर्नर्सस्य
अजिषनयि पुरदु स्प श न¹
- 8 र स²
- 9 ननिवधग(=गे) सच्चि शशिवक(=के) सच्चि स्पनियक(=के) सच्चि [11*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

संवत्सरे १० मासे ३ दिवसे १८ । अस्मिन् क्षणे खोतन(Khotan)-महाराज-राजाति-
राज-हीनध्यदेव-विजितसिंहस्य (=हीनध्यदेवनाम्नः विजितसिंहोपनामकस्य)^३ । तत्काले
अस्ति मनुष्यः नागरकः (=नगरवासी) ख्वर्णर्सः नाम । [सः] तथा मन्त्वयते
—“अस्ति मे उष्ट्रः । ⁺तनुवकः (=खकः) सः उष्ट्रः अभिज्ञानं धरति दाहाङ्कं तादृशं
“वशो” (=वशो इति दाहाङ्कम्) । तत् इदानीं तम् उष्ट्रं विक्रीणामि मूल्येन माषसहस्राष्ट-
केन ८००० सुलिक-वगिति वधगस्य (=सुलिकजातीय-वगितिनामकस्थानवासि-वधगाख्यस्य ?)
सकाशे ।” तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते वगिति-वधगेन निरवशेषः मूल्य-माषः धृतः (=दत्तः), ख्वर्णर्सन [च]
गृहीतः ; [विक्रयसम्बन्धीयाः] शुद्धिः (=परिशोधः) उपगता । अथ उपादाय (=अथ प्रभृति) सः
उष्ट्रः वगिति-वधगस्य ⁺तनुवकः (=खकः) संवृतः ; यथाकामं करणीयः (=व्यवहरणीयः [उष्ट्रः
वधगेन]) ; सर्व-कृत्यं करणीयम् [अनेन उष्ट्रेण वधगेन] । यः पश्चिम-काले तस्य उष्ट्रस्य कृते
चोदयति (= विवादयितुं प्रोत्साहयति), वेदयति (=राजकुले निवेदयति), विवादम् उत्था-
पयति [च], तस्य तथा दण्डः दीयेत (=तेन विधानेन अर्थदण्डः देयः) यथा राजधर्मः स्यात् ।
मया धलवगु-बहुधिवेन (= धलवगुग्रामस्य तदाख्यवंशस्य वा बहुधिव-नाम्ना) लिखितः [लेखः]
ख्वर्णर्सस्य अभ्येषणया (= प्रार्थनया) पुरतः स्प०, श०, न०, र०, स० (=स्प-शादि-
नामपूर्वभागाणां साक्षिणाम्)^४ । ननि-वधगः साक्षी, शशिवकः साक्षी, स्पनियकः साक्षी ॥

1 In larger characters with long stems, apparently initials of three witnesses.

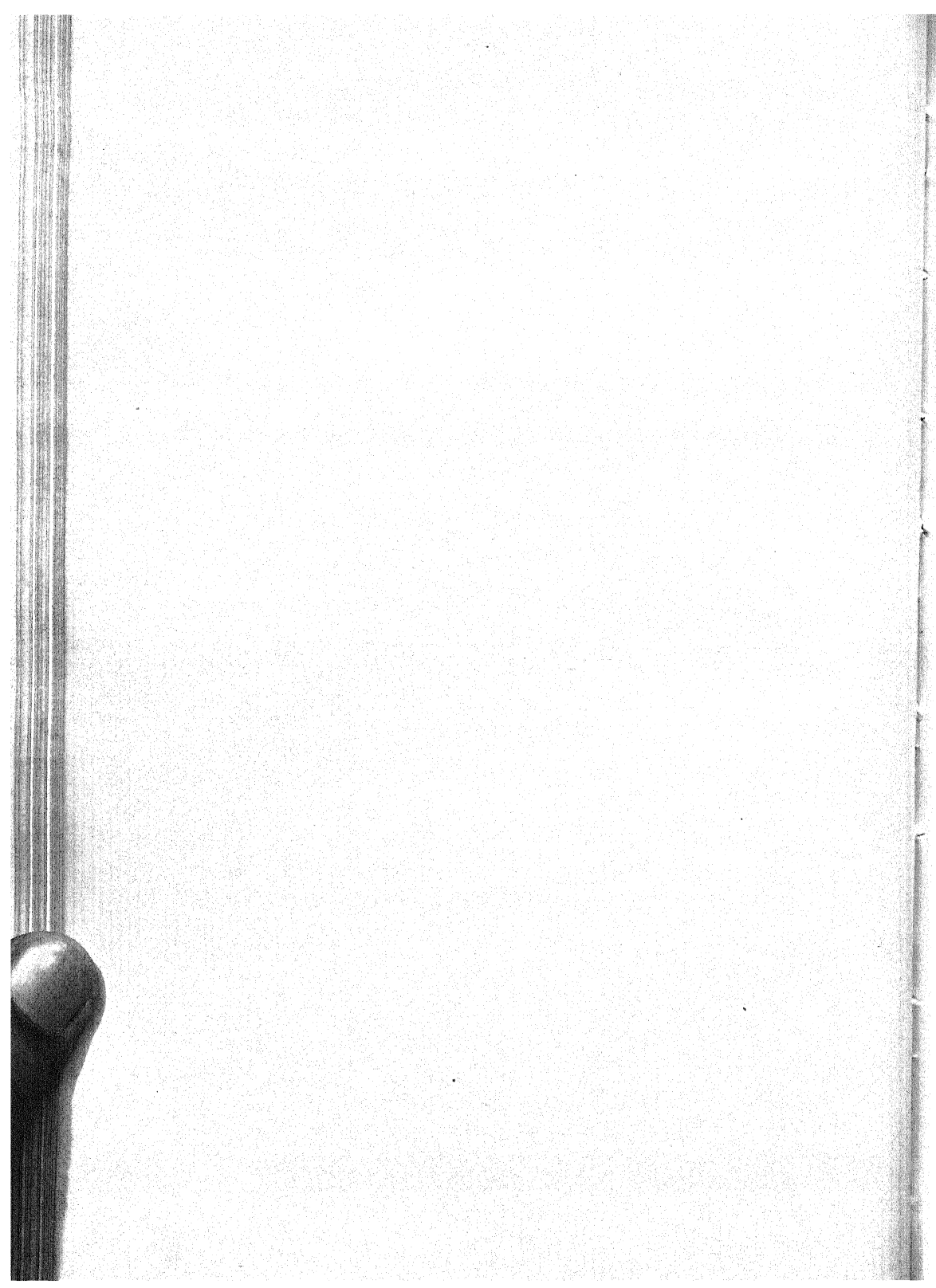
2 These two letters are in Brāhmī. They are followed by some letters and symbols which cannot be read. On the reverse there are various isolated aksharas, many of which are Brāhmī.

3 *Hinajha* is connected with Iranian *henaja*, commander of armies. BRS read :
हिनभस्य अविजिद०

4 It is possible that स्प=स्पनियक, श=शशिवक and न=ननिवधग.

BOOK III

Inscriptions of the Gupta Age from
the beginning of the fourth to the
middle of the sixth century.



CHAPTER I

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

No. 1—Inscription on the Coins of Chandragupta I (c. 320-30 A.D.)¹ and Kumāradevī and the Lichchhavis

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 8f.

*First Side*²

Chandragupta I standing to left, wearing close-fitting coat, trousers and head-dress, ear-rings and armlets, holding in left hand a crescent-topped standard bound with fillet, and with right hand offering an object (which on some coins is a ring) to Kumāradevī who stands on left to right wearing loose robe, ear-rings, necklace and armlets, and tight-fitting head-dress; both nimbate; inscription in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters of the northern class³ :—

(right, on either side of the standard) च⁴ [गु]
द्र [म][:]*]

(left) कुम[।*]र[दे]व[।*]⁵

1 See *infra*, p. 262 n. 4. On stylistic grounds Allan takes these coins to be issues of Samudragupta in commemoration of his father and mother. But since the name of Samudragupta is absent, Allan's theory cannot be regarded as final. A. S. Altekar has recently revived the old theory that the coins were issued by Chandragupta I (*JRASB*, III, Num. Sup., No. 47).

2 From representations in Allan's *Catalogue*, plate III, No. 1 ff.

3 See *infra*, p. 254, n. 4.

4 On some specimens we have च (i. e., चन्द्र०).

5 On some specimens we have ०देवी-श्रीः.

Second Side

Lakshmī¹, nimbate, wearing long loose robe, seated facing on lion couched to right or left, holding fillet in outstretched right hand and cornucopiae in left arm; her feet rest on lotus; behind her on left are traces of the back of throne on most specimens; border of dots; inscription in Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters :—

(right) [लि]च्छवयः²

No. 2—Allahābād Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (c. 330-75 A.D.)³

In the ALLAHĀBĀD Fort, U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 6 ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1538 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class⁴

Metre : Verses 1-2, can not be determined; V. 3 स्रग्धरा ;

1 The lion may possibly indicate that the goddess represents the Anna-pūrṇā aspect of Ambikā. Gupta gold coins are imitated directly from those of the Kushānas and indirectly from those of the Indo-Greeks. The goddess may be an adaptation Pallas Athene.

2 This type of the coins and the claim of Samudragupta to have been a *Licchhavi-dauhitra*, appear to point to the fact that Chandragupta I received the Licchhavi dominions through the right of his wife. The republican tribe of the Licchhavis is known to have ruled in North Bihār and later in Nepāl. It is however not impossible that Chandragupta I actually got Magadha from the Licchhavis who were possibly in possession of that region in the early years of the 4th century A. D. It is interesting to note that the Purāṇas recognise early Gupta rule only over Prayāga on the Ganges, Sāketa (= Ayodhyā) and Magadha.

3 See *infra*, No. 9, n. 1. The pillar also bears two Aśokan records (*supra*, Bk. I, Nos. 33-34).

4 The name Brāhmī is usually applied to the early form of the script which is found in the pre-Gupta records, though it must not be supposed that Aśokan

V. 4 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 5 स्रग्धरा ; V. 6 मन्दाक्रान्ता ;
V. 7 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 8 स्रग्धरा ; V. 9 पृथ्वी

TEXT¹

- [illegible]

forms of letters continued up to the Gupta period. As a matter of fact, letters gradually changed and there is a great deal of difference between the characters of Aśoka Brāhmī and those of Kushāṇa Brāhmī. The developed Brāhmī as noticed in the records of the Gupta age is sometimes called the Gupta Script. This dynastic name is unsatisfactory. The script developed differently in different parts of the land; but usually two classes—North Indian and South Indian—are recognised.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record was engraved late in the king's life, but before his performance of the *Āśvamedha*. See *infra*, p. 267n. 4

2 The first four lines, containing two verses are almost wholly destroyed.

- 11 संग्रामेषु ख-भुज-विजिता नित्यमुच्चापकाराः
श्वः-श्वो मान-प्र- - - - - [1*]
- 12 तोषोत्तुल्लैः स्फुट-बहु-रस-स्नेह-फुल्लै-र्मनोभिः
पश्चात्तापं व- - - - - म[?] स्य[?] द्रसन्त[?] [11*] [६*]
- 13 उद्वेलोदित-बाहु-वीर्य-रभसादेकेन येन क्षणा-
दुन्मूल्याच्युत नागसेन-ग¹ - - - - - [*]
- 14 दण्डैर्ग्राह्यतैव कोतकुलजं पुष्पाह्वये क्रीडता²
सूर्ये(?) नित्य(?) - - - - - तट - - - - - [11*] [७*]
- 15 धर्म-प्राचीर-बन्धः शशि-कर-शुचयः कीर्त्तयः स-प्रताना
वैदुष्यं तत्त्व-भेदि प्रशम - - - - - कु - - - - - मु (सु?) - - - - - तात्थ्यम् ? [1*]
- 16 [अद्वेययः] सूक्त-मार्गः कवि-मति-विभवोत्सारणं चापि काव्यं
को नु स्याद्यो(S*)स्य न स्याद्गुण-मति[वि]दुषां ध्यानपातं य एकः [11*] [८]
- 17 तस्य विविध-समर-शतावतुरण-दक्षस्य खभुज-बल-पराक्मैकबन्धोः पराक्माङ्कस्य
परशु-शर-शङ्कु-शक्ति-प्रासासि-तोमर- - - - -
- 18 भिन्दिपाल-न[?]राच-वैतस्ति कायनेक-प्रहरण-विरूढाकुल-त्रण-शताङ्क-शोभा-समुद्यो-
पचित-कान्ततर-वर्ष्मणः
- 19 कौसलकमहेन्द्र-ब्राह्म[1*]कान्तारकव्याघ्रराज-कौराळकमण्डराज-पैष्टुरक-
महेन्द्रगिरि - कौटूरकस्वामिदत्तैरण्डपल्लुकदमन - काञ्चेयकविष्णुगोपाव-
मुक्तक-

1 ग may be supposed to be the first akshara of the name गणपति (cf. 1. 21). The lacuna then may be conjecturally filled up by गणपत्यादिनृपान् सङ्गरे.

2 A prince of the Kota family appears to have been captured by his army while he was playing at the city of Pushpa (=Pushpa-pura=Paṭaliputra), which may have been the capital of the king. Cf. the epithet पाटलिपुत्रक of a minister of Chandragupta II in *infra*, No. 11 and the epithets पाटलिपुरवराधीश्वर and उज्जयिनी-पुरवराधीश्वर both applied to that king in the records of the Guttas of Guttala in South India. After Chandragupta II, the first historical Vikramāditya, had extirpated the Śakas of western India, Ujjayini possibly became the second capital of the Gupta empire. The Guttas were possibly descended from a Kumāra viceroy of Ujjayini.

- 20 नीलराज-वैङ्गेयकहस्तिवर्म-पालकक्रोशसेन-दैवराष्ट्रककुबेर-कौस्थलपुरक-
धनञ्जय-प्रभृति-सर्वदक्षिणापथराज-ग्रहण - मोक्षानुग्रह-जनित - प्रतापोन्मिश्र-माहा-
भाग्यस्य¹
- 21 रुद्रदेव-मतिल - नागदत्त-चन्द्रवर्म - गणपतिनाग-नागसेनाच्युत-नन्दि-बल-
वर्मणाधनेकाट्यावर्त्तराज-प्रसभोद्धरणोद्धृत-प्रभाव-महतः² परिचारकीकृत-सर्वार्त-
विक-राजस्य
- 22 समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादि-प्रत्यन्त-वृत्तिभिर्म्मालवार्जुनायन-

1 Kosala=South Kosala, mod. Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilāspur region, old cap. Sripura, 40 miles NE of Raipur. Mahākāntāra is a jungly kingdom; Vyāghrarāja is identified with Vyāghradeva, a feudatory of Vākāṭaka Prithivīśena, of the Nachna and Ganj inscriptions. Kaurāla is possibly the "Kaunāla water"=the Kollair Lake near Ellore, Godavari Dist. Kottūra is possibly Kothoor near Mahendragiri in Ganjam Dist. Piṣṭapura, mod. Piṭhāpuram in Godavari Dist. The king's name is apparently Mahendragiri (for names referring to a hill or ending in *giri*, see Lüders, List, Nos. 217, 299, 315, 475, etc.). Vishnugopa is a Pallava king of Kāñchī and Hastivarman a Śālaṅkāyana king of Veṅgī. Palakka may be Palakkaḍa in the Nellore region. Devarāshtra is the Yellamanūchili region of the Vizagapatam Dist. Kusthalapura may be Kuttalur in North Arcot Dist. Erandapalla has been identified with some localities in Ganjam and Vizagapatam Dists. Dakṣiṇāpatha is Peninsular India to the south of the Vindhyan range.

2 Rudradeva is identified with Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka; but the Vākāṭakas of Berar belonged to Dakṣiṇāpatha. Matila may be Mattila of a seal found in Bulandshahr Dist, U. P. Chandravarman may be the king of the Susuniyā inscription (*infra*). Gaṇapati-nāga and Nāgasena were Nāga princes. The coins of the former have been found at Pawāyā=Padam-Pawāyā=ancient Padmāvati, a centre of Nāga power according to the Purāṇas. The death of the Nāga prince Nāgasena at Padmāvati is referred to in the *Harshacharita*. If they both belonged to the house of Padmāvati, the record may refer to more than one expedition of Samudragupta. Coins of a king named Achyu[ta] have been found at ancient Ahichchatrā, mod. Rāmnagar in the Bareilly Dist., U. P. According to Manu, Āryāvartta is the land bounded by the Himalayas, the Vindhyas, the Eastern sea (Bay of Bengal) and the Western sea (Arabian sea).

यौधेय-माद्रकाभीर-प्राज्ञ-सनकानीक-काक-खरपरिकादिभिश्च¹ सर्व-कर-
दानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-

23 परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य अनेक-भ्रष्टराज्योत्सन्न-राजवंश-प्रतिष्ठापनोद्भूत-निखिल-
भु[व]न-[विचरण-शा]न्त-यशसः दैवपुत्रपाहिषाहानुषाहि-शकमुरुण्डैः सैहठ-
कादिभिश्च

24 सर्व-द्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन² - कन्योपायनदान - गरुत्मदङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन³ -

[य]चनाद्युपाय-सेवा-कृत-बाहु-वीर्य-प्रसर-धरणि-बन्धस्य प्रियव्यामप्रतिरथस्य⁴

25 सुचरित-शतालङ्कृतानेक-गुण-गणोत्सिक्किभिश्चरण-तल-प्रमृष्टान्य-नरपति-कीर्तैः साङ्ग⁵

1 Samatata was in south-east Bengal with possibly Karmānta (mod. Baḍ-
Kāntā near Comilla, Tipperah Dist.) as capital. The chief city of Davāka has been
identified by N. K. Bhattasali with modern Dabok in Naogong Dist., Assam.
The country thus corresponds to the valley of the Kapili-Yamunā-Kolang rivers
(Bhāratbarsha, B. S. 1348, p. 90). Kāmarūpa is the Gauhāṭī region of Assam.
Kartripura seems to have comprised Katārpur in Jalandhar Dist. and the Katuria
(Katyur) rāj of Kumaun, Garhwal and Rohilkhand. During this period, the
Mālavās (see *supra*, p. 92, n. 6; 162, n. 6) possibly lived in the Man-Dasor region
of Mālwā. For the Yaudheyas, see p. 172, n. 1. The Prārjunas mentioned in the
Arthasāstra are placed in the Narsingpur Dist., C. P. The Sanakānikas lived
in East Mālwā (cf. *infra*, No. 10). The Kākas possibly lived in the Kākanāda-
boṭa (= Sāñchī) region. The Mādrakas had originally their capital at mod.
Sialkot in the Panjab. The Ābhīras possibly lived in Aparānta about this time.

2 Possibly the Hindu colonies of the Far East have been indirectly referred
to here. For the Skytho-Kushāṇas, see *supra*, p. 109 ff. दैवपुत्र = the title देवपुत्र
of the Kushāṇa kings. पाहि = Shāh, and पाहानुषाहि Shāhān Shāh; cf. Kshāyathiya,
Kshāyathiya Kshāyathiyānam. पाहि may be the Kushāṇa chiefs and पाहानुषाहि
their emperor; but the passage दैवपुत्रपाहिषाहानुषाहि appears to indicate the
Kushāṇa emperor. मुरुण्ड may be a Skythic tribe, or शक-मुरुण्ड may mean "the
Saka lords".

3 गरुत्मदङ्क-स्वविषयभुक्ति-शासन-याचन indicates "the request for a charter
endowed with the Garuḍa seal for the possession (or, government) of one's own
territory." The Garuḍa bird is found on the standard of the Gupta kings
represented on their coins and also on the seals attached to their charters.

4 Read पृथिव्या०.

5 Properly साध्वसाधु०

- साधूदय-प्रलय-हेतु-पुरुषस्याचिन्त्यस्य भक्त्यवनति-मात्र-ग्राह्य-मृदुहृदयस्यानुकम्पावतो-
(S*)नेक-गो-शतसहस्र-प्रदायिन[.]
- 26 [कृप]ण-दीनानाथातुर-जनोद्धरण-सन्तदीक्षाभ्युपगत-मनसः¹ समिद्धस्य विग्रहवतो
लोकानुग्रहस्य धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य² स्वभुज-बल-विजितानेक-नरपति-विभव-
प्रत्यर्पणा-नित्यव्याघ्रतायुक्तपुरुषस्य²
- 27 निशितविदग्धमति-गान्धर्वललितैर्ब्रूडित-विदशपतिगुरु-तुम्बुरुनारदादेर्विवृज्जनोप³-
जीव्यानेक-काव्य-विक्रयाभिः प्रतिष्ठित-कविराज-शब्दस्य सुचिर-स्तोतव्यानेकाङ्ग-तोदार-
चरितस्य
- 28 लोकसमय-विक्रयानुविधान-मात्र-मानुषस्य लोक-धाम्नो देवस्य⁴ महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-
प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य
- 29 लिच्छवि-दौहित्यस्य महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य⁵ महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-
गुप्तस्य सर्व्व-पृथिवी-विजय-जनितोदय-व्याप्त-निखिलावनितलां कीर्त्तिमितस्त्रिदशपति-
- 30 भवन-गमनावान्त-ललित-सुख-विचरणामाचक्ष्णाण इव भुवो बाहुरयमुच्छ्रितः स्तम्भः [।*]
यस्य ।⁶

प्रदान-भुजविक्रम-प्रशम-शास्त्रवाक्योदयै-

रुपर्य्युपरि-सञ्चयोच्छ्रितमनेकमार्गं यशः [।*]

- 31 पुनाति भुवनत्रयं पशुपतेर्ज्जटान्तर्गुहा-

निरोध-परिमोक्ष-शीघ्रमिव पारुडु गाङ्गं [पयः*] [।।*] [९*]

एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव⁷ भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीप-परिसर्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित-मतेः

1 Read मन्त्र. Fleet: दीक्षावुप०.

2 आयुक्त=a provincial governor, according to lexicons. Here it possibly indicates a treasury-officer like the Yukta of Aśoka's inscriptions.

3 विदशपतिगुरु=बृहस्पति; Tumburu a Gandharva; Nārada inventor of the Viṇā.

4 Note the conception of a divine king; cf. Manu, VII, 4-8.

5 Read ०मुत्पन्न. For the importance of the claim. See *supra*, No. 1.

6 This mark of punctuation is actually unnecessary. Evidently however it was used to separate the word यस्य from the verse following. Fleet believed that ll. 29-30 refer to Samudragupta as gone to the abode of Indra (i.e., as dead); but the lines actually refer to the king's fame as reaching heaven. Fleet's interpretation has now been given up.

7 A Kāvya may be composed in prose or poetry or in mixed prose and poetry. Harishena's work belongs to the third variety which is called *Champū*.

- 32 खाद्यटपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायक-ध्रुवभूति-पुत्रस्य सान्धिविग्रहिक-कुमारामात्य-
म[हादण्डनायक*]क-हरिषेणस्य¹ सर्व्व-भूत-हित-सुखायास्तु ।
- 33 अनुष्ठितं च परमभट्टारक-पादानुध्यातेन महादण्डनायक-तिलभट्टकेन ।

No. 3—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. (c. 330-76 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) Dist., C. P.; now in the
Indian Museum, Calcutta.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III., p. 20; BHANDARKAR, *List*, No. 1539.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the southern class².

Metre : Verses 1-8 वसन्ततिलका. The first six lines of the record are broken away and lost. They contained probably one verse and a half in the वसन्ततिलका metre in which the existing portion of the record is composed. Line 28 of the record which is broken away contained the second half of V. 8.

1 खाद्यटपाकिक (=खाद्याटपाकिक ?) is possibly the head of the superintendents of the royal kitchen. महादण्डनायक is possibly chief of the police with power of judging criminal offences. सान्धिविग्रहिक is minister for peace and war. कुमारामात्य seems to be an executive officer (cf. अमात्य, a provincial governor, in the Nāsik inscription) of the same status as the Kumāra (the king's younger brother or son). Different designations may refer to different offices held at the same time or in different periods.

2 The box-headed (square-headed) tops (*mātrā* or *serif*) of *aksharas* are formed by sinking four short strokes in the shape of a square. On stone the block in the centre of the square is usually taken out; but on copper it is usually not. In another variety the tops of *aksharas* are nail-headed or triangular with the apex of the triangle downwards. It is sometimes called the Central Indian script; but it has been found outside that area, e.g., in the Kadamba records of the Kanarese country.

TEXT¹

- 1 — — — — —
 2 — — — — — [॥*]
 3 — — — — —
 4 — — — — — [॥*] [१*]
 5 — — — — —
 6 — — — — — [॥*]
 7 — — — — — सुवर्ण-दाने
 8 [संवा*]रिता नृपतयः² पृथु-राघवाद्याः [॥*] २
 9 [पुत्रो*] बभूव धनदान्तक-तुष्टि-कोप-
 तुल्यः
 10 [पराक्र*]म-नयेन समुद्रगुप्तः [॥*]
 11 [यं प्रा*]प्य पार्थिव-गणस्सकलः पृथिव्याम्
 12 [पर्य*]स्त-राज्य-विभव-द्भूतमास्थितो(S*)भूत् [॥*] ३
 13 [ताते*]न भक्ति-नय-विवक्रम-तोषितेन
 14 [यो*] राज-शब्द-विभवैरभिषेचनाद्यैः [॥*]
 15 [सम्ना*]नितः परम-तुष्टि-पुरस्कृतेन
 16 [सोऽयं ध्रु*][वो] नृपतिरप्रतिवार्य-वीर्यः [॥*] ४
 17 [दत्ता*]स्य³ पौरुष-परावक्रम-दत्त-शुल्का
 18 [हस्त्य*]श्व-रत्न-धन-धान्य-समृद्धि-युक्ता [॥*]
 19 [नित्य*]कृद्देषु मुदिता बहु-पुत्र-पौत्र-
 20 [स*]ङ्गामिणी कुलवधुः⁴ व्रतिनी निविष्टा [॥*] ५
 21 [यस्यो*]ज्जितं समर-कर्म पराक्रमेद्धं
 22 [पृथ्व्या*] यशः सुविपुलम्परिवम्भमीति [॥*]
 23 [वीर्या*]णि यस्य रिपवश्च रणोज्जितानि

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The record may actually have been earlier than *supra*, No. 2.

2 त is written below the line.

3 The *nāmaikadeśa* दत्ता stands for दत्तदेवी; cf. सत्यभामा सत्येति and सत्यभामा भामेति cited in the *Māhābhāṣya*.

4 Read ०वधूर्त्र०.

- 24 [स्व*]प्रान्तरेष्वपि विचिन्त्य परित्सन्ति [॥*] ६
 25 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 [स्त*][म्भ*]: स्वभोगनगरैरिक्किण-प्रदेशे¹ [॥*]
 26 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 [सं*]स्थापितस्स्वयशसः परिब्रिद्धहन्तार्थम्² [॥*] ७
 27 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — वो नृपतिराह यदा — — — [॥*]³
 28 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — [॥*] [८*]

No. 4—Nālandā Spurious⁴ Copper-plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 5.

NĀLANDĀ (Bargaon), Pāṭnā Dist., Bihār.

H. SASTRI, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1927-28, p. 138; D. R. BHANDARKAR, List, No. 2075. A. GHOSH, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 52f; D. C. SIRCAR, *ibid.*, XXVI.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the 5th century A. D; but some *aksharas* have later forms.

1 Airiṇa is the same as mod. Eraṇ.

2 Read ०वृद्धहणा०.

3 The rest of the record is lost. Lines 1-24 engrave one *pāda* each of the verse, with the exception of l. 9; ll. 24ff. engrave two *pādas* each.

4 The record is certainly spurious. It was forged sometime about the 6th-7th century. The authenticity of this grant of Gupta year 5 would indicate a rather unusually long reign-period for three generations, viz., Samudragupta, Chandra Gupta II and Kumara Gupta I. The Aśvamedha is not referred to in the elaborate Allahābād ins.; it could hardly have been celebrated before the 5th year of Samudragupta's reign or of the Gupta era. The indiscriminate use of *v* and *b* cannot be an early characteristic (see *infra*, p. 265, n. 6). Samudragupta never assumed the title *Paramabhāgavata* which was however the title assumed by his successors. The application of this title in the Nālandā and Gayā plates proves that they were forged by persons whose model was a record of a successor of this Gupta king (cf. also the words

TEXT¹

- 1 १^२ स्वस्ति [।*] महानौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारानन्दपुर^३-वासका[त्स]र्वरा-
[जोच्छे]त्तु[:(*)] पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-सलि[लास्वा]-
- 2 दित-यशसो धनद-वरुणो[न्द्रा]न्त(क*)-समस्य^४ कृतान्त-परशोन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-
कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोत्स[न्ना]-
- 3 श्वमेधाहर्तुर्महाराज-श्री-गु[प्त*]-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महारा-
[जाधि]राज-[श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त]-पुत्र-
- 4 स्य लिच्छवि-दौ[हि]त्रस्य महादेव्याङ्कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्न-परमभा[गवतो] महा-
राजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगु[प्तः] तावि[गुण्य](?)-
- 5 वै[षयिक]भद्रपुष्करकग्राम-किमिलवैषयिकपू[र्णना?]गगा[म(यो:*)] [ब्राह्मण-
पुरोग*]-ग्राम-व[ल]कौशभ्या(?)माह^५ [।*]
- 6 एव[।*] चाह विदितम्बो^६ भवत्वेषौ^७ ग्रा[मौ] [मया] [मा]तापित्रोरा[त्मनश्च]
पु[रयाभि]वृद्धये जयमद्विस्वामिने
- 7 * * * *^८ [सोपरि]करो[द्दि]शेनाग्र[ह]ारत्वे[ना]तिष्ठः [।*] तद्युष्मा-
भिर[स्य]

in the 6th case ending; p. 265, n. 4). If however it may be assumed that this charter and No. 5, *infra*, were forged to make up the loss of genuine charters of Samudragupta dated in year 5 and year 9, it should be suggested that the Gupta era began from the 1st year of this king. At least the persons responsible for the forgery apparently believed that Samudragupta began to rule earlier than year 5 of the Gupta era. As however the records were forged without the help of any genuine grant of Samudragupta, nothing but the name of the villages granted and of the donees can be taken to be undoubtedly genuine.

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV. Note that च in ll. 3 and 10 approximates the form of the 6th-7th century.

2 Sign for सिद्धं later pronounced as ओं सिद्धिः or सिद्धिरस्तु, written १ in Bengal even now.

3 Sastri reads नृपुर.

4 Ghosh: ०दान्तक.

5 Fleet finds here two officers called Valatkaushan. The word possibly indicates an assemblage of villagers.

6 व and व have been indiscriminately used. Read: चार्थो विदितो वो

7 Read ०त्वेतौ.

8 Ghosh is inclined to fill up the lacuna by some epithets of the donee.

- 8 त्रैविद्यस्य श्रोतव्यमाज्ञा¹ च कर्त्त[वया] [स]र्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्रा(म*)-प्रत्या-
(या*) मेय-हिरयादयो देया न चेत²
- 9 [भृ]त्यनेन त्रै[वि]द्येनान्य-ग्रामादि-करद-कुटुम्ब-[कारु]दय³ प्रवेश[यित]व्या-
[म]न्यथ[त] नियतमाग्रहाराक्षेपः³
- 10 [स्य]ादिति ॥⁴ सम्बत् ५ माघ-दि० २ निबद्धः⁵ [।*]
- 11 अनुग्रामाक्षपटलाधि[कृत]⁶-महापीलूपति-महाबलाधि[कृत]⁷-गोपखाम(य*)ादेश-लि-
खितः [।*]
- 12 [कुमा*]र-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्तः⁸ [।*]

No. 5—Gayā Spurious⁹ Copper-Plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 9.

GAYĀ, Gayā Dist., Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 256f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1540.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the 6th-7th century A.D.

1 Read श्रोत०. Supply a word like वचनं after श्रोतव्यं

2 Read देयाः । न चैतत्प्र०.

3 Read ०तव्याः । अन्यथा and नियतम०.

4 There are three short horizontal strokes after the usual sign for stop. आक्षेप may indicate violation of the privileges of an *agrahāra*.

5 Read संवत् and निब०. Supply a word like लेखः after निबद्धः

6 The Gayā plate reads अन्य०

7 Read बला०. अक्षपटलाधिकृत=keeper of records, from अक्षपटल=a court of law, a depository of legal documents. महाबलाधिकृत=Field-marshal. महापीलूपति=Head of the Elephant force.

8 He was possibly the दूतक (executor).

9 The record has the general appearance of being fabricated. Fleet thought that the fabrication was done somewhere about the beginning of the 8th cent. A. D., as he found the expression महानौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धवारारत् in later inscriptions. But this expression is also found in the inscriptions of Harshavardhana and Bhāskaravarman and palaeographically this record may not be later than the time of Ādityasena. It may have been fabricated in the 6th-7th cent.

TEXT¹

- 1 १^२ स्वस्ति [॥*] महानौ-हस्यश्च जयस्कन्धावाराजयोद्ध्या^३-वासकात्सर्व-राजो-
च्छेत्तु^४ पृ-
2 थिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरुदधि-सलिलाखादित-यश(सो*) धनद-वरुणेन्द्रा
3 न्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरोच्छ-
4 न्नाश्वमेधाहर्तु^५ महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य
5 महाराजाधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छिवि-दौहित्रस्य^६ महादेव्या(*) कु-
6 मारदेव्यामुत्पन्न(ः*) परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्र-
7 गुप्तः गयावैषयिक-रेवतिकाग्रामे ब्राह्मण-पुरोग-ग्राम-वत् 7-
8 त्कौषभ्या(?)माह । एव(*) चार्थं विदितम्बो^८ भवत्वेष^९ ग्रामो मया मातापित्वोरा-

It is not impossible that the record was prepared to replace a lost or damaged record of Samudragupta and the seal of the old record was attached to it. Note that the forgers believed that Samudragupta had a camp at Ayodhyā. See *supra*, p. 262, n. 4. The style may suggest that Nos. 4-5 were forged by the same person.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III

2 Symbol for सिद्धं later pronounced as ओं सिद्धिः or सिद्धिरस्तु.

3 Read ०वाराद योद्ध्या०.

4 ०च्छेत्तुः is intended; but read ०च्छेत्ता. The sixth case-ending in the epithets of Samudragupta shows that part of the grant was copied from a record of one of his successors. A grant of Samudragupta is required to have सर्वराजोच्छेता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथश्चतुरुदधिसलिलाखादितयशा धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समः कृतान्तपरशुन्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्यकोटिप्रदश्चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्ता महाराज-श्री-गुप्त-प्रपौत्रो महाराज-श्री-घटोत्कच-पौत्रो महाराधिराज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रो लिच्छिवि-दौहितो महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नः परमभागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तः.

5 Read चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाऽर्तुर्म०.

6 Usually लिच्छवि.

7 The record uses व and ब indiscriminately and points to the later characteristic of representing both व and ब by the sign for व. This is possibly due to the fact that the grant was fabricated not earlier than the 5th-6th century, when in North India, the sign for ब was being replaced by that for व. Read ब्राह्मण.

8 Read ०र्थो विदितो वो.

9 Read ०त्वेष.

- 9 त्मनश्च पुण्याभिद्रुये भारद्वाज-सगोत्राय¹ बहुचाय² स[त्र]द्वाचा-³
 10 रिणो ब्राह्मण⁴-गोपदेवस्वामिने सोपरिकरोद्देशेनाग्रहारत्वेनाति-⁵
 11 स्रष्टः [।*] तद्युष्माभिरस्य श्रोतव्यमाज्ञा च कर्तव्या सर्व्वे [च] [स]मुचिता ग्राम-प्र-
 12 ल्या⁶ मेय-हिरण्यादयो देयाः [।*] न चेतत्प्रभृत्येतदाग्रहारिकेणन्यद्वा-⁷
 13 मादि-करद-कुटुम्बि-कारुकादयः प्रवेशयितव्यामन्यथा⁸ नियतमाग्र-⁹
 14 हाराक्षेप(ः*) स्यादिति [।*] सम्बत्¹⁰ ९ वैशाख-दि १० [।*]
 15 अन्यग्रामाक्षपटलाधिकृत¹¹-द्युत-गोपस्वाम्यादेश-लिखितः¹² [।*]

No. 6—Inscription on the Lyryst Type of Coins of Samudragupta (c. 330-76 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 18ff.

*First Side*¹³

King seated, nimbate, cross-legged to left, wearing waist cloth, close-fitting cap,¹⁴ necklace, ear-rings and armlets, on high-

1 *I. e.*, भारद्वाजगोत्र-जाताय.

2 Read बहुचाय.

3 Read सव्रह्म०. सव्रह्मचारिन्=fellow student =student. 4 Read ब्राह्मण.

5 उपरिकर may mean 'extra cess'; but some scholars suggest 'tax paid by temporary tenants'. उद्देश=assignment, allotment; but possibly 'power' of assignment'.

6 प्रत्यय=प्रत्याय (*C. I. I. III*, p. 170, n. 5)=tax, revenue, income.

7 Read चैतत्प्र० and ०णान्यग्रा०.

8 Read तव्याः । अन्यथा.

9 Read नियतमग्र०. अग्रहार=गुरुकुलादावृत्तब्रह्मचारिणो देयं क्षेत्रादि ।

10 Read संवत्. See *supra*, p. 262, n. 4.

11 *Supra*, No. 4 reads अनु which may be right. Gopasvāmin's office was possibly connected with the villages. Bhandarkar: नालन्दा.

12 Gopasvāmin's official titles are different in *supra*, No. 4. The occurrence of his name in both the grants may suggest that he is not a fictitious personality. द्यूत may indicate the Head of the department superintending the gambling houses. Supply लेखः अयम् after लिखितः.

13 From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate V, No. 3; see also Nos. 1ff. Nos. 6-8 here represent inscriptions on gold coins.

14 Some specimens represent the king bare-headed.

backed couch, playing *Vṛṇā* which lies on his knees¹; beneath couch is a footstool²; inscription in Brāhmī characters of the northern class:—

महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तः³

Second Side

Lakshmī, nimbate, seated to left on a wicker-stool, wearing loose robe, close-fitting cap and jewellery, holding fillet in out-stretched right hand and cornucopia (the horn of plenty, a classical symbol of abundance like the Indian Kalpavṛksha) in left arm; inscription on right in Brāhmī characters:—

समुद्रगुप्तः⁴

No. 7—Inscription on the Aśvamedha Type of Coins of Samudragupta (c. 330-76 A. D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 21ff.

*First Side*⁵

Horse for the sacrifice to left before a sacrificial post (*yūpa*), from which pennons fly over its back⁶; beneath horse the Brāhmī *akshara* सि; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीमवित्वा

दिवं जयत्यप्रतिवार्य-वीर्यः [।*]⁷

1 Cf. निशितविद्गधमति-गान्धर्वेललितैर्ब्रूडित-लिदशपतिगुरु-तुम्बुरुनारदादेः in l. 27 of *supra*, No. 2.

2 On some specimens, the Brāhmī *akshara* सि is found inscribed on the footstool. सि may be an indication for the mint.

3 The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate.

4 On one specimen the name seems to be written समुद्र०.

5 From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate V. No. 10; see also Nos. 9-13. Note that the Aśvamedha which is not mentioned in the detailed Allahābād ins. must have been performed very late in the king's life.

6 On some specimens we have a low pedestal below.

7 The superscripts, vowel-marks, etc., are not clear in the Plate. Here is a verse in the उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) metre of which only two

Second Side

Mahishī Dattadevī standing to left, wearing loose robe and jewelry, holding chowree over right shoulder in right hand; left hand hangs by her side; on left is a sacrificial spear bound with fillet; around the pedestal on which the queen stands a chain of flowers (?) extending round the spear; on some specimens, a gourd (?) at her feet; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

अश्वमेध-पराक्रमः

No. 8—Inscription on the Coins of Kācha³.

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 15 ff.

*First Side*³

King standing to left, nimbate, wearing close-fitting cap, coat and trousers, ear-ring and necklace; holding standard surmounted by wheel (चक्र) in left hand, and sprinkling incense on altar with right hand; inscription on Brāhmī characters of the northern class:—

(beneath left arm) का (i.e., काचः)

च

pādas are given. On one specimen the reading is पृथिवीं विजित्य, and on another we have

राजाधिराजः पृथिवीं विजित्य दिवं जयत्साहस-वाजिमेधः ।

See *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., X, p. 256; Banerji, *Prāchīnamudrā* (Bengali), p. 129.

2 Kācha is generally identified with Samudragupta and the identification seems to be reasonable (cf. the title सर्वजोच्छेत्ता). Samudragupta might have had a second name like his son who was also known as Devagupta or Devarāja. Some scholars however take Kācha to be a separate person. Bhandarkar identifies him with Rāmagupta who is known from the *Devichandragupta* to have succeeded Samudragupta and to have been ousted by Chandra Gupta II. The tradition recorded in the drama has however not been supported by contemporary epigraphic evidence and may not be entirely historical.

³ From representation in Allan's Cat., Plate II, No. 9; see also Nos. 6-13.

(margin in circle) काचो गामवजित्य

दिवं कर्मभिरुत्तमैर्जयति¹ [I*]

Second Side

Lakshmī standing to left, wearing loose robe, holding flower in right hand and cornucopia in left arm; border of dots; a symbol on left; on right inscription in Brāhmī characters of the northern class:—सर्व्वराजोच्छेत्त[I*]

No. 9—Mathurā pillar Inscription of Chandra Gupta II—Regnal year 5; Gupta year 61² (=380 A.D.)

Chandul Mandul Bagichi at MATHURĀ, Muttra Dist., U. P.

D. R. BHANDARKAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 8f.

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script : Brāhmī resembling “Kushāna script” of c. 2nd cent.³

1 It is half of a stanza in the उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) metre. The superscripts, vowel marks, etc., are not clear on the Plate.

2 This is the earliest genuine date of the Gupta era. “The first year of the Gupta era, which continued in use for several centuries, and in countries widely separated, ran from February 26, A.D. 320, to March, 13, 321; of which dates the former may be taken as that of the coronation of Chandragupta I” (*Smith, E. Hist. Ind.*, 4th ed., p. 296). In the 11th century, Al-Bīrūnī accepted this epoch of the era, though he had wrong informations about its relation with the Guptas. “As regards the Gupta-kāla, people say that the Guptas were wicked powerful people, and that when they ceased to exist this date was used as the epoch of an era. It seems that Valabha was the last of them, because the epoch of the Guptas falls, like that of the Valabha era, 241 years later than the Śaka-kāla” (Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, II, p. 7). Accordingly, Gupta 1=Śaka 242=A.D. 320-21. In view of Albīrūnī's statement regarding the beginning of the Gupta era, recent attempts to prove that it began from A.D. 200, 272 or B. C. 57 must be regarded as utterly absurd. See *Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 47ff. As the designation “Gupta family” is known to have come into use during the time of the third king with name ending in *gupta*, we are inclined to call him Chandra Gupta (see *infra*, p. 275, n. 1).

3 For a Mathurā record of Kaṇishka's 14th year in “Eastern Gupta script,”

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् [१*] भट्टारक-महाराज-[राजाधि]राज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्त-स-
- 2 [त्पु]वस्य भट्टारक-म[हाराज-[रा*जाधि]राज-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त-
- 3 स्य विज(य*)-राज्य²-संवत्स[रे*] [पं]चमे [५]³ कालानुवर्त्तमान-सं-
- 4 वत्सरे एकषष्ठे⁴ ६०(+*)⁵...[प्र]थमे शुक्रदिवसे पं-⁵
- 5 चम्यां [१*] अस्यां पूर्वा[यां] [भ]गव[त्कु]शिकादशमेन भगव-
- 6 त्पराशराच्चतुर्थेन [भगवत्क*]पि[ल]विमल-शि-
- 7 ष्य-शिष्येण भगव[दुपमित*]विमल-शिष्येण⁶
- 8 आर्य्योदि[ता*]चार्य्ये[ण*] [स्व*]-पु[रया*]प्यायन-निमित्तं
- 9 गुरुणां च कीर्त्य[र्थमुपमितेश्व]र-कपिलेश्वरौ
- 10 गुर्वायतने गुरु⁷.....प्रतिष्ठापितो⁸ [१*] नै-
- 11 तत्त्व्यात्यर्थमभिलि[ख्यते] [१*] [अथ*] माहेश्वराणां वि-
- 12 क्षितिःक्रियते सम्बोधनं च [१*] यथाकाले[न]नाचार्या-
- 13 णां परिग्रहमिति⁹ मत्वा विशङ्क['] [पू]जा-पुर-

see *E.I.*, XIX, p. 96f. The peculiarity is due to the inclination and locality of the scribe and the existence of a cursive script side by side with the script used in the epigraphs.

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI.

2 Bhandarkar : राज्य.

3 Bhandarkar reads गुप्त before काला०. I do not find any trace of *aksharas* like गुप्त in the facsimile. Our reading shows that the first regnal year of the king was Gupta year 57=476-77 A.D.

4 Read एकषष्ठितमे.

5 Bhandarkar fills the lacuna as आषाढ-मासे. प्रथम indicates the first of the two *Āshāḍhas* including the intercalary one. There were two *Āshāḍhas* in A.D. 380. Read पंचमे.

6 The names of the teachers end in *vimala*. Bhandarkar's translation makes a confusion between *Upamita*° and *Kapila*°.

7 Bhandarkar suggests the restoration गुरुप्रतिमायुतौ. Apparently the representations showed as if *Upamita*° and *Kapila*° were standing each with a *Linga* on the head.

8 Read ०तौ.

9 Read परिग्रहः इति (=परिग्रहः भविष्यति इति). Bhandarkar who prefers full-stop after क्रियते (I. 11) and आचार्याणां (II. 11-12) and translates यथाकालेनाचार्याणां as "the *āchāryas* for the time being," seems to have misunderstood the meaning of II. 10-14. यथाकालेन=यथाकालं, in proper time. आचार्याणां=गुरुणाम् ?

- 14 स्कार['] परिग्रह-पारिपाल्य' [कुर्या]दिति¹ विज्ञप्तिरिति [1*]
 15 यश्च कीर्त्य'भिद्रोहं कुर्या[']व[श्चा]भिलिखित[मुप]व्यधो
 16 वा² [स] पंचभिर्मह[1*]पातर्केरुपपातकैश्च संशुक्लस्स्यात् [1*]
 17 जयति च भगवा[रुडरुडः]³ रुद्ररुडो(S*)प्र[ना]यको नित्य['] [11*]

Nos. 10-11—Udayagiri Cave Inscriptions of Chandra Gupta II—Gupta year 82 (=A.D. 401)

UDAYAGIRI Hill, near Bhilsā, Isāgarh Dist., Gwalior State.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 25 (for No. 10); p. 35 (for No. 11)
 BÜHLER, *V. Or. Journ.*, V, p. 226 ff.; BHANDARKAR, *List*, No. 1260, 1541 (for other references).

No. 1

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class.

TEXT⁴

- 1 सिद्धम् ॥ संवत्सरे ८० (+*) २ आषाढ-मास-शुक्लैकादश्याम्⁵ परमभट्टारक-
 महाराजाधि(राज*)-श्री-चन्द्र[गु]प्त-पादानुद्धयात्तस्य ।⁶
 2 महाराज-छगल्लग-पौत्रस्य महाराज-विष्णुदास-पुत्रस्य सनकानिकस्य महा[राज*]
 * * तस्यायं⁷ दे[यधर्मः] ।

1 Read कुर्युः इति (=कुर्युः साहेश्वराः इति).

2 Bhandarkar wants to read उच्छिन्ध्यात् or some such word after वा.

3 Bhandarkar suggests the correction भगवान्दण्डः स. Here is half of a stanza in the Āryā or Giti metre.

4 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

5 Read शुक्लैकादश्यां. Fleet reads a stop after म्.

6 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. The word अनुद्ध्यात् is usually taken to mean "meditating on..." But in many cases it certainly means "favoured." See the Tālagunda inscription (*infra*); also my note in *J.A.H.R.S.*, X, 1937, p. 229; *Suc. Sāt.*, 1939, p. 239.

7 There is space for two letters of which the latter may be ढ according to Fleet. May the name be सोढल ?

No. 2

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre : Verses 1-5, अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT¹

सिद्धम् [॥*]²

- 1 यद[]तज्ज्योतिरर्काभमुर्व्या[म्भा]³ * * — — * [१*]
* * * * — व्यापि चन्द्रगुप्ताख्यमद्भुतम् [॥*] [१]
- 2 विक्रमावक्रयक्रीता दास्य-न्यग्रभूत-पार्थिव[] [१*]
* * * [स]न⁴-संरक्ता धर्म्म * * — — * [॥*] [२]
- 3 तस्य राजाधिराजर्षेरचि[न्यो][ज्ज्वल-क*][र्म्म]णः [१*]
अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्यो व्या[वृत्त-सन्धि-वि*]ग्रहः[] [॥*] ३
- 4 कौत्सश्शाव इति ख्यातो वीरसेनः कुलाख्यया [१*]
शब्दार्थ-न्याय-लोकज्ञ-कवि-पाटलीपुत्रकः [॥*] ४
- 5 कृत्स्न-पृथ्वी-जयार्थेन⁵ राज्ञैवेह सहागतः [१*]
भक्त्या भगवत्तश्शम्भोर्गुहामेतामकारयत् [॥*] ५

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 In the left margin on the level of l. 3.

3 The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as

०मुर्व्या० भाति निरन्तरम् ।

दिवा-विभावरो-व्यापि० ॥

4 For स, Fleet reads मा; but the ā-sign is not clear and the akshara may be read as a partially preserved स. The lacunae may be conjecturally filled up as यस्य शासन-संरक्ता धर्म्मज्ञस्य वसुन्धरा.

5 Chandra Gupta II was a *digvijayin*. This claim apparently refers to his expedition against the Sakas of western India.

No. 12—Sāñchī Stone Inscription of Chandra Gupta II—Gupta year 93 (=A.D. 412).

Sāñchī, Bhopāl State, Central India.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 31 f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1262 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

TEXT¹

[सिद्धम् ॥*]²

- 1 का[कना*]दबोट-श्रीमहाविहारे³ शील-समाधि-प्रज्ञा-⁴गुण-भावितेन्द्रियाय परम-पुराय-
- 2 क्षे[व][ग*]ताय⁵ चतुर्दिग्भ्यागताय श्रमण-पुङ्गवावसथायार्थ्य-सङ्घाय महाराजाधि-
- 3 राज-श्री]चन्द्रगुप्त-पाद-प्रसादाप्यायित-जीवित-साधनः अनुजीवि-सत्पुरुष-सद्भाव-
- 4 वृ[त्यर्थ*] जगति प्रख्यापयन् अनेक-समरावाप्त-विजय-यशस्पताकः सुकुलिदेश-न
- 5 धी * * * वास्तव्य उन्दान-पुत्राप्रकाद्वो मज-शरभङ्गाप्ररात-राजकुल-मूल्य-की-
- 6 त[म] * * * ईश्वरवासकं पञ्च-मण्डल्या[**] प्रणिपत्य ददाति पञ्चविंशतिश्च⁶ दीना-
- 7 रान् [॥*] * * * * * ⁷यादद्वेन महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य देवराज इति प्रि-

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Above the beginning of line 1.

3 Kākanādabōṭa was apparently the old name of the Sāñchī region.

4 Originally व was engraved instead of प.

5 Fleet reads कृ...ताय ; but the first *akshara* is clearly क्षे and traces of व still remain.

6 Read विंशतिश्च.

7 Fleet: त[द्]त.....Pañchamaṇḍali is supposed to be the mod. Pañchāyet, the village jury of five (or more) persons. राजकुल=(a person belonging to) the royal family; cf. mod. Rāwal. It seems that half of the money and the price of the *vāsaka* (house-site?) was paid by Āmrakārdava and the other half by his friends.

- 8 य-ना[मनः*]¹ * * * * * रितस्य सर्व्व-गुण-संपत्तये यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पञ्च
भिक्षवो भुंज-
- 9 तां र[त्न*]-गृ[हे*] [च*] [दी*][प]को ज्वलतु [१*] मम चापरार्द्धात्पञ्चैव भिक्षवो
भुंजतां रत्न-गृहे च
- 10 दीपक इ[ति] [॥*] [त]देतत्प्रवृत्तं य उच्छिन्न्यात्स गो-ब्रह्म-हत्याया संयुक्तो भवे-
त्पञ्चभिश्चान-²
- 11 न्तयैरिति [॥*] सं ९० (+*) ३ भाद्रपद-दि ४ [॥*]

No. 13—Inscription on Some Silver Coins of Chandra Gupta II—Gupta year 90+x (=490-10+x)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 49 ff., No. 133 ff.

*First Side*³

Bust of king Chandra Gupta to right with traces of Greek letters⁴; on left:—

व ६० (+*) [x]⁵ (= [गुप्त]-वर्षे ६०+x)

1 Fleet fills up the lacuna by प्रियनामामात्यो भवत्येतस्य, and takes देवराज to be the name of an officer of Chandra Gupta II. देवराज or देवगुप्त was however another name of this king. The grants of Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II mentions Chandra Gupta II, his maternal grandfather, as देवगुप्त.

2 The पञ्चानन्तर्यकर्म or ०धर्म are the five sins that bring with them immediate retribution. They are five of the six *abhiṣhānas* (*supra*, p. 73), viz. *mātughāto* (matricide), *pitughāto* (parricide), *arahantaghāto* (killing an Arhat), *lohituppadō* (shedding the blood of a Buddha), *saṅghabhedo* (causing divisions among the priesthood), *aññasatthuddeso* (following other teachers)—with the exception of the last or the last but one.

3 From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate X, No. 15.

4 The silver issues of Chandra Gupta II were meant for circulation in Western India conquered from the Śaka Satraps. The introduction of the king's bust, traces of Greek characters and the date are all due to the influence of the Satrapal coins.

5 There is a small sign after the figure for 90. We cannot be definite regarding its value. The date shows that western India was conquered before 409-10+x A.D. Cf. *supra*, p. 182, n. 2, and the provenance of *supra*, Nos. 3 and 10-11.

Second Side

Garuḍa, standing, facing, with outspread wings; border of dots; above on right cluster of dots; inscription in Brāhmī characters:—

परमभाग[व*]त-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त- विक्रमादित्य[:*]¹

No. 14—Meharaulī Iron Pillar Inscription of Chandra²

MEHARAUĪ or Memharaulī, near Dehli

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 141; BHANDARKAR, *List*, No. 1243 (for earlier references); *J. A. H. R. S.*, X, p. 86ff; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, v, p. 407ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of the 5th century A. D.³.

Metre : Verses 1-3 शार्ङ्गलविक्रीडित.

1 The vowel-marks, etc., are not clear on the plate. On another variety of these coins we have the legend :—श्री-गुप्त-कुलस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-विक्रमादित्य.

2 He should probably be identified with Chandra Gupta II. The facts (1) that his name was Chandra (cf. the name on the copper coins of Chandra Gupta II), (2) that he went on a *digvijaya* (cf. *supra*, No. 11, l. 5), (3) that he was lord of an empire (cf. l. 5.), (4) that the Delhi-region formed part of his kingdom, and (5) that he was a Vaishṇava, suggest a monarch like Chandra Gupta II. His identification with Chandragupta I, the Nāga Chandrāmśa, or Chandravarman of Mālwa or of the Susuniyā record, etc., is less convincing. The identification with Maurya Chandragupta is absurd.

3 As has been pointed out by Fleet, allowing for "the stiffness resulting from engraving" on iron, the characters approximate in many respects the Allāhābād inscription (*supra*, No. 1), supposed by that scholar to be later than Samudragupta; but with the "very marked *mātrās* or horizontal top-strokes", the letters resemble most closely those used in the Bilsāḍ inscription of Kumāra Gupta (No. 15, *infra*). The record must therefore be assigned to the 5th century. Prinsep placed it in the 3rd or 4th century and Bhau Daji in the post-Gupta period.

TEXT¹

- 1 य[स्यो]द्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमु[र]सा शत्रून्समेत्यागता-
 न्वङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्त्तिनो(S*)भिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिर्भु[ज]े [।*]
 2 तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि² येन [स]म[रे] सिन्धोर्ज्जिता [व]ाहिका³
 यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वाग्यनिर्द्धक्षिणः [।*] 1⁴
 3 [खि]न्नस्येव विसृज्य गां नरपतेर्गामाश्रितस्येतरां
 मूर्त्या⁵ कम्म-जिताबनिं⁶ गतवतः कीर्त्या⁷ स्थितस्य क्षितौ [।*]

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. This pillar was brought here from some hill near the Beas by some energetic ruler of Delhi (Smith, *E. Hist. Ind.*, p. 401). Cf. Aśoka's pillars transferred to Delhi by Ferūz Shāh (*supra*, p. 55, n. 1).

2 For the seven mouths of the Indus, see *Periplus*, § 38, and Ptolemy's *Geog.*, VII, i, § 2.

3 Bhau Daji reads बाहिका. The right arm of the triangle of व is not preserved. हि is however quite clear. Bhandarkar places this Vāhika (=Balkh) on the Vipāsā (Beas) on the strength of the *Rāmāyaṇa* verse quoted at p. 277 n. 5, *infra*. There however the reading बाहिकान् is certainly a mistake for बाहिकान् or वाही०. For the well-known Vāhika country (=the Panjāb) on the Beas and other rivers, cf. पञ्चानां सिन्धुषष्ठाणां नदीनां येऽन्तरा स्थिताः । तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥वहिश्चनाम हीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ । तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥ *Mbh.*, VIII, 44, vv. 7 and 41; also see *P. V. Kane Volume*, Poona, Art. No. 64.

4 The verse simply refers to the four limits of the territory claimed to have been traversed by the king in course of his *digvijaya*. The eastern limit was वङ्ग; the southern limit दक्षिण-जलनिधि; the western limit मुखानि सिन्धोः and the northern limit बाहिक. The conventional claim is on a par with that of later kings, e.g., Yaśodharman who boasts of conquering the whole country to the west of the लौहित्य, to the south of the तुहिन-शिखरिन्, to the east of the पश्चिमपयोधि and to the north of the महेन्द्र (cf. Mahendrāchala in the Tinnevely Dist.). It is a *prashasti* which may have germs of truth, but may not be entirely historical.

5 Read मूर्त्या.

6 Read जिताबनि which is the reading of Fleet.

7 Read कीर्त्या.

- 4 शान्तस्येव महावने हुतभुजो यस्य प्रतापो महा-
 नाद्याप्युत्सृजति प्रणाशित-रिपोऽर्थनस्य शेषः क्षितिम् [॥*] 2¹
- 5 प्राप्तेन स्व-भुजार्जितञ्च सुचिरञ्चैकाधिराज्यं क्षितौ
 चन्द्राह्वेन समग्र-चन्द्र-[स]दृशीं वक्त्र-शिर्यं विभ्रता [।*]
- 6 तेनार्यं प्रणिधाय² भूमि-पतिना भावेन³ विष्णो⁴ मतिं
 प्रान्शुर्विष्णुपदे⁵ गिरौ भगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः [॥*] 3

1 Bhandarkar thinks that the king was not dead but alive when the eulogy was engraved, though he was no longer ruling. The natural interpretation of the verse however suggests that the pillar is posthumous. Cf. खिन्नस्य (=अविजित-देशाभावात् क्षुब्धस्य) इव (उत्प्रेक्षायां) गां (=हहलोकं) विसृज्य (=परित्यज्य) [नवदेशान् जेतुम्] इतरां गां(=लोकान्तरं) आश्रितस्य ; मूर्त्यां (=देहेन) कर्मजितावनिं (=सुकृतार्जितस्वर्गलोकं) गतवतः, [परं] कीर्त्या क्षितौ स्थितस्य [च] नरपतेः (=यद्यपि शरीरम् इहलोकं त्यक्तवत्, तथापि कीर्तिः इह एव तिष्ठति यस्य राज्ञः); शान्तस्य (=निर्वाणस्य अपि अविगत-तापस्य), etc. If our identification is correct, the pillar was erected by Chandra Gupta II about the end of his life, but the record was engraved by Kumāra Gupta I soon after his father's death.

2 There are traces of an incomplete धा after धा in the original.

3 Fleet reads धावेन. The first *akshara* with *serif* is भा of which however the left slanting stroke has been joined with the right vertical arm. It may pass as a form of व, but never as ध which is without serif. It may be tempting to suggest the correction देवेन referring the name to Chandra Gupta II Deva Gupta.

4 Read विष्णौ.

5 Read प्रांशु०. This Vishnupada hill is not far from the Kurukshetra and the Beas. Cf. गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुद्वहः ।...ततो गच्छेत धर्मज्ञो विष्णोः स्थानमनुत्तमम् । etc. (Mbh., III, 73, 8ff.; also 103ff.); एतद्विष्णुपदं नाम दृश्यते तीर्थमुत्तमम् । एषा नदी विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥ (Ibid., III, 138, 8); ययुर्मध्येन वाहीकान् (sic. वाहीकान्) सुदामानश्च पर्वतम् ॥ विष्णोः पदं प्रेषमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् । (Rām., II, 68, 18-19.)

No. 15—Bilsad Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.)

—Gupta year 96 (=A.D. 415-16).

BILSAD or Bilsaṇḍ Etā (Etah) Dist., U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 43f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1263
(for other references).

Language : Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metres : Verses 1-2 उपगीति (defective, with यतिभङ्ग-दोष in V. 1);
V. 3 स्रग्धरा ; V. 4 शार्ङ्गलूविक्रीडित.

TEXT¹

- 1 [सिद्धम् ॥*] [सर्व्व-राजोच्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुर्दधि-स*][लिता]-
स्वादित-यशसो
- 2 [धनद-वरुणेन्द्रान्तक-समस्य कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागतानेकगो-हि*]रस्यकोटि-
प्रदस्य चिरोत्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्तुः
- 3 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य० म*][हा]राजाधिराज-
श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य
- 4 लिच्छ[वि-दौहित्रस्य*] [महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजा*]धिराज-
श्रीसमुद्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य³
- 5 महादेव्यां दत्त[देव्यामुत्पन्नस्य] [खयमप्रतिरथस्य*] [परम*]-भागवतस्य महा-
राजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य³

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 The illegible portion in ll. 1-3 can be restored from passages in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta.

3 For the *sāpekṣa-samāsas* here (properly समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्य) and in l. 5 (properly चन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्य), see *supra*, p. 175, n. 6 and the Gaṛhā ins., p. 179.

- 6 महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्याभि[व]र्द्धमान-
विजय-राज्य-संवत्सरे षण्णवते¹
- 7 [अस्यान्दि]वस-पूर्व्यायां² भगवतस्त्वैलोक्य-तेजस्संभार-संतताद्धृत-मूर्तेर्ब्रह्मण्यदेवस्य
- 8 * * * * निवासिनः स्वामि-महासेनस्यायतने-
[S*]स्मिन्कार्त्युगाचार-सद्धर्म-वर्त्मानुयायिना [I*] 1
- 9 [माता]³ * * * * [प]र्षदा [I*]
मानितेन ध्रुवशर्मणा कर्म महत्कृतेदम्⁴ । [I*] 2
- 10 कृ[त्व]ा [नेल*]ाभिरामां सु[नि-वसति][मिह*] [ख]र्ग⁵ सोपान-[रू]पां⁶ ।
कौबेरच्छन्दबिम्बां स्फटिकमणिदलाभास-गौरां प्रतोलीम् ।⁷
- 11 प्रासादाग्राभिरूपं गुणवर-भवनं [धर्म-स*]ज्र⁸ यथावत् ।
पुरयेष्वेवाभिरामं व्रजति शुभमतिस्तात-शर्मा ध्रुवो(S*)स्तु⁹ । [I*] 3
- 12 — 1 — 1 — स्य — शुभामृतवर-प्रख्यात-ल[ब्धा भुवि]¹⁰ ।
— — भक्तिरहीन-सत्त्व-समता¹¹ कस्तं न संपूजयेत् ।
- 13 [येनापूर्व*]-विभूति-सन्धय-चयैः शैली — — — — : ।
तेनायं ध्रुवशर्मणा स्थिर-वरस्तभो[च्छ्र]यः कारितः । [I*] 4

1 Read षण्णवतितमे. राज्यसंवत्सर=regnal year; but when eras came into use, the same expression was technically used also with some year of an era (which took the place of the regnal year) just to indicate that the particular year of the era falls in the reign-period of the king. When both of them are mentioned, sometimes a distinction is made between the regnal year and the year of an era (cf *supra*, No. 9).

2 See *supra*, p. 133, n. 1; p. 121, etc. पूर्वा=what has been given above; the date indicated above; cf. मालव-पूर्वा in one record.

3 The lacuna may be filled up as मातापितोरात्मनश्च पुरयार्थं साधु-पर्षदा. Read संमानितेन for the sake of the metre.

4 Read कृतमिदं.

5 The letters are indistinct in the first half of l. 10.

6 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. कौबेरच्छन्द is a kind of pearl necklace.

7 Properly गौरी. प्रतोली="street, main road of a city", according to lexicons. Here the meaning appears to be "a gateway, a gateway with a flight of steps".

8 The restoration is due to Fleet.

9 "May the venerable Śarmā endure for a long time". Here the second part of the name (शर्मा) represents the whole name (ध्रुवशर्मा). See *supra*, p. 261, n. 3. There is a play on the word ध्रुव.

10 The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

11 Usually सत्त्व.

No. 16—Dhānāidaha Copper-plate Inscription [of Kumāra Gupta I]—Gupta year 113 (=A.D. 432-33)

DHĀNĀIDHAHA, Rājshāhī Dist., Bengal

R. D. BANERJĠ, *J. A. S. B.*, V, p. 459 ff; R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, 347 f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1267 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुम् (श्लोक).

TEXT¹

- 1[स*]स्वत्सर-श[ते] ²त्रयोदशोत्त[रे*]
- 2 [१००+१०+३*]..... [अस्या*][[न्दि]वस-पूर्वायां परमदैवत-पर-
- 3 [म-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तः *]..... कुटु[म्बि]⁴.....बाह्याण-
शिवशर्म्म-नागशर्म्म-मह-
- 4वकीर्त्ति-क्षेमदत्त⁵-गोप्रक-वर्गपाल-पिङ्गल-शुङ्गक-काल-
- 5विष्णु-[देव]शर्म्म-विष्णुभद्र⁶-खासक-रामक-गोपाल-

1 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII. The record is fragmentary. Lines 15-16 show that each complete line of the epigraph contained some 40 *aksharas*. This is the right half of the original record containing about 22 *aksharas* in a line. But ll. 1-5 and 16-17 are further damaged. According to Banerji, the fragments of the upper left corner which was broken in the exhibition ground of 1906-07 contained the two *aksharas* म and र which are evidently the second and third syllables of Kumāragupta's name. Nos. 16, 18, 19, etc. are essentially sale-deeds and not records of free gift. They record semi-gifts, the state land being sold at a reduced rate to Brāhmaṇas, etc. who purchase it with religious motives.

2 Read संवत्सर. Some 28 *aksharas* are lost, but may be conjecturally restored as ⁹ चतुर्दधि-सलिलाखादितयशसो महाराजाधिराज-श्री-कुमारगुप्तस्य संवत्सर०.

3 Here followed the names of the month and the tithi (cf. *infra*, No. 17, ll. 3-4).

4 The reading was possibly समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः ग्रामिक-ब्राह्मण०.

5 Banerji : क्षेमवन्त.

6 Banerji : विष्णुभद्र.

- 6श्रीभद्र-सोमपाल-रामाधक(?) -ग्रामाष्टकुलाधिकरण¹
- 7विष्णुना(?) विज्ञापिता इह खादा(टा?) पार²-विषये(S*) नुवृत्त-
मर्यादास्थिति-
- 8 ...नीवीधर्म-क्ष(क्ष?) येण³ लभ्य[ते] [।*] [त] दर्हथ ममाद्यानेनैव⁴ कक्रमेन(?) दा[तु]
- 9समेत्या(?) मिहितैः(*) सर्वमेव * * कर⁵-प्रतिवेशि(?) -कुटुम्बभिरवस्थाप्य क-
- 10 * रि * कन * यदितो * * [त] दवधृतमिति यतस्तथेति प्रतिपाद्य
- 11[अष्टकन*] वकनला[भ्या] मपविच्छ्रय क्षेत्त-कुल्यवापमेकं⁶ दत्तं [।*]
ततः आयुक्तक-
- 12 * भ्रा(?) तुकटक-वास्तव्य-छन्दोग-ब्राह्मण-वराहस्वामिनो दत्तं [।*] त[द्भव]-⁷
- 13भूम्या दा[नाक्षे] पे च गुणागुणमनुचिन्त्य शरीर-क[।*] धनकस्य चि-
- 14 [र-चञ्चलत्वं*] [।*] [उ] क्तञ्च भगवता द्वैपायनेन [।*]
खदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा⁸
- 15 [यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।*]
[स विप्रायां कृमिभूर्त्वा पितृ*] मिः सह पच्यते [।*] 1
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्रानि⁹ स्वर्गं मोदति [भु] मिदः [।*]
- 16 [आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥*] 2

1 अष्टकुल, like पञ्चमण्डली (mod. पञ्चायेत्) of *supra*, No. 12, may indicate the village jury. अधिकरण=court of justice and office of administration=governing body. The passage thus seems to mean "the local governing body of the village" अष्टकुल=eight families=representatives of eight (or more) families.

2 Banerji : महाखुषापार.

3 Or धर्मात्कयेण ?.

4 मम=मह्यं.

5 कार or आज्ञाकर ?.

6 कुल्यवाप (lit. area on which one *kulya* of seed can be sown) may be related to Old Beng. *kuṛobā*=mod. *bighā* (100 square cubits). But it appears to be a much larger area. The word may also be connected with कुल, for which see मनु, VII, 119. According to Kullūka, कुल means land annually ploughable by two ploughs (*halas*). Medhātithi says that it is called हट्ट in some places and उष्ट in others. See *infra*, p. 286, n. 9, and No. 42, n. अपविच्छ्रय=severing=measuring out.

7 Possibly we have to restore भवद्भिः सर्वैरेवानुमोद्यानुपालनीयं. °स्वामिनो=स्वामिने

8 Read दत्तां वा.

9 Read °साणि

[पू*]र्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*]

महीं [मही][मताञ्छ्रेष्ठ*]

17

[दानाच्छ्रेयोऽनुपालनं ॥*] 3

.....यं...भद्रेन उत्कीरणा स्थम्मेश्वरदासे[न]² [॥*]

No- 17—Karamdāṇḍa Stone Linga Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I —Gupta year 117 (= 436 A.D.)

Bharādhi Dīh, near KARAMDĀṆḌA, Faizābād Dist., U. P.

STEN KONOW, *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 71 f ; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1270
(for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class³.

TEXT³

- 1 नमो महादेवाय । म[हाराजाधिराज-श्री][चन्द्रगुप्त-पादा*] -
- 2 नुध्यातस्य चतुधुदधि⁴-सलिलास्वादित-य[शसो] [महाराजा*]-
- 3 धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य विजयराज्य- संवत्स[र]-शते सप्तदशोत्त[रे*]
- 4 कार्तिक-मास-दशम-दिवसे(S*)स्यान्दिवस-पूर्वायां [च्छान्दोग्याचार्याश्व]वाजि-
- 5 सगोत्र-कुरम[।][र][व्या?][भट्टस्य पुत्रो विष्णुपालितभट्टस्तस्य पुत्रो⁵ मह[।][र][।]-
- 6 जधिजाजा⁶-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यशिशखरस्वाम्यभूतस्य पुत्रः

1 The reading intended may be [लिखिता पट्टिके]यं अमात्य-भद्रेण उत्कीरणा स्थम्मेश्वरदासेन. Traces of क before यं are visible. Basak reads सु(?)श्रीभद्रेन(ण).

2 Banerji reads स्थम्मेश्वर,

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, X. The script is described as the so-called western variety of the Gupta alphabet. The eastern variety is determined by the letters म (without a curve in the left side), स (with a loop instead of the left curve) and ह (with the horizontal base absent and the lower part curved to left). I have not adopted the nomenclature as the forms are actually pre-Gupta and as they are sometimes used indiscriminately with the alternate forms.

4 Read चतुर्दधि.

5 Read पुत्रो.

6 Read °जाधिराज.

- 7 पृथिवीषेणो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यो(S*)न-
 8 न्तरं च महाबलाधिकृतः¹ भगवतो महादेवस्य पृथिवीश्वर² इत्येवं समाख्यातस्या-
 9 स्यैव भगवतो यथा-कर्तव्य-धार्मिक-कर्मणा पाद-शुश्रूषणाय भगवच्छै-
 10 लेश्वरस्वामि-महादेव-पादमूले आयोध्यायक-नानागोत्रचरण-तपः-
 11 स्वाध्याय-मन्त्र-सूत्र-भाष्य-प्रवचन-पारग-भारडिदसमद³-देवद्रोण्यां
 12

No. 18—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I

—Gupta year 124 (= 444 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur Dist., Bengal.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 130 f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verse 1 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT⁴

First Side

- 1 सस्व⁵ १०० (+ *) २० (+ *) ४ फाल्गुण-दि⁶ ७ परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-
 महाराज[! *]-
 2 धिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतां तत्पाद-परिगृहीते पुण्ड्रचर्च[न*]-

1 See *supra*, p. 260, n. 1; p. 264, n. 7. Cf. अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्य in *supra*, No. 11, l. 3.

2 The Līṅga was apparently named after Prithivishēṇa.

3 The lower portions of the *aksharas* of l. 11 are broken away, and भारडिदसमद is doubtful. Konow thinks that there is reference to the village Bhāraḍi (Bhāraḍida?) and that समद may be समुद्र, an epithet of Śiva. But there must be the name of a Brāhmaṇa. देवद्रोणी = a procession with idols.

4 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

5 Read संव which is a contraction of संवत्सरः or संवत्सरे.

6 Read फाल्गुन. दि stands for दिवसः or दिवसे.

- 3 भुक्तादुपरिक¹-चिरातदत्तेनानुवलवानक²-कोटिवर्ष-विषये च त-
 4 त्रियुक्तक³-कुमारामाल्य-वेत्तवर्मेन्यधिष्ठाणाधिकरणञ्च⁴ नगरश्रेष्ठि-
 5 धृतिपाल-सात्त्व्याहवन्धुमित⁵-प्रथमकुलिकश्रुतिमित-प्रथमका[य*]-
 6 स्थशाम्बपाल-पुरोगे संव्यवहरति⁶ यतः ब्राह्मण-कर्पटिकेण⁷
 7 विज्ञापित[*] अरर्हथ⁸ ममामिहोत्पयोगाय⁹ अप्रदाप्रहत-खि¹⁰
 8 ल-क्षेत्र[*] लदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवापेण¹¹ शश्वताचद्रावर्क¹²-तारक-भोज्ये[त*]-

Second Side

- 9 या¹³ नोवी-धम्मैण दातुमिति एवं दीयतामित्युत्पन्ने त्तिनी¹⁴ दीना[राण्यु*]-

1 Read भुक्तादुप०. The city of Puṇḍravardhana has been identified with Mahāsthān in the Bogrā Dist. The *bhukti* or district of this name comprised the Bogrā-Rājshāhi-Dinājpur region of North Bengal, though in a later period it also included parts of Eastern and Southern Bengal. The chief town of Koṭi-varsha=Bānapura (=Bāṇanagara, mod. Bāngarh) =Devikoṭa was in the present Dinājpur Dist.

2 Read ०दत्ते अनुवहमानक०. उपरिक is the title of a provincial viceroy. *Infra*, No. 19 has ०दत्तस्य भोगेनानु० (ever prospering under the rule of.....)

3 Note that the governor of the *vishaya* was appointed by that of the *bhukti*.

4 Read ०वर्मेण्यधिष्ठाना०.

5 Read बन्धु.

6 अधिष्ठान=city; अधिकरण=court and office of administration=government. Note that the governor was helped in the administration by a Municipal or District Board of 4 members, viz., the chief guild-president, the chief merchant, the head of the artisan class and the chief of the writer class who possibly acted as secretary of the Board. Note also that Mitra is typically and Pāla, etc., are usually cognomens of the Kāyasthas of Bengal. The Kāyasthas appear to be a mixed caste with both Brāhmaṇa and non-Brāhmaṇa elements. So also are the Vaidyas. This is due to the fact that both are professional castes.

7 Read ०केन.

8 Read अर्हथ

9 I. e., service in regard to the maintenance of sacred fire.

10 खिल and अप्रहत both mean "untilled" land. अप्रहत may here mean "unreclaimed jungle land". प्रदा=gift; so अप्रदा=nontransferrable (or unsettled) property. For नीवि, see *supra*, p. 147, n. 3.

11 Read लैदीनारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन. Dināra is the Gupta gold coin named after the Roman Denarius.

12 Read शश्वदा०.

13 Read भोग्य०.

14 Read त्रीणि.

- 10 पसंगृह्य यतः पुस्तपाल-रिशिदत्त¹-जयनन्द-विभुदत्तानामवधा-
 11 रणया डोङ्गाया उत्तर-पश्चिमोद्देशे² कुल्यवापमेकम्³ दत्तम् [॥*]
 12 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा⁴ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [॥*]
 भूमि-[दान]-संबद्धा[ः*] श्लोका भवन्ति [॥*]⁵
 13 स विष्टायां क्रिमिभूर्त्वा⁶ पितृभि⁷ सह पच्यतेति [॥*] 1

No. 19—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāra Gupta I

—Gupta year 128 (=A.D. 447).

DAMODARPUR, Dinājpur Dist., Bengal.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 133 f; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid.*, XVII, p. 193.

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT⁸

First side

- 1 स[] १०० (+*) २० (+*)८⁹ वैशाख-दि १०(+*) ३ पर[मदैव]त-
परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-[श्री][कुमा*]-
 2 रगुप्ते पृथिवी-पतौ [तत्पाद]-परिगृहीतस्य पु[ण्ड्र]वर्द्धन-भुक्तावुप[रिक-चि]रात-
दत्त[स्य]

1 Read ऋषिदत्त. *Pustapāla* = record-keeper. He also determined whether the land could be and should be sold to the party. See *infra*, No. 41, n.

2 Read पश्चिमोद्देशे. *Doṅgā* was a locality.

3 Read ०मेकं.

4 Read दत्तां वा. Properly वसुन्धराम्

5 Properly भूमिदान-संबद्धः श्लोक भवति should be read before स्वदत्तां.

6 The usual spelling is कृमि.

7 Read पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥ इति ॥

8 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

9 Basak: ६.

- 3 भोगेना[नुव]ह[मानक]-कोटिव[र्ष]-विषये तन्नियुक्तक-कु[मा]रामात्य-वे[ल]-
 4 वर्म्मणि¹ अधिष्ठाना[धिक]र[णञ्च] नगर[त्रे]ष्ठिधृतिपाल-सार्थवा[हवन्धुमि]ल²-प्र[थ]-
 5 मकुलिकधृतिमिल-प्रथ[म]कायस्थ[शाम्ब]पाल-पुरो[गे] सम्मव[हर]ति³ [यतः*] स...⁴
 6 विज्ञापित⁵ अ[र्ह]थ मम प[ञ्च]-महायज्ञ-प्रवर्तनायानुवृत्ताप्रदाक्षयनि[वी*]-⁶
 7 मर्यादया दातुमिति एतद्विज्ञाप्यमुपलभ्य पुस्तपाल[ल]-रिसिदत्त-जयन[न्दि-वि]-⁷
 [भुदत्तानामव*]-
 8 धारणया दीयतामित्यु[त्प]न्ने⁸ एतस्माद्य[था]नुवृत्त-लैदीनार[िक्य-कु]ल्यवापे[न]

Second Side

- 9 [द्व]यमुप[संय]ह⁹ [पेरा]वता[गो]राज्ये पश्चिम-दिशि¹⁰ पञ्चद्वो[णा]-
 10 [म]काः¹¹ ह[ट्ट]-पानकैश्च¹² सहितेति¹³ दत्ताः [।*] तदुत्तर-कालं सम्मव्य-¹⁴
 वहारिभिः [धर्ममवेक्ष्या]नु[म]-

1 Here as well as in many other records the rules of सन्धि have not been observed. सन्धि however is optional in Sanskrit prose, though in poetry it is compulsory and its violation there is called विसन्धि-दोष by grammarians.

2 Read बन्धु०.

3 Read संव्य०.

4 Evidently this portion contained the name of the purchaser with the third case-ending.

5 Read ०पितमर्ह०.

6 Read नीवो०. अनुवृत्त=customary, following the general rule. For the पञ्च-महायज्ञ, see मनु, III, 69.

7 Read ऋषिदत्त.

8 उत्पन्न=ascertained. अवधारणा=ascertainment, determination, affirmation. Cf. प्रतिपाद्य in *supra*, No. 16, l. 10. See also *infra*, No. 41, n.

9 दीनारद्वय० is to be understood. In that case 5 *droṇas* (= *droṇavāpas*) would be equal to $\frac{3}{4}$ *kulyavāpa* and $7\frac{1}{2}$ *droṇas* = 1 *kulyavāpa*. Actually however, 8 *droṇas* = 1 *kulya*; 8 *droṇavāpas* = 1 *kulyavāpa*. The *droṇ* is a land measure in many parts of Bengal even today; but it varies greatly according to the length of the measuring rod which again is of different length in different parts of the country. In some parts of Bengal the *droṇ* is a little less than 7 acres. See *infra*, No. 43, n.

10 Read पश्चिम.

11 Read ०सकाः (भूमयः*).

12 I cannot accept the suggestion of F. W. Thomas that we should read here अरहट्ट and translate the passage, "with drinking places having Persian wheels." हट्टपानकैः=with the right of using the canals excavated for watering the field (?); see *supra*, p. 281, n. 4.

13 Read सहिता इति.

14 Read संव्य०=by the administering agents.

- 11 न्तव्याः¹ [1*] अपि च भूमि-दान-सम्बद्धामिमौ² श्लोकौ भवतः [1*]
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजाति[भ्यो]
- 12 यत्नादक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*]
महौ महीवतां³ श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(S*)नुपा(ल*)नं⁴ [11*] 1
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा⁵ दत्ता दी[य]ते च
- 13 पुनः पुनः [1*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलमिति⁶ [11*] 2

No. 20—Mankuwar Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta year 129 (=448 A.D.)

MANKUWAR, Allahābād Dist., U. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 46 f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1273
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class⁷.

TEXT

- 1 १^{१८} नमो बुधान⁹ [1*] भगवतो¹⁰ सम्यक्सम्बुद्धस्य स्व-मताविरुद्धस्य¹¹ इयं प्रतिमा
प्रतिष्ठापिता भिक्षु-बुद्धमित्रेण¹²

1 अनुमन्तव्य=should be approved. 2 Read सम्बद्धावि०. 3 Read महीमतां.

4 Properly ०नम्. But often in inscriptions we find the *anusvāra* used in such cases. 5 Read बहु०.

6 Properly फलम् ॥ इति.

7 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. The script is the so called Eastern Gupta alphabet (*supra*, p. 282, n. 3).

8 The word सिद्धम् is expressed by as symbol.

9 Possibly Prakrit बुद्धानं is intended. Read बुद्धेभ्यः or बुद्धाय.

10 Read भगवतः.

11 *I.e.*, one who was consistent with his own teachings, who lived according to his own teachings.

12 There is no reason to identify this Buddhāmītra with any particular monk of this name known from the history of Buddhism.

- 2 सम्बत्¹ १०० (+*) २० (+*) ९ महाराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य राज्ये ज्येष्ठमास-दि^२
१० (+*) = सर्व-दुःख-प्रहानार्थम्^३ [॥*]

No. 21—Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāra Gupta I and Bandhuvarman—Mālava⁴

years 493 and 529 (=A.D. 436 and 473)

MANDASOR, Gwalior State, Central India.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 81 ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 6
(for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class.

Metre: Verses 1-2. शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 3 वसन्ततिलका;
V. 4 आर्या; Vv. 5-6 वसन्ततिलका; Vv. 7-9
उपेन्द्रवज्रा; V. 10. उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V.
11 वसन्ततिलका; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+
उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 13 आर्या; V. 14 वसन्ततिलका;
V. 15 द्रुतविलम्बित; V. 16 हरिणी; V. 17 इन्द्र-

1 Read संवत् which is a contraction of संवत्सरे or संवत्सरः.

2 ज्येष्ठ=ज्यैष्ठ्यं. *Mahārāja* for *Mahārājādhirāja* in an unofficial record is of no importance.

3 Read दुःख-प्रहाणार्थम्.

4 See V. 35 below, and *supra*, p. 92, n. 6. The era which became connected with the name of Vikramāditya about the 8th century A.D. was earlier known as the *Kṛita* era or the era of the Mālavas or of the Mālava kings. As regards *Kṛita*, it may be noticed that we have also the spelling *Kṛita* (= *Kṛita*?) in early records. According to Buddhist traditions, Maḍhyāntika who preached Buddhism in Gandhāra and Kāshmirā, built 500 monasteries, and "he bought foreign slaves to serve the Brethren. Sometime after his decease these inferiors became *rulers of the country*; but neighbouring states despising them as a lowborn breed would not have intercourse with them and called them *Kṛita* or 'the Bought'" (Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels*, I, p. 265). If it may be believed that the background of

वज्रा ; V. 18 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 19 मालिनी ; V. 20 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 21 आर्या ; V. 22 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 23 वंशस्थ ; V. 24 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 25 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 26 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 27 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 28 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता ; Vv. 30-32 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 33 आर्या (defective, with यतिभङ्गदोष) ; Vv. 34-37 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक) ; Vv. 38-39 आर्या (with यतिभङ्गदोष in V. 39) ; V. 40 ; वसन्ततिलका ; Vv. 41-42 आर्या ; V. 43 मालिनी ; V. 44 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

1 [सिद्धम् ॥]

[यो] [त्रयर्थ]मुपास्यते सुर-गणै[स्सिद्धैश्च] सिद्धयर्थिभि-

र्द्धयानैकाग्र-परैर्विधेय-विषयैर्मोक्षार्थिभिर्गोपिभिः ।

भक्त्या तीव्र-तपोधनैश्च मुनिभिरशाप-प्रसाद-क्षमै-

र्हेतुर्गोपि जगतःक्षयाभ्युदययोऽपायात्सर्वो भास्करः ।[1:] 1²

तत्त्व³-ज्ञान-विदो(S*)पि यस्य न विदुर्ब्रह्म-

2

यो(S*)भ्युद्यता-

×कृत्स्नं यश्च गमस्तिभिः प्रव्रस्यते×पु[ष्प]ति लोक-क्षयम् ।

the above tradition is the Skytho-Parthian occupation of N.W. India and that some of those foreign kings had originally been slaves like those of the Turkish Slave dynasty of a later period, the name *Krita* (= *Krita*; *Krita* may be a later emendation) may refer to the foreign origin of the era. That this era and the earlier Skytho-Parthian era are identical is suggested by the date (year 103) of the Takti-Bāhi inscription (*supra*, p. 121f.) of the Parthian king Gondopharnes who was a contemporary of St. Thomas and lived in the first century A.D. according to Christian traditions.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 उपध्मानीय (old *visarga* before प् and फ्) is indicated by × and जिह्वामूलीय (old *visarga* before क् and ख्) by ×.

3 Usually तत्त्व.

ग[न्ध]र्वीमर-सिद्ध-किन्नर-नरैस्सस्तूयते(S*)भ्युत्थितो
भक्तेभ्यश्च ददाति यो(S*)भिलषितं तस्मै सवित्रे नमः ।[1*] 2
य[प्र]लहं प्रतिविभात्युदयाचलेन्द्र-
विस्तीर्या-तुङ्ग-शिखर-स्खलितांशुजालः [1*]
क्षीबाङ्गना-

3

जन-ऋपोल-तलाभिताम्र-

पायात्स वस्सु[कि]रणाभ[रणो] विवस्वान् ।[1*] 3
कुसुमभरानततरुवर-देवकुल-सभा-विहार-रमणियात्¹ ।
लाट-विषयान्नगावृत-शैलाजगति प्रथित-शिल्पाः ।[1*] 4
ते देश-पार्थिव-गुणापहृताः प्रकाश-
मद्भादिजान्यविरलान्यसुखा-

4

न्यपास्य ।

जातादरा दशपुरं² प्रथमं मनोभि-
रन्वागतास्समुत्त-बन्धु-जनास्समेत्य ॥ 5
मत्तेभ-गरुड-तट-विच्युत-दान-बिन्दु-
सिक्कोपलाचल-सहस्र-विभूषाणायाः³ [1*]
पुष्पावनम्र-तरु-मण्ड-वर्तंसकाया
भूमेपरन्तिलक-भूतमिदं क्रमेश ॥ 6
तटोत्थ-वृक्ष-च्युत-

5

नैक-पुष्प-

विचित्र-तीरान्त-जलानि भान्ति ।
प्रफुल्ल⁴-पद्माभरणानि यत्र
सरांसि कारण्डव-संकुलानि ॥ 7
विलोल-वोची-चलितारविन्द-
पतद्रजः-पिञ्जरितैश्च हंसैः ।

1 Read रमणियात्. Lāṭa was the country to the west of West Mālwa.
Navasārikā (mod. Nausāri) was one of its chief cities.

2 Modern Man-Dasor.

3 Read विभूषणायाः.

4 Read प्रफुल्ल. Kāraṇḍava is a kind of duck.

ख-केसरोदार-भरावभुग्नैः

क्वचित्सरांस्यम्बुरुहैश्च भान्ति । [।*] 8

ख-पुष्प-भारावनतैर्नगेन्द्रै-

मैद-

6 प्रगल्भालि-कुल-खनैश्च ।

अजस्रगाभिश्च पुराङ्गनाभि-

र्व्वनानि यस्मिन्समलंकृतानि ॥ 9

चलत्पताकान्यबला-सनाथा-

न्यत्यर्थशुक्लान्यधिकोन्नतानि ।

तडिल्लता-चित्र-सिताम्भ्र-कूट-

तुल्योपमानानि गृहाणि यत् ॥ 10

कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमानि चान्या-

न्याभान्ति दीर्घ-बलभी-

7 नि सवेदिकानि ।

गान्धर्व्व-शब्द-मुखरानि¹ निविष्ट-चित्र-

कर्म्मणि लोल-कदली-वन-शोभितानि ॥ 11

प्रासाद-मालाभिरलंकृतानि

धरां विदार्य्यैव समुत्थितानि ।

विमान-माला-सदृशानि यत्र

गृहाणि पूरणेन्दु-करामलानि ॥ 12

यद्भात्यभिरम्य-सरिद्वयेन² चपलोर्मिणा समुपगूढं³ [।*]

8 रहसि कुच-शालिनीभ्यां प्रीति रतिभ्यां स्मराङ्गमिव ॥ 13

सत्य-[क्षमा]-दम-शम-व्रत-शौच-धैर्य्य-

[खादया]य-वृत्त-विनय-स्थिति-बुद्धयुपेतैः ।

1 Read मुखरानि.

2 Read सरिद्वयेन.

3 Properly गूढम् ; but in this record and in others the use of the *anusvāra* is found in many such cases.

विद्या-तपो-निधिभिरस्मयितैश्च विप्रै-
 र्य्यद्भ्राजते प्रहगणैः^१खमिव प्रदीप्तैः ॥ 14
 अथ समेत्य निरन्तर-सङ्गतै-
 रहरहः-प्रविजृम्भित-

9

सौहृदाः [।*]

नृपतिभिस्सुतवत्प्रतिम[।]निताः
 प्रमुदिता न्यवसन्त सुखं पुरे ॥ 15
 भ्रवण-[सु]भग['] ध[।]नुर्व्वै[य'] दृढं परिनिष्ठिताः
 सुचरित-शतासङ्गा^२केचिद्विचित्र-कथाविदः ।
 विनय-निभृतास्सम्यग्धर्म-प्रसङ्ग-परायणा-
 प्रियमपरुषं पत्न्यं चान्ये क्षमा बहु भाषितुं ॥ 16

10

केचित्स्व-कर्मण्यधिकास्तथान्यै-
 र्व्विज्ञायते ज्योतिममात्मवद्भिः^१ ।
 [अद्यापि] चान्ये समर-प्रगल्भा-
 [कु]र्व्वन्त्यरीणामहितं प्रसह्य [।*] 17
 प्राज्ञा मनोज्ञ-वधवः प्रथितोरुवंशा
 वंशानुरूप-चरिताभरणास्तथान्ये ।
 सत्यव्रताः प्रणयिनामुपकार-दक्षा
 विलम्भ-

11

[पूर्व्व]मपरे दृढ-सौहृदाश्च ॥ 18

विजित-विषय-सङ्गैर्धर्म-शीलैस्तथान्यै-
 [मृ]दुभि[रधि]क-स[त्त्वैर्लौक्यात्ता]मरैश्च^२ ।
 स्व-कुल-तिलक-भूतैर्मुक्तरागैरुदारै-
 रधिकमभि[वि]भाति श्रेणिरैवंप्रकारैः ॥ 19^३

1 Read ज्योतिष०.

2 Usually सत्त्वै०.

3 Note that sections of the people who were originally silk-weavers in the Lāṭa country (=Nausāri-Broach region), when they settled at Daśapura (=Man-Dasor), adopted different professions, such as that of an archer, a story-teller, an exponent of religious problems, an astrologer, a warrior and an ascetic. This shows the looseness of the bond of caste-restrictions at least in western India about the time of this record.

तारुण्य-कान्त्युपचितो(S*)पि सुवर्णा-हार-
तांबूल-पुष्प-विधिना सम-

12 [लंकृतो(S*)पि ।

नारी-जनः प्रियमुपैति न तावदग्रयां¹
यावन्न पटमय-वस्त्र-[यु]गानि धत्ते ॥ 20
स्पर्श[वता वरणा]न्तर-विभाग-चित्रेण नेत्र-सुभगेन [।]
यैस्सकलमिदं क्षितितलमलंकृतं पट्वस्त्रेण ॥ 21
विद्याधरी-रुचिर-पल्लव-करणापूर-
वातेरिता[स्थि]रतरं प्रविचिन्त्य

13 [लो]कं ।

मानुष्यमर्थ-निचयांश्च तथा विशालां-
[स्ते]षां शुभा [म]ति[रभूद]चला ततस्तु² [॥] 22
चतु[स्समुद्रान्त]-विलोल-मेखलां
सुमेरु-कैलास-वृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्त-वान्त-स्फुट-पुष्प-हासिनीं
कुमारगुप्ते प्रिथिवीं³ प्रशासति ॥ 23
समान-धीशुक-वृहस्पतिभ्यां
ललामभृतो भुवि

14 पात्थिवानां ।

रणेषु यः पार्थ-समानकर्मन्
बभूव गोप्ता नृप-विश्ववर्म्मा ॥ 24
दोनानुकंपन-परः कृपणार्त-वर्ग-
सन्ध[र्]प्रदो(S*)धिकदयालुरनाथ-नाथः ।
[क]ल्पद्रुमः प्रणयिनामभयं प्रदश्च
भीतस्य यो जनपदस्य च बन्धुरासीत् ॥ 25

1 Read तावदग्रयां. अश्री=secret place.

2 The word ततस्तु="and then" is connected with the sentence with कारितं
(l.16). The intervening verses are by way of a parenthesis.

3 Read पृथिवीं

- तस्यात्मजः स्थैर्य-नयोपपन्नो
ब[न्धु]-प्रियो
15 बन्धुरिव प्रजानां ।
बन्धुर्ति-हर्ता नृप-बन्धुवर्मा
द्विद्वेष-पक्ष-क्षपणैक[द]क्षः ॥ 26
कान्तो युवा रण-पटुर्विनयान्वितश्च
राजापि सन्तुपसृतो न मदैः स्मयाद्यैः ।
शृङ्गार-मूर्तिरभिभाष्यनलङ्कृतो(S*)पि
रूपेण य-कुसुम-चाप¹ इव द्वितीयः ॥ 27
वैधव्य-तीव्र-व्यसन-क्षतानां
16 स्मृत्वा² यमवाप्यरि-सुन्दरीणां ।
भयाद्भवत्यायत-लोचनानां
घन-स्तनायास-करः प्रकम्पः ॥ 28
तस्मिन्नेव क्षितिपति-त्रिषे³ वन्धुवर्म्मण्युदारे
सम्यक्स्फीतं दशपुरमिदं पालयत्युन्नतांसे ।
[शि]ल्पावाप्तैर्द्धन-समुदयैः पट्टवा[यैरु]दारं
श्रे[णीभूतै]र्भवनमतुलं कारितं
17 दीप्त-रश्मेः ॥ 29
विस्तीर्ण-तुङ्ग-शिखरं शिखरि-प्रकाश-
मभ्युद्गतेन्द्रमल-रश्मि-कलाप-[गौ]रं ।
यद्भाति पश्चिम-पुरस्य निविष्ट-कान्त-
चूडामणि-प्रतिसमन्नयनाभिरामं⁴ ॥ 30

1 Fleet's transcript has या

2 Read स्मृत्वा. A म् was originally engraved after रणा.

3 Read ०वृषे.

4 Fleet's transcript has रमं. Daśapura is called Paśchimapur, "city of the west," apparently because it was then one of the greatest cities of Western India. Better read पश्चिमपुरे च.

रामा-सनाथ-[र*]चने दर-भास्करांशु-

वह्नि-प्रताप-सुभगे जल-लीन-मीने ।

चन्द्रांशु-हर्म्यतल-

18

चन्दन-तालवृन्त-

हारोपभोध¹-रहिते हिम-दग्ध-पद्मे ॥ 31

रोद्ध-प्रियंगुतरु-कुन्दलता-विकोश-

पुष्पा[सव]-प्रमु[दि]तालि-कलाभिरामे ।

काले तुषार-कण-कर्कश-शीत-वात-

वेग-प्रवृत्त-लवली-नगणैकशाखे ॥ 32

स्मर-वशाग-तरुणजन-वल्लभाङ्गना-विपुल-क्रान्त-पीनोरु-

19 स्तन-जघन-घनालिङ्गन-निर्भर्त्सित-तुहिन-हिम-पाते ॥ 33²

[मा]लवानां गण-स्थित्या या[ते] शत-चतुष्टये ।

त्रिनवत्यधिके(S*)ब्दानाम्प्रितौ सेव्य-घनस्तने³ ॥ 34

सहस्यमास-शुक्लस्य प्रशस्ते(S*)हि त्रयोदशे ।

मङ्गलाचार-विधिना प्रासादो(S*)यं निवेशितः ॥ 35

बहुना समतीतेन

20

कालेनान्यैश्च पत्थिवैः ।

व्यशीर्यतैकदेशो(S*)स्य भवनस्य ततो(S*)धुना ॥ 36⁴

1 Read भोग.

2 This verse composed of only one compound and several other defective features of the poem show that the author was only a second or third rate poet. The composition which shows more of labour than poetic skill belongs to what is called the Gaudī rīti by rhetoricians.

3 Read ०मृतौ. Fleet: ०स्वने. सहस्य=पौष and शुक्ल=शुक्लपक्ष

4 Here the period of about 36 years has been mentioned as "a long time". Fleet translates, "under other kings, part of the temple fell into disrepair". The language however seems to support Mr. D. Sharma who wants to translate, "a part of this building was destroyed (damaged?) by other kings" and thinks of the occupation of Central India by the Hūnas (*Ind. Cult.*, III, p. 379ff.; IV, p. 262f.). In that case Bandhuvarman died long before A.D. 473. But the passage may refer to an attack on Daśapura by hostile kings (long after A.D. 436) and not to the permanent occupation of the kingdom by them. If this interpretation be accepted, the Mālwa king was alive in A.D. 473.

स्वयशो-[वृद्धये¹ सर्व्वमत्युदा]रमुदारया ।

संस्कारितमिदं भूयः [श्रेण्या] भानुमतो गृहं ॥ 37

अत्युन्नतमवदातं नभः(*)-स्पृशन्निव² मनोहरैरिशिखरैः ।

शशि-भान्वोरभ्युदयेष्वमल-मयूखायतन-

21

भूतं ॥ 38

वत्सर-शतेषु पंचसु विशत्यधिकेषु³ नवसु चान्देषु ।

यातेष्वभिरम्य-[तप]स्यमास-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायां ॥ 39

स्पष्टैरशोकतरु-केतक-सिंदुवार-

लोलातिमुक्तकलता-मदयंतिकानां ।

पुष्पोद्गमैरभिनवैरधिगम्य नून-

मैक्यं विजृंभित-शरे हर-पूत-देहे⁴ ॥ 40

22 मधुपान-मुदित-मधुकर-कुलोपगीत-नगनैक-पृथु-शाखे ।⁵

काले नव-कुसुमोद्गम-दंतुर-कांत-प्रचुर-रोद्धे ॥ 41

शशिनेव नभो विमलं कौ[स्तु]भ-मणिनेव शार्ङ्गिणो वज्रः ।

भवन-वरेण तथेदं पुरमखिलमलंकृतमुदारं ॥ 42

अमलिन-शशि-

But the name of the reigning overlord of the Mālwa king (who apparently began to rule as a vassal of Kumāra Gupta I, 414-55 A.D.) in the Mālava year 529=A.D. 473 is not mentioned. This may refer to the fact that about 473 A.D. a struggle for the Gupta imperial throne was going on and the author avoided the mention of the name of the reigning Gupta emperor owing to the confusion caused by it. Note that in the Belkharā inscription a feudatory of the Kanauj empire similarly avoids the mention of his overlord. Palaeographically the record belongs to the later half of the 5th century. Suggestions of some recent writers that the record belongs to the 10th century is utterly absurd.

1 Read वृद्धये.

2 स्पृशन् (masc.) does not suit गृहं (neut.). Fleet suggests the correction नभः स्पृशतीव which however does not suit the text quite well. Fleet: मनोहरैः शि०

3 Read विशत्य०. तपस्य=फाल्गुन

4 Fleet suggests the correction धृत ; the word means Madana. Fleet: मदयन्तिकानां.

5 Read नगरौक.

- 23 लेखा-दंतुरं पिङ्गलानां
 परिवहति समूहं यावदीशो जटानां ।
 वि[कच-क]मल-मालामंस-सक्तां¹ च शाङ्गीं
 भवनमिदमुदारं शाश्वतन्तावदस्तु ॥ 43
 श्रेण्यादेशेन भङ्गया च कारितं भवनं रवेः ।
 पूर्वा² चेयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना ॥ 44
- 24 स्वस्ति कर्तृ-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 22—Inscription on the Aśvamedha Type of Coins of Kumāra Gupta I (A.D. 414-55)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 68 ff.

*First Side*³

Horse standing to right, wearing breast-band and saddle, before *yūpa* on alter, the pennons from which fly over its back ; between the legs of the horse, inscription in the Sanskrit language and Brāhmī characters of the northern class :—

श्वमध (= अश्वमेधः or अश्वमेधाश्वः)⁴

Second Side

Mahishī Anantadevī standing to left, nimbate, holding chowrie over right shoulder and some object in left hand, wearing ear-rings, necklace, armlets and anklets ; sacrificial spear bound with fillets on left ; border of dots ; inscription in Brāhmī characters :—

[श्री]-अश्व[मे]ध-महेन्द्र [: *]⁵

1 Fleet: विकट 2 We may supply प्रशस्तिः after चेयं. पूर्वा=the above.

3 From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, Plate XII, No. 14; see also No. 13.

4 On one specimen we have जयत दव कुमार (=जयति दिवं कुमारगुप्तोऽयं ;
 Metre: उपगीति).

5 Properly, श्वश्वमेध०.

No. 23—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Kumāra Gupta I—Gupta year 124 (=443-44 A. D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 107 ff. ; No. 385 ff.

*First Side*¹

Head of king to right as on the silver issues of Chandra Gupta II ; on right :—[१००*] (+*) २० (+*) ४ (=गुप्तवर्षे १२४)²

Second Side

Peacock³ standing, facing, with head to left ; wings and tail outspread ; border of dots ; legend in Bramī characters of the northern class :—[विजितावनिरव*]नि-पति[:*] कुमारगुप्तो दिवं ज[यति*]⁴

No. 24—Tumain Fragmentary Inscription of Ghaṭotkacha Gupta—Gupta year 116 (=435-36 A.D.)⁵

TUMAIN, Esāgarh Dist., Gwalior State.

M. B. Garde, *Ind. Ant.*, XLIX (1920), pp. 114-15 ; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1269.

Abstract of Contents.

It refers to Chandra Gupta II who conquered the earth as far as

1 From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, plate XVII, Nos. 11ff. This type is supposed to have been issued in the Ganges valley. The West India issues have a Garuḍa on the reverse. Kumāra Gupta's viceroy in Mālwa was his brother Mahārāja Govinda Gupta who is known from a Basārḥ clay seal and from a Mandasor record of the Mālava year 524 (=467 A.D.) of Dattabhāṭa, son of Govinda Gupta's general Vāyurakshita.

2 Other specimens of this variety have the dates 118, 119 and 122 of the Gupta era, corresponding respectively to A.D. 437-38, 438-39 and 441-42.

3 The peacock reminds us of the Peacock Type of the gold coins of Kumāra Gupta I, having on obverse king feeding peacock from bunch of fruit and on reverse god Kārttikeya riding on his peacock called Paravāṇi by some authorities. Kārttikeya and his emblem the peacock on these coins apparently refer to the king's name Kumāra which indicates that god.

4 Metre: उपगीति. The *anusvāra* and vowel-marks are not found on the plate.

5 No text or facsimile of the record has been published.

the ocean, to his son Kumāra Gupta I, and to Ghaṭotkacha Gupta¹ who won by the prowess of his arms the good fame attained by his ancestors. The date of the record is *Year 116* of the era of the [Gupta] sovereigns when Kumāra Gupta I was ruling the earth. It refers to the construction of a temple by several persons who were brothers and were residents of Tumbavana (= Tumain),

(Line 4) [गुप्तान्वया*]नां वसुधेश्वराणां

समा-शते षोडशवर्ष-युक्ते [1*]

कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ पृथिव्यां

विराजमाने शरदीव सूर्ये ॥ (Metre : उपजाति [इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा])

No. 25—Junāgarh Rock Inscription of Skanda Gupta—Gupta years 136, 137 and 138 (=455, 456 and 457-58 A.D.)

JUNĀGARH, Junāgarh State, Kāthiāwār

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ins.*, III, p. 58 ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1276 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class.

Metre: Verses 1-3 मालिनी; V. 4 आर्या; V. 5 उपजाति
(इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); Vv. 6-12 इन्द्रवज्रा; Vv. 13-15
उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा); V. 16 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी

1 This Gupta prince, probably a son of Kumāra Gupta I and his viceroy in the eastern part of Central India (?) should be identified with the person issuing (1) the seal found at Basār bearing the inscription श्रीघटोत्कचगुप्तस्य (*Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1903-04, pp. 102, 107) and (2) the coin in the St. Petersburg collection which bears on the obverse beneath the king's arm the word घटो and a marginal legend ending in गुप्तः (=०त्कचगुप्तः), and on the reverse the legend क्रमादित्यः (?) (See Allan, Catalogue, p. 149, Pl. XXIV, No. 3, Intro. p. liv). It is not impossible that he was one of the rivals who contended for the throne with Skanda Gupta. Note that the name of Samudra Gupta's grandfather was Ghaṭotkacha and not Ghaṭotkacha Gupta.

or वैतालीय-औपच्छन्दसिक ; Vv. 17-20 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; Vv. 21-25 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 26 वंशस्थ ; V. 27 इन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 28-31 वंशस्थ ; Vv. 32-37 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा + उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; Vv. 38-39 मालिनी ; V. 40 उपजाति (वंशस्थ + इन्द्रवंशा ; Fleet wrongly takes it to be वंशस्थ defective in the first syllable of the first and third *pādas*) ; Vv. 41-42 इन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 43-44 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 45 आर्या (?) ; Vv 46-47 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT¹

Part I

1 सिद्धम् ॥

श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां

विदशपति-सुखार्थं यो बलेराजहार ।

कमल-निलयनायाः शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्याः

2 स जयति विजितार्तिर्विष्णुरत्यन्त-जिष्णुः ॥ 1

तदनु जयति शश्वत् श्री-परिच्छिप्त-वच्चाः²

खभुज-जनित-वीर्यो राजराजाधिराजः ।

नरपति-

3 भुजगानां मानदम्पोत्फणानां

प्रतिकृति-गरुडा[ज्ञा] निर्व्विषो[] चावकर्त्ता ॥ 2³

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. For the early history of the Sudarsana lake, see *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67. The lake was made exclusively to help cultivation in the Junāgarh region. Its history speaks eloquently of the beneficent activities of ancient Indian kings.

2 Read शश्वच्छ्री०

3 Fleet translates, "who plucked (and utilised) the authority of (his local) representatives who were so many Garuḍas, and used it as antidote against the (hostile) kings who were so many serpents." But प्रतिकृतिगरुडाज्ञा may mean 'command conveyed through the Garuḍa in its representation,' i.e., a command under the Garuḍa seal of the Gupta king. निर्व्विषी is a kind of grass used as an antidote against all sorts of poison.

नृपति-गुण-निकेतः स्कन्दगुप्तः पृथु-श्रीः¹

चतुर्[दधि जल]ान्तां स्फोट-पर्यन्त-देशाम् ।

4 अवनिमवनतारिर्यः चकारात्म-संस्थां

पितरि सुरसखित्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्म-शक्त्या ॥ 3²

अपि³ च जित[मे]व तेन प्रथयन्ति यशांसि यस्य रिपवो(S*)पि [।*]

आमूल-भग्न-दर्पा नि[र्वचना]⁴ [म्लेच्छ-देशेषु] ॥ 4

5 क्रमेण बुद्ध्या निपुणं प्रधार्य

व्यात्वा च कृत्स्नान्गुण-दोष-हेतून् ।

व्यपेक्ष्य सर्वान्मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्रां-

ल्लक्ष्मीः खयं यं वरयांचकार ॥ 5⁵

तस्मिन्नुपे शासति नैव कश्चि-

द्धर्मादपेतो मनुजः प्रजासु ।

6 आत्तो दरिद्रो व्यसनी कदर्यो

दण्ड⁶ न वा यो भृश-पीडितः स्यात् ॥ 6

एवं स जित्वा पृथिवीं समग्रां

भग्न-दर्पा[न्] द्विषतश्च कृत्वा ।

सर्वेषु देशेषु विषाय गोप्तृन्⁷

संचिन्तया[मा]स बहु-प्रकारम् ॥ 7

स्यात्को(S*)नुरूपो

1 Read °श्रीश्चतु°

2 Cf. v. 6 of *infra*, No. 28.

3 Fleet's transcript has आपि. Practically, "जितमेव तेन" इति.

4 This is Fleet's conjectural reading. Mlechchha may indicate the Hūṇas who may have advanced against Central India about the end of Kumāra Gupta's reign.

5 मनुजेन्द्र-पुत्र may simply indicate "princes"; but it may also refer to other Gupta princes who might have struggled with Skanda Gupta for the imperial throne after Kumāra Gupta's death. See *supra*, p. 299, n. 1 and *infra*, p. 320, n.1.

6 Read दण्ड्यो.

7 Read गोप्तृन्. गोप्ता=governor, Skanda Gupta's deliberation over the appointment of a governor of the westernmost Gupta province may have been due to the Hūṇa menace in Central India. Cf. *infra*, v. 12.

- 7 मतिमान्विनितो¹
मेधा-स्मृतिभ्यामनपेत-भावः ।
सत्यार्जबौदार्य-नयोपपन्नो
माधुर्य-दाक्षिण्य-यशोन्वितश्च ॥ 8
भक्तो(S*)नुरक्तो नृ-[विशे]ष-युक्तः
सर्वोपधाभिश्च विशुद्ध-बुद्धिः ।
अनृण्य-भावोपगतान्तरात्माः²
सर्वस्य लोकस्य हिते प्रवृत्तः ॥ 9
- 8 न्यायार्जने(S*)र्थस्य च कः समर्थः
स्यादर्जितस्याप्यथ रक्षणे च ।
गोपायितस्यापि [च] वृद्धि-हेतौ
वृद्धस्य पात्र-प्रतिपादनाय ॥ 10
सर्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु
यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिला³सुराष्ट्रान् ।
आं ज्ञातमेकः खलु पर्णदत्तो
भारस्य तस्योद्वहने समर्थः ॥ 11
- 9 एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन
नैकानहो-राल-गणान्ख-मत्या ।
यः संनियुक्तो(S*)र्थनया कथंचित्
सम्यक्सुराष्ट्रावनि-पालनाय ॥ 12
नियुज्य देवा वरुणं प्रतीच्यां
खस्था यथा नोन्मनसो बभूवुः[] [1*]
पूर्व्वेतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं
नियुज्य राजा श्रुतिमांस्तथाभूत् । [1*] 13
- 10 तस्यात्मजो ह्यात्मज-भाव-युक्तो
द्विधेव चात्मात्म-वशेन नीतः ।

1 Read ०न्विनीतो. Note the accomplishments of an ideal ruling officer in verses 8-11; cf. also verses 17-18.

2 Read ०रात्मा. नृविशेषयुक्त=endowed with manly characteristics; having relations only with the best men.

सर्वात्मनात्मेव च रक्षणीयो

नित्यात्मवानात्मज-कान्त-रूपः ।[1*] 14¹

रूपानुरूपैर्ललितैर्विचित्रैः²

नित्य-प्रमोदान्वित-सर्वभावः ।

प्रबुद्ध-पद्माकर-पद्मवक्त्रो

नृणां³ शरण्यः शरणागतानाम् ।[1*] 15

11 अभवद्भुवि चक्रपालितो(S*)साविति नाम्ना प्रथितः प्रियो जनस्य ।

स्वगुणैरनुपस्कृतैरुदा[तैः]⁴ पितरं यश्च विशेष्यांचकार ।[1*] 16

क्षमा प्रभुत्वं विनयो नयश्च

शौर्यं विना शौर्य-मह[र्]त्तनं च ।

दाक्ष्यं⁵ दमो दानमदीनता च

दाक्षिण्यमानुष्यम[शू]न्यता च ।[1*] 17

सौंदर्यमार्येतर-निग्रहश्च⁶

अविस्मयो धैर्यमुदीर्यता च ।

12 इत्येवमेते(S*)तिशयेन यस्मि-

न्नविप्रवासेन गुणा वसन्ति ।[1*] 18

न विद्यते(S*)सौ सकले(S*)पि लोके

यत्नोपमा तस्य गुणैः क्रियेत ।

स एव कात्स्न्येन गुणान्वितानां

बभूव नृणामुपमान-भूतः³ ।[1*] 19

इत्येवमेतानधिकानतो(S*)न्या-

न्गुणान्प[री]क्ष्य स्वयमेव पित्रा ।

1 "His son; possessed of a filial disposition; as if his own self reduplicated; trained by self control; worthy to be protected like his own self by the allpervading spirit; always self possessed; endowed with a naturally beautiful form".

2 Read चित्रैर्नित्यं.

3 Read नृणां.

4 उपस्कृत=blamed.

5 Fleet: वाक्यं(?).

6 Properly निग्रहश्चाविस्मयो; read ह्यविस्म° to suit the metre. Note that this record sometimes disregards the rules of *sandhi* at the junctions between the first and third and the second and fourth *pādas* of a stanza.

- यः संनियुक्तो नगरस्य रक्षां
विशिष्य पूर्वान्प्रचकार सम्यक् ।[१*] 20
- 13 आश्रित्य वीर्यं¹ [स्वभु]ज-द्वयस्य
स्वस्यैव नान्यस्य नरस्य दर्प ।
नोद्वेजयामास च कंचिदेव-
मस्मिन्पुरे चैव शशास दुष्टाः² ।[१*] 21
विस्त्रभमल्पे न शशाम यो(S*)स्मिन्
काले न लोकेषु स-नागरेषु ।
यो लालयामास च पौरवर्गान्
[स्वस्येव*] पुत्रान्सुपरीक्ष्य दोषान् ।[१*]³ 22
संरंजयां च प्रकृतीर्वभूव
पूर्व-स्मिताभाषण-मान-दानैः ।
- 14 निर्यन्त्रणान्योन्य-गृह-प्रवेशैः(*)
संवर्द्धित-प्रीति-गृहोपचारैः ।[१*] 23
ब्रह्मण्य-भावेन परेण युक्तः
[शु]क्तः⁴ शुचिर्दानपरो यथावत् ।
प्राप्यान्स काले विषयान्सिषेवे
धर्मार्थयोश्चा(प्य*)विरोधनेन ।[१*] 24
[यो — — — — — पणदत्ता]⁵ -
त्स न्यायवानल किमस्ति चित्तं ।
मुक्ता-कलापाम्बुज-पद्म-शीता-
चन्द्रात्किमुष्णं भविता कदाचित् ।[१*] 25

1 Read वीर्यं. Fleet: सुभुज(?).

2 Read दुष्टान्.

3 "Even in this age which is a mean one, he did not fail to maintain confidence in the people together with those of the city (=those who have contracted the vices of city life)".

4 Fleet: शक्तः.

5 May we restore यो(S*)जायतास्मात् खलु पणदत्तात् ?

- 15 अथ¹ क्रमेणाम्बुद-काल आग[ते]
 [नि]दाघ-कालं प्रविदार्य तोयदैः ।
 ववर्ष तोयं बहु संततं चिरं
 सुदर्शनं येन विभेद चात्वरत्² ।[।*] 26
 संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु
 त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि षड्भिरपि ।
 रात्रौ दिने प्रौष्ठपदस्य षष्ठे
 गुप्त-प्रकाले गणानां विधाय ।[।*] 27³
- 16 इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गता[ः*]
 पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
 समुद्र-कान्ताः⁴ चिर-बन्धनोषिताः
 पुनः पतिं शास्त्र-यथोचितं ययुः ।[।*] 28
 अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्भमं
 महोदधेरुज्जयता प्रियेप्सुना ।
 अनेक-तीरान्तज-पुष्प-शोभिते
- 17 नदीमयो हस्त इव प्रसारितः ।[।*] 29
 विषाद्य[मानाः] [खलु] [सर्वतो] [ज]ना[ः]
 कथं-कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः ।
 मिथो हि पूर्वापर-रात्रमुत्थिता
 विचिन्तयां चापि बभूवुरुत्सुकाः ।[।*] 30
 अपीह लोके सकले सुदर्शनं
 पुमां⁵ हि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं क्षणात् ।
- 18 भवेन्नु सो(S*)म्भोनिधि-तुल्य-दर्शनं
 सुदर्शन — — — — — [॥*] 31

1 Fleet's transcript has अथा.

2 अत्वरत्=suddenly.

3 Bhau Daji reads गुप्तस्य काला[द्]गणानां विधाय which appears to be wrong. प्रौष्ठपद or प्रौष्ठपद=भाद्रपद.

4 Read कान्ताश्चिरः. The Raivataka is the hill opposite to the Urjayat or Girnar. Note that the rainy season is supposed to be the proper time to meet one's lover. Suvarṇasikatā=mod. Sonarekhā.

5 Read पुमान्. Fleet साम्भोनिधि०. उत्सुक=anxious.

— — — — — वरो स भूत्वा

पितुः परां भक्तिमपि प्रदर्श्य ।

धर्मं पुरो-धाय शुभानुबन्धं

राज्ञो हितार्थं नगरस्य चैव ।[1*] 32¹

संवत्सराणामधिके शते तु

19 त्रिंशद्भिरन्यैरपि सप्तभिश्च ।

[गुप्त]-[प्रकाले*] [नय*]-शास्त्र-वेत्ता (?) ।²

विश्वो (S*)प्यनुज्ञात-महाप्रभावः ।[1*] 33

आज्य-प्रणामैः विबुधानयेष्टा²

धनैर्द्विजातीनपि तर्पयित्वा ।

पौरांस्तथाभ्यर्च्य यथार्हमानैः

भृत्यांश्च पूज्यान्सुहृदश्च दानैः ।[1*] 34

20 ग्रैष्मस्य³ मासस्य तु पूर्व-पक्षे]

— — — — — [प्र]थमे(S*)हि सम्यक् ।

मास-द्वयेनादरवान्स भूत्वा

धनस्य कृत्वा व्ययमप्रमेयम् ।[1*] 35

आयामतो हस्त-शतं समग्रं

विस्तारतः पश्चिरथापि चाष्टौ ।

21 उत्सेधतो(S*)न्यत् पुरुषाणि [सप्त?]

— — — — — [ह]स्त-शत-द्वयस्य ।[1*]⁴ 36

बबन्ध यलान्महता नृदेवा-

न[भ्यर्च्य?]-सम्यग्घटितोपलेन ।

1 Note that Chakrapālita was made governor of Girinagara by his father Parnadatta, Skanda Gupta's viceroy in Surāshṭra.

2 Fleet: प्र...and चेत्ता. Read विश्वे.

2 Read ०मैर्विबु० and ०मानैर्भु०

3 ग्रैष्म=belonging to ग्रीष्म (=ज्यैष्ठ्य and आषाढ). The first of Jyāishṭha appears to be intended.

4 Fleet believes that the embankment made was 100 cubits in length, 68 cubits in breadth and seven men's height in elevation. But *supra*, Bk. II, No. 67, l. 7 would suggest that the dam near the foot of the hill was actually much larger. The reference is possibly to the breach caused by the flood.

- 1 यस्योपस्थान-भूमिर्नृपति-शत-शिरः¹-पात-वातावधूता
- 2 गुप्तानां वंशजस्य² प्रविस्तृत-यशसस्तस्य सर्वोत्तमर्द्धः [1*]
- 3 राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिप-शत-पतेः स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते³
- 4 वर्षे त्रिंशद्दशैकोत्तरक-शततमे⁴ ज्येष्ठ-मासि प्रपन्ने । [1*] 1
- 5 ख्याते(S*)स्मिन्ग्राम-रत्ने ककुभ⁵ इति जनैस्साधु-संसर्ग-पूते ।⁶
- 6 पुत्रो यस्तोमिलस्य प्रचुर-गुण-निधेर्भट्टिसोमो महा[त्मा] [1*]
- 7 तत्सूनु रुद्रसोम(:*) पृथुल-मति-यशा व्याघ्र इत्यन्य-संज्ञो ।⁷
- 8 मद्रस्तस्यात्मजो(S*)भूद्वि ज-गुरु-यतिषु प्रायशः प्रीतिमान्यः । [1*] 2
- 9 पुराय-स्कन्धं स चक्रे जगदिदमखिलं संसरद्वीक्ष्य भीतो
- 10 श्रोयोरर्थं भूत-भूत्यै पथि नियमवतामर्हतामादिकर्तृन् [1*]
- 11 पञ्चेन्द्रां⁸ स्थापयित्वा धरणिधरमयान्सन्निखातस्ततो(S*)यम्
- 12 शैल-स्तम्भः सुचारुगिरिवर-शिखराग्रोपमः कीर्त्ति-कर्त्ता [11*] 3

No. 27—Indor Copper-plate Inscription of Skanda Gupta—Gupta year 146 (=466 A.D.)

INDOR, near Dibhāi, Bulandshahr Dist., U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 70 f; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 219; BHANDARKAR, List, 1279 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verse 1 शादूलविक्रीडित ; Verse 2 इन्द्रवज्रा

1 There is a sign resembling a punctuation mark, which might have been an accidental slip on the part of the engraver.

2 Read वंश०.

3 The word may refer to the fact that Skanda Gupta's reign became peaceful after the early years of struggle. शान्त=undisturbed by enemies, calamities, etc. Of course the *śānti* may have been temporary or local. पतेः looks like पतिः.

4 Read त्रिंशद्दशै०. ज्येष्ठ=ज्यैष्ठ.

5 Kakubha is the old name of modern Kahāūm.

6 The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

7 The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

8 Read पञ्चेन्द्रान्. The expression is usually translated "five excellent (images)" and referred to the five naked Jaina Tirthaṅkaras sculptured on the

TEXT¹

- 1 सिद्धम् [॥*]
 यं विप्रा विधिवत्प्रबुद्ध-मनसो ध्यानैकताना स्तुवः²
 यस्यान्तं विदशासुरा न विविदुर्बोधं न तिर्य-
- 2 गतिम्³ [॥*]
 यं लोको बहु-रोग-वेग-विवशः संश्रित्य चेतोलभः
 पायाद्वः स जगत्पि[धा]न-पुट-भिद्रश्म्या-
- 3 करो भास्करः ॥ 1
 परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तस्याभिवर्द्धमान-विजय - राज्य-संवत्सर⁴-
 शते पञ्चत्वा⁵
- 4 [रि*]ङ्गदुत्तरतमे⁶ फाल्गुन-मासे तत्प(॥*)द-परिगृहीतस्य विषयपति-शर्वनाग-
 स्यान्तर्वैद्या⁷ भोगाभिवृद्धये वर्त्त-
- 5 माने चन्द्रापुरक-पद्मा-चातुर्विध-सामान्य-ब्राह्मण-देवविष्णुर्वैव-पुत्रो⁸ हरित्वात-
 पौत्रः डुडिक-प्रपौत्रः सतताभिहो-

column. *Indra* (lord) may however indicate *Jinendra* (lord of the Jinas) and refer to the five favourite Tirthaṅkaras, viz. Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśva-nātha and Mahāvira. धरणिधरमय=शिलाभय. अर्हतां पथि आदि-कर्तृन् (=आदि-पथ-कर्तृन्)=those who lead the way in the path of the Arhats. नियम looks like वियम.

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 Read ०तानस्तवाः ; or स्तुमः, i.e. [वयं] विधिवत्प्रबुद्धमनसः विप्राः यं ध्यानैकतानाः [सन्तः] स्तुमः.

3 Fleet ०गतिः.

4 Read संवत्सर.

5 Read षट्चत्वा०.

6 Read ०रिश०.

7 The traditional Antarvedi is the country lying between the Ganges and the Jumna and between Prayāga and Hardwār. The Bulandshahr Dist. lies actually in this Antarvedi. Cf. कालिन्दी-नर्मदयोर्मध्यं, *infra*, No. 35, l. 3.

8 "The Brāhmaṇa Devaviṣṇu who belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of the locality called Padmā in the town called Chandrāpura."

- 6 ल-छन्दोगो¹ राणायाणीयो² वर्षगण-सगोत्र इन्द्रापुरक-वणिग्भ्यां³ क्षत्रियाचल-
वर्म-भृकुण्ठसिंहाभ्यामधिष्ठा-⁴
- 7 नस्य प्राच्यां दिशीन्द्रपुराधिष्ठान-माडास्यात-लम्भमेव प्रतिष्ठापितक-भगवते सवित्रे
दोपोपयोज्यमात्म-यशो-
- 8 भिवृद्धये मूल्यं प्रयच्छतिः⁶ [॥*] इन्द्रपुर-निवासिन्यास्तैलिक-श्रेण्या जीवन्त-
प्रवराया⁷ इतो(S*)धिष्ठानादपक्म-
- 9 रा-संप्रवेश-यथास्थिरायाः आजस्त्रिकं ग्रहपतेर्द्विज-मूल्य-दत्तमनया⁸ तु श्रेण्या यदभम्-
योगम्⁹
- 10 प्रथमार्हाव्य(व*)च्छिन्न-संस्थ¹⁰ देयं तैलस्य तुल्येन¹¹ पलद्वयं तु २¹² चन्द्रावर्क-सम-
कालीयं [॥*]

1 Read छन्दोगो.

2 Read नीयो,

3 Indrapura or Indrapura is no doubt modern Indor, the findspot of the record. Note that the Kshatriyas adopted the conventional profession of the Vaisyas.

4 Read भृकुण्ठसिंहा०. Fleet: ०धिष्ठा

5 Fleet could not find out the meaning of माडास्यात which however appears to be the name of a locality in the town of Indrapura. मूल्य=endowment, of which the income was to be applied to the maintenance of a lamp for the Sun-god. लम्भ=touching (the locality that was endowed).

6 Read प्रयच्छति.

7 Jivanta was apparently the President of the oilmen's guild.

8 आजस्त्रिक=अजस्र=perpetual. दत्त=gift. Better, दत्तम् । अनया.

9 Read योगं.

10 Read प्रथमा०. ०माहो-व्यच्छि० ?

11 तुल्य seems to signify the same thing as तौल्य (weight). Add तत् before तैलस्य

12 This is evidently an abbreviation of तुल्येन पलद्वयम्. "This gift of a Brahman's endowment of the temple of the sun is the perpetual property of the guild of oilmen of which Jivanta is the head, residing at the town of Indrapura, as long as it continues in complete unity, even in moving away from this settlement. But there should be given (daily) by this guild for the same time as the moon and the sun endure two *palas* of oil by weight or in figures *tu 2*, uninterrupted in use and continuing without any diminution from the original value."

- 11 यो व्यक्कमेहायमिमं¹ निबद्धम्²
 गोघ्नो गुरुघ्नो द्विज-घातकः सः [।*]
 तैः पातकैः(*)
- 12 पञ्चभिरन्वितो(S*)ध-
 र्गच्छेन्नरः³ सोपनिपातकैश्चेति⁴ ॥ 2

No. 28—Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-67)

BHITARĪ, near Sayyidpur, Ghāzīpur Dist., U.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 53 f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1549
 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class.

Metre : Verse 1 पुष्पिताग्रा ; Vv. 2-6 मालिनी ; Vv. 7-8 शादूलवि-
 क्रीडित ; Vv. 9-12, श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

TEXT⁵

[सिद्धम् ॥*]⁶

- 1 [सर्व्व]-रा[जो]च्छेत्तुः पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरदधिसलिल[।]स्वादित-यशसो धनद-
 वरुणेन्द्र[।]न्तक-स[मस्य]
- 2 कृतान्त-परशोः न्यायागत[।]नेक-गो-हिरण्य-[को]टि-प्रदस्य चिरो[त्स]न्नाश्वमेधाहर्तु-
 मंहाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्र[स्य]

1 Better read योऽतिक्रमे०.

2 Read निबद्धं.

3 Read ०धो गच्छे०.

4 Properly ०ध्व ॥ इति.

5 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

6 Faint traces of apparently this word are found above the beginning of l. 1.

- 3 महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छिवि-¹
दोहितस्य महादेव्यां कुम[र]र[दे]व्या-
- 4 सुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परिग्रहीतो महादेव्यान्दत्त-
देव्यासुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः²
- 5 परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महादेव्यां
ध्रुवदेव्यासुत्पन्नः परम-
- 6 भागवतो महाराजाधिर[र]ज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्तस्य
प्रथित-पृथुमति-स्वभाव-शक्तेः
पृथु-यशसः पृथिवी-पतेः पृथु-श्रीः [॥*]
7 पि[तृ]-प[रि]गत-पादपद्म-वर्त्ता
प्रथित-यशाः पृथिवी-पतिः सुतो(S*)यम् [॥*] 1
जगति भु[ज]-बलाब्धो³ गुप्त-वड्डै⁴ क-वीरः⁴
प्रथित-विपुल-
- 8 धामा नामतः स्कन्दगुप्तः [॥*]
सुचरित-चरितानां येन वृत्तेन वृत्तं⁵
न विहतममलात्मा तान-[धीदा?]-विनीतः⁶ [॥*] 2
विनय-
- 9 बल-सुनीतैर्विर्वक्त्रमेण कक्रमेण
प्रतिदिनमभियोगादीप्सितं येन ल[ब्ध]र [॥*]
स्वभिमत-विजिगीषा-प्रोद्यतानां परेषां
प्रणि-
- 10 हित इव ले[भे] [स] विधानोपदेशः [॥*] 3⁷

1 Usually लिच्छिवि.

2 See *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 225, note 3; also line 3 of the Bhitari seal of Kumāra Gupta (*infra*, No. 32).

3 Read बलाब्धो.

4 Read वंशैक.

5 वृत्त=observance of law; virtuous conduct. विहत=obstructed.

6 Fleet: "disciplined in the understanding of musical keys(?)." Possibly, "modest owing to his knowledge of the objects of senses."

7 परेषां प्रणिहिते=in the application against enemies. संविधानोपदेश=instruction in execution.

विचलित-कुल-लक्ष्मी-स्तम्भनायोद्यतेन
क्षितितल-शयनीये येन नीता लियामा [१*]¹
ससु-

- 11 दित-व[ल]-कोशा[न्युप्यमित्रांश्च]² [जि]त्वा
क्षितिप-चरणपीठे स्थापितो वाम-पादः [॥*] 4
प्रसभमनुप[मै]र्विध्वस्त-शस्त्र-प्रतापै-
र्विन[य-स]मु-

- 12 [चितैश्च*] क्षान्ति-शौ[यै]र्निर्बुद्धम् [१*]
चरितममलकीर्त्तैर्गायते यस्य शुभ्रं
दिशि दिशि परितुष्टैराकुमारं मनुष्यैः [॥*] 5
पितरि दिवमुपे[ते]

- 13 विप्लुतां वङ्ग³-लक्ष्मीं
भुज-बल-विजितारिर्ग्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः [१*]
जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं सास्त्र-नेत्रां
हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकीमभ्युपे-

- 14 [त]:⁴ [॥*] 6
[स्वै]र्द[रुडैः] — — — त्रचलितं वङ्ग⁵ प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो
बाहुभ्यामवनिं विजित्य हि जितेष्वात्तैषु कृत्वा दयाम् [१*]
नोत्सिक्तो [न] च विस्मितः प्रतिदिनं

1 This shows that before the actual seizure of power, Skanda Gupta passed sometime in utter distress probably owing to defeat and the success of a rival for the throne.

2 According to some ०न्युप्यमित्रांश्च. It is however not possible to be definite about the reading of the *aksharas* as they are not distinct. A people called the Pushyamitras is known from the Purāṇas.

3 Read वंशं. For Skanda Gupta's difficulties immediately after Kumāra Gupta's death, see also *supra*, No. 25, l. 4, पितरि सुर-सखित्वं प्राप्तवति, etc.

4 Sewell suggests that the name of Skanda Gupta's mother was Devaki. The simile may further suggest that some maternal uncle (No. 29, v.3) of Skanda Gupta actually fought against him in support of his rival and that his mother, possibly not the chief queen of his father, had to experience difficulties for some time.

5 Read वंशं. उत्सिक्त=haughty; disturbed in mind. विस्मित=proud.

15

संवर्द्धमान-द्युतिः

गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दक-जनो(?) यं [प्रा]पयत्यार्थ्यताम् [॥*] 7

हूणैर्यस्य¹ समागतस्य समरे दोभ्यां धरा कंपिता

भीमावर्त्त-करस्य

16

शत्रुषु शरा — — — — — [१*]

— — — — — विरचितं(?) प्रख्यापितो [दीप्तिदा?]

न यो(?)ति — नभी(?)षु लक्ष्यत इव श्रोत्रेषु गाङ्ग-ध्वनिः [॥*] 8

17

[स्व]-पितुः कीर्त्ति — * * * * * — — * [१*]

* * * * * — * * * * * — — * [॥*] 9

[कर्त्तव्या] प्रतिमा काचित्प्रतिमां तस्य शार्ङ्गिणः [१*]

18

[सु]-प्रतीतश्चकारेमां य[वदाचन्द्र-तारकम्] [॥*] 10

इह चैनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य सुप्रतिष्ठित-शासनः [१*]

ग्राममेनं स विद[धि]² पितुः पुरयाभिष्टब्धये [॥*] 11

19

अतो भगवतो मूर्त्तिरियं यश्चात्र संस्थितः (?) [१*]

उभयं निर्दिदेशासौ पितुः पुरयाय पुरय-धीरिति [॥*]³ 12

1 The Hūnas (Ep̄thaites or White Huns) were possibly related to the Central Asian tribe known to the Chinese as Hiung-nu. They showed great migrative activity in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., when their leader Attila (c. 406-53 A.D.) tried to destroy the Roman empire. Kālidāsa, a contemporary of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya, refers for the first time to the Huns in relation to Indian politics; but he places the Hun-land on the Oxus. They were apparently knocking at the western gates of the Gupta empire at the time of Kumāra Gupta and Skanda Gupta and ultimately succeeded in establishing an empire extending from Central Asia to Central India. But the success of the Hūnas in Central India was only short-lived. It ended with Mihirakula who was defeated by Yaśodharman king of Mālwa and king Bālāditya of the Gupta family. But the Hūnas as a political power in India are referred to in ins., e.g., Unā grant of V.S. 956 of the Pratihāras, Ajmer *Harikelināṭaka* ins. of V.S. 1210 of the Chāhamanas, etc. Guhila Allāṭa (Atpur ins. of V.S. 1034) and Kalachuri Karṇa (Khairha ins. of K.S. 823) married Hūna princesses. The Hūnas were thus assimilated into Hindu society, and the Hūna is known to be one of the 36 Rājput clans. The *Harsha-charita* places the Hūna kingdom in the Panjab region. 2 Metre defective.

3 Properly ०धीः ॥ इति ॥. संस्थित (settled) may refer to the gift village.

No. 29—Bihār Stone Pillar Inscription of Skanda Gupta (A.D. 455-67)

BIHĀR, Pāṭnā Dist., Bihār.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 49f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1548
(for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class

Metre : Verse 1 उपेन्द्रवज्रा¹; V. 2 इन्द्रवज्रा (defective in the 7th syllable of the 3rd foot); Vv. 3-4 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 5 वंशस्थ ; Vv. 6-7 of the जाति type; Vv. 8-10 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT¹

Part I²

1³ — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — : [1*]

नृ-चन्द्र इन्द्रानुज-तुल्य-वीर्यो

गुरौरतुल्यः — — — — — [11*] I

2 — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — [1*]

तस्यापि सूरुर्भुवि खामि-नेयः

ख्यातः स्व-कीर्त्या — — — — — [11*] 2

3 — — — — — — — — — —
— — — — — — — — — — [1*]

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Ll. 26-33 from Fleet's transcript.

2 In Part I the writing appears to have extended over four faces of the column; but in Part II over three faces of it.

3 The first and second *pādas* entirely and parts of the fourth *pādas* of these verses have peeled off. Thus about 22 *aksharas* at the beginning and about 6 at the end are lost in each line of Part I. Lines 1-10 contained a verse of about 44 *aksharas* each. Part II contained about 27 *aksharas*, of which about 18 from the beginning are lost.

[ख]सैव यस्यातुल-विक्रमेण¹

कुमारगु[प्ते न] — — — — [॥*] 3

4 — — — — — — — — — — [॥*]

[पि]लिश्व² देवांश्च हि हव्य-कव्यैः

सदा नृशंस्यादि — — — — [॥*] 4

5 — — — — — — — — — — [॥*]

[अ]चीकरद्देव-निकेत-मण्डलं

क्षितावनौपम्य — — — — — [॥*] 5

6[स्कन्दगुप्त*][वटे ?] किल [॥*]

स्तम्भ-वरोच्छ्रय³-प्रभासे तु मण्ड.....[॥*] 6

7भिर्वृक्षाणां [॥*]

कुसुम-भरानताग्र-[शुंग?]-व्यालम्ब-स्तवक.....[॥*] 7

8 — — — — — — — — — — [॥*]

भद्रार्थ्या भाति गृहं नवाभ्र-

निम्मोक्त-निर्मु[क्त] — — — — [॥*] 8

9 — — — — — — — — — — [॥*]

स्कन्द-प्रधानैर्भुवि मातृभिश्च⁴

लोकान्स सुष्य(?) — — — — — [॥*] 9

1 Cf. p. 314, n. 4.

2 Read पितृश्च.

3 Read ०रोच्छ्रय.

4 The divine mothers were originally seven and then eight in number; cf. ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चैव कोमारी वैष्णवी तथा । माहेन्द्री चैव वाराही चामुण्डा सप्तमातरः ॥ or ब्राह्मी माहेश्वरी चण्डी वाराही वैष्णवी तथा । कौमारी चैव चामुण्डा चर्चिकेत्यष्टमातरः ॥ Afterwards the number was further raised to nine, sixteen, etc. The Mothers are mentioned with Svāmi-Mahāsena (Skanda) in the records of some dynasties, e.g. the Kadambas and the Chalukyas.

10 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — — —
 — — — यूपोच्छ्रयमेव चक्रे [॥*] 10

भद्रार्थादी.....

- 11[स्क*]न्दगुप्त-चटे अन्शानि¹ ३० (+*) ५ ता(?)मकटा-
 कु(?)ः कल.....
 12पितुः स्वमातुर्य्यथस्ति हि दुष्कृतं भजतु तने.....
 13काग्रहारे अन्शानि¹ ३ अनन्तसेनेनोप.....

Part II²

- 14[सर्व-राजोच्छे*]तुः प्रथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य³
 15 [चतुर्दधि-सलिलाखादित-यशसो धनद-वरणे*]न्द्रान्तकसमस्य कृतान्त-
 16 [परशोः न्यायागतानेक-गो-हिरण्य-कोटि-प्रदस्य चिरो*]त्सन्नाश्वमेधाहर्तुः
 17 [महाराज-श्रीगुप्त-प्रपौत्रस्य महाराज-श्रीघटो*]त्कच-पौत्रस्य महाराजा-
 18 [धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छवि-दोहित्रस्य म*]हादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य
 19 [महाराजाधिराज-श्री-समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्र*]स्तत्परिगृहीतो महादेव्यां
 20 [दत्तदेव्यामुत्पन्नः स्वयं चाप्रतिरथः पर*]मभागवतो महाराजा-
 21 [धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धया*]तो महादेव्यां ध्रुवदेव्या-
 22 [मुत्पन्नः परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य*] पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातः
 23 [परम-भागवतो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीस्क*]न्दगुप्तः [॥*]
 24 परमभागवतो
 25 [महाराजाधिराज-श्री-स्कन्दगुप्तः*] [वै*]षयिकाजपुरक-सामै[ग्रा] [म*]-
 26 ग्रा...क...[अ*]क्षय-नीवी ग्रामक्षेत्रं

1 Read अंशाः or अंशान्.

2 There are two demarcating lines between the two parts of the record. The second part looks like the copy of a charter of which ll. 14-23 represent the seal.

3 Read पृथिव्या०. The lost words in ll. 14-23 are supplied with the help of other inscriptions and coins.

- 27 कृ...उपरिक-कुमारामाल्य-
 28 क्षि कुलः(?) वणि(ज*)क-पादितारिक-
 29 [आ*]ग्रहारिक-शौलिक-गौलिमकासन्यां श्र(?)
 30 वा[सि]कादीनस्मत्प्रसादोपजीवनः
 31 [समाज्ञापयामि*]... .. वर्मणा विज्ञापितो(S*)स्मि मम पितामहेन
 32 नमे भट्ट-गुहिलखामिना भद्रा[र्य]का¹
 33 [प्र]ति..... आप्रोक्तय...नाक्तय... ..²

No. 30—Inscription on some Silver Coins of Skanda Gupta (455-67 A.D.)

ALLAN, *Catalogue*, p. 122ff, No. 451ff.

*First Side*³

Bust of king to right; traces of Greek legend.⁴

Second Side

Burning alter in centre; legend in Brāhmī characters of the Northern class :—

परमभागवत्-श्रीविक्रमादित्य-स्कन्दगुप्त[:*]⁵

1 Bhadrāryakā is probably the same as Bhadrāryā of ll. 8 and 11. It appears to be the name of a goddess, possibly Pārvatī (=Āryā). Bhadra is a name of Siva.

2 The rest of the record is lost.

3 From representation in Allan's *Catalogue*, No. 454, Plate XX, Nos. 13ff.

4 On some specimens of the Garuḍa type, we have the word वर्षे and date behind king's head. The definite dates on Skanda Gupta's silver issues are Gupta years 146 and 148 (A.D. 465-66 and 467-68).

5 The full legend can be got from a study of several coins, as the legend is often imperfect. On some silver specimens we see Siva's bull in place of alter and क्रमादित्य instead of विक्रमादित्य in the legend, while in others the legend is विजितावनिरवनिपतिर्जयति दिवं स्कन्दगुप्तोयं or ०पतिः श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तो दिवं जयति (Metre: उपगीति).

No. 31—Sārnāth Buddhist Stone Image inscription of Kumāra Gupta II¹—Gupta year 154 (= 473 A. D.)

SĀRNĀTH, Benares Dist., U. P.

GUPTA, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15, p. 124.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : V. 1 उद्गीति ; V. 2 आर्या ; V. 3 गीति (?).

1 Some scholars identify this Kumāra Gupta with the Kumāra Gupta of *infra*, No. 32; others however point out that in that case the reigns of Pura Gupta, Narasimha Gupta and Kumāra Gupta (who are placed after Skanda Gupta's death about 467 A.D. and before Budha Gupta whose earliest known date is A.D. 476) would be abnormally short, and take this Kumāra Gupta as a different king, the successor of Skanda and predecessor of Budha. But abnormally short reigns are sometimes found in history. We have moreover to consider the troubled period (cf. verses 4-6 of *supra*, No. 28) that followed Kumāra Gupta's death (455 A.D.). Some scholars suggest that Pura Gupta, Narasimha Gupta and Kumāra Gupta represent a rival line ruling (or merely claiming to rule) side by side with the line represented by Skanda Gupta and Budha Gupta. It is also suggested that the Dāmodarpur grant of Gupta year 224 (= A.D. 543) belongs to Kumāra Gupta [III of the seal] and that his grandfather Pura Gupta succeeded Budha Gupta as supreme ruler after A.D. 495. In that case Pura Gupta must have been very young at the time of his father's death. None of these suggestions is impossible; but it is difficult to substantiate them in the present state of our knowledge. A recently discovered seal (see the Summaries of papers contributed to Ind. Hist. Cong., Hyderabad, 1941, p. 16) is said to prove that Kumāra Gupta of No. 32 had a son named Vishṇu Gupta. An inscription found at Mangraon (Shāhābād Dist., Bihār), dated in the 17th year [सम्बत्सरे सप्तदशे सम्बत् १०(+*)७; see *I.H.Q.*, March, 1941, p. 129] may belong to this Vishṇu Gupta. But the absence of the Gupta date suggests his identification with Vishṇu Gupta (grandson of Ādityasena) of the Later Gupta dynasty. A. S. Altekar believes that the inscription is dated "in his 17th regnal year and in the 117th year obviously of the Harsha era" (*Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, III, p. 57).

TEXT¹

- 1 वर्षशते गुप्तानां सचतुःपञ्चाशदुत्तरे [।*]²
भूमिं रक्षति कुमारगुप्ते मासि ज्येष्ठे³ द्वितीयायाम् ॥ I
- 2 भक्त्यावर्जित-मनसा यतिना पूजार्थमभयमिद्वेण [।*]
प्रतिमा-प्रतिमस्य गुणै[र]प[रे]यं [का]रिता शास्तुः ॥ 2
- 3 माता-पितृ-गुरु-पू[र्वै]ः⁴ पुण्येनानेन सत्व-कायो(S*)यं [।*]
लभतामभिमतमुपशम-ि * * * * म्⁵ ॥ 3

No. 32—Bhitari Seal of Kumāra Gupta II or III⁶

BHITARĪ, Ghāzīpur Dist., U.P.

HOERNLE, *J. A. S. B.*, L VIII, pt. i, p. 89; J. F. FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX (1890), p. 225.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

TEXT⁷

- 1 [सर्व्व]-राजोच्छेत्तुं पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य महाराज-श्री[गुप्त]-प्रपौ[त्र]स्य महाराज-
श्रीघटोत्कच-पौत्रस्य म[हा]-
- 2 [राजा]धिर[।]ज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-पुत्रस्य लिच्छ[वि-दौहित्रस्य] म[हादे]व्य[।]
[कुमा]रदेव्यामुत्पन्नस्य महाराजाधिराज-
- 3 [श्री]समुद्रगुप्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्परि[गृही]तो म[हादेव्या][न्दत्तदेव्या]मुत्पन्नस्वयं
च[।]प्रतिरथ परमभाग-⁸

1 From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1914-15, Pl. lxix, N.

2 Read सचतुः० to rectify the metre.

3 ज्येष्ठ=ज्यैष्ठ. शास्ता=बुद्ध.

4 Gupte: पूर्तिः ; D.R. Sahni: पूर्वैः. पूर्वै=ancestors.

5 May we suggest ०मुपशमं हितमुखं तदेव भवतु सत्त्वानाम् ? सत्त्वकाय=a person who is an abode of virtue.

6 See p. 320, n. 1. For the gold coins of Kumāra Gupta surnamed Śrī-Kramāditya, see Allan, *Cat.*, p. 140f.7 From the facsimile in *J.A.S.B.*, LVIII, part i. The upper part of the seal of this charter is occupied by emblems the chief of them being Garuḍa in relief on a counter-sunk surface.

8 Hoernle: च प्रति०

- 4 [वतो]]महाराजा]धिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य [पुत्र]स्तत्पाद[र]नुदद्या]तो महा-
देव्य[र] [ध्रु]वदेव्यामुत्पन्नो म[हारा]-
- 5 [जाधि]राज-श्रीकुमार[गुप्त]स्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुदद्या[तो] महादेव्यामनन्त-
देव्य[र]मुत्पन्नो महा[रा]-
- 6 [जाधिरा]ज-श्री[पुरगुप्त]स्तस्य¹ पुत्रस्तत्पादानुदद्या[तो] महादे[व्यां] श्रीचन्द्र-²
देव्यामुत्प[न्नो] म[हा]-
- 7 [राजाधिरा]ज-श्रीनरसिंहगुप्तस्तस्य³ [पु]त्रस्त[त्पा]दा[नुदद्यातो] मह[ादेव्यां]
श्रीम[न्मित्र]-⁴
- 8 [देव्या]मु[त्पन्न]परमम[र]गवतो मह[ाराजाधिरा]ज-श्रीकुम[र]र[गुप्तः ॥]

1 Allan (*Catalogue*, p. 134, Pl. XXI, No. 23) describes a gold coin of Pura Gupta with the legend पुर on the obverse beneath the king's left arm and श्रीविक्रमः (or श्रीविक्रमादित्यः ?) on the reverse. The *akshara* read as प however looks like a ब, and Mr. S. K. Saraswati may be right in suggesting that the name is बुध (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 691f.). Pura Gupta has been identified with king Vikramāditya of Śrāvasti (Ayodhyā), who was the father of Bālāditya and a patron of Vasubandhu and is known from Buddhist traditions (Watters, *Yuan Chwang*, I, p. 210f.).

2 Fleet reads वत्सदेवी. On the Nālandā seal the name has been read as वैश्यदेवी by H. Shastri and चन्द्रदेवी by N. P. Chakravarti (*Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 77; *A. S. I.*, A. R., 1934-35, p. 63).

3 For some gold coins with the obverse legend नर beneath the king's left arm and the incomplete verse [जयति ?] नरसिंहगुप्तः, and the reverse legend वा(बा)त्तादित्यः, see Allan, *op. cit.*, p. 137f. According to Buddhist traditions, Bālāditya, a Buddhist king of Magadha, was a contemporary of Mihirakula. Mihirakula invaded Bālāditya's territory; he was taken prisoner, but was afterwards set free. See Watters, *op. cit.*, p. 288f. If Pura Gupta ascended the Imperial Gupta throne after Budha Gupta (495 A.D.) the contemporaneity of this Narasimha Gupta with the Hūna king Mihirakula (*circa* 515-35 A.D.) is apparent. But Raychaudhuri (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 503) relies on the *Life of Hiuen Tsang* which suggests that Buddha (Budha) Gupta was succeeded by Tathāgata Gupta, after whom Bālāditya [II, contemporary of Mihirakula] succeeded to the empire.

4 Fleet reads महा[लक्ष्मी?]देव्या०. But cf. the Nālandā seal, *loc. cit.*

No. 33—Sārnāth Buddhist Image Inscription of Budha Gupta¹—Gupta year 157 (=476 A.D).

SĀRNĀTH, Benares Dist., U. P.

Gupte, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1914-15. pp. 124-25.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-4 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

1 गुप्तानां समतिक्रान्ते सप्तपञ्चाशदुत्तरे [।*]

शते समानां³ पृथिवीं बुधगुप्ते प्रशासति ॥ 1

[वैशाख-मास-सप्तम्यां मूले श्याम-गते*]⁴

2 मया [।*]

कारिताभयमिलेण प्रतिमा शाक्य-सिन्धुणा⁵ ॥ 2

इमामुद्गड-⁶सच्छत्र-पद्मास [न-विभूषितां ।*]

[देवपुत्रवतो दिव्यां*]

3 चित्रवि[द्या]-सचित्रितां ॥ 3

यदत्र पुरयं प्रतिमां कारयित्वा मया भूतम् [।*]

माता-[पित्रोर्गु][रूपां च लोकस्य च समाप्तये ॥*] 4

1 Buddhist traditions refer to a Buddha Gupta, son of Śakrāditya who was king of the territory including Nālandā (Watters, *op. cit.*, I, p. 164). If Buddha may be taken to be a mistake for Budha and Śakrāditya to be the same as Mahendrāditya (Kumāra Gupta I), Budha Gupta may be suggested to have been a son of Kumāra Gupta I.

2 From the facsimile in Plate LXIX, P in *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A.R., 1914-15. The restorations are made with the help of a similar record in Pl. LXIX, O.

3 The metre requires a short fifth and long sixth syllable. We may have समानां पृथिवीं शते.

4 मूले श्यामगते=at the time of the asterism Mūlā belonging to the dark fortnight.

5 Śākya was the name of the clan to which Buddha belonged. Later it was also used to indicate a follower of the Śākyamuni Buddha.

6 Gupte: °मुद्गस्त°. देवपुत्रवत्=आदि-बुद्ध, the origin of the Dhyāni-Buddhas ?

No. 34—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of
the time of Budha Gupta—Gupta year 163
(=482 A. D).

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur Dist., Bengal

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 135f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

First Side.

- 1 [सं १००*] (+*) [६०] (+*) ३ आषाढ-दि १० (+*) ३ परमदैवत-परम-
भद्रा[र]क-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीबुधगुप्ते [पृथि]वी-पतौ तत्पाद-[परि]गृहीते पुण्ड्र[व]-
- 2 [र्द्धन]भुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-ब्रह्मदत्ते संव्यवहरति [१*] स्व[स्ति] [१*] पलाश-
वृन्दकात्सविश्वासं महत्तराद्यष्टकुलाधि[क]-
- 3 [र]ण-ग्रामिक-कुटुम्बिनश्च² चण्डग्रामके ब्राह्मणाद्यान्नक्षुद्र-प्रकृति-कुटुम्बिनः कुशल-
मुक्कानुदर्शयन्ति [यथैवं ?]
- 4 [वि]ज्ञापयती नो³ ग्रामिक-नाभको(S*)हमिच्छे⁴ मातापितृस्वपुण्याप्यायनाय
कदिचिद्ब्राह्मणार्थ्यान्प्रतिवासयितु⁵

1 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

2 Read कुटुम्बि० and ०नक्षुद्र०. महत्तर=elders or leading men of the village. The passage means "the village jury (consisting of eight members) headed by the village elders, the headman of the village, and the householders (or agriculturists)." ग्रामिक=headman of a village; Manu (VII, 115-19) seems to suggest that he was the king's representative in the village. Palāśavṛindaka was the centre of local administration of a number of villages, one of which was Chaṇḍagrāma. Two villages called Palāśbōṛi and another called Palāśdāngā lie not far off from Dāmodarpur. स्वस्ति (may it be well) introduces the record proper, the preceding part being considered as the date portion.

3 Basak suggests the correction विज्ञापयतीतो. Read ०पयति. नः=अस्मान्. सविश्वासं अनुदर्शयन्ति=tell (or, inform as follows) with confidence.

4 Read इच्छये or इच्छामि.

5 Read कति०.

- 5 [तद]र्हथ ग्रामानुक्रम-विक्रय-मर्यादाया मत्तो हिरण्यमुपसंगृह्य समुदयवाद्याप्रद-[खिल-
क्षेत्राणा[']
- 6 [प्र]सादं कर्तुमिति¹ [।*] यतः पुस्तपाल-पत्रदासेनावधारितं युक्तमनेन विज्ञापित-
मस्त्ययं विक्रय-
- 7 मर्यादा-प्रसङ्गस्तदीयतामस्य परमभट्टारक-महाराज-पा[दे]न पुरयोपचयायेति² [।*]
पुनरस्यैव
- 8 [पत्रदा]सस्यावधारणयावधृत्य नाभक-हस्तादीनार-[द्वय]मुपसंगृह्य³ स्थायपाल-⁴
कपिल-श्रीभद्राभ्यायायक[त्य]⁵ च समुदय-

Second Side

- 9 [बाद्याप्रद*]-[खि]ल-क्षेत्रस्य कुल्यवापमेकमस्य वायिग्रामकोत्तर-पार्श्वस्यैव च सत्य-
मर्यादाया⁶ दक्षिण-पश्चिम-पूर्व्वेण
- 10 मह[त्]राद्यधिकरण-कुटुम्बभिः⁶ प्रत्यवेद्याष्टक-नवक-नवक-नलाभ्यामपविञ्च्य⁷
चतुस्सीमोस्त्रिङ्गय⁸ च नागदेवस्य
- 11 [दत्त] [।*] [तदु]त्तर-कालं संव्यवहारिभिर्द्धर्ममवेद्य प्रतिपालनीयमुक्त⁹
महर्षिभिः [।*]

1 Read ०मिति. ग्रामानुक्रमविक्रयमर्यादाया (the same as सत्यमर्यादाया) = according to the custom of sale prevalent in the villages. समुदयवाद्य = free from all dues or yielding no revenue. अप्रद = non-transferrable property. In this case it may also indicate "not previously settled."

2 Cf. *infra*, p. 352, n. 5.

3 द्वय was at first omitted and was then engraved in the lower margin of the plate. Note that two *dināras* instead of three are accepted in this case.

4 Possibly स्थानपाल = watchman, policeman.

5 Read ०भ्यामायीकृत्य (*infra*, No. 41, l. 14). Possibly the remaining *dināra* was realised by or from the two persons.

6 Read मर्यादाया and ०म्बभिः

7 Read ०ष्टक-नवक-नला० as in other records. It may be suggested that the unit of the measurement was 8×9 reeds (measuring rods). But the *dvivachana* may also indicate that two rods were used in measuring a plot of land. In that case, the custom may have been to measure the length with rods 9 cubits long and the breadth by those 8 cubits long. अपविञ्च्य = having severed, i.e. having measured out.

8 Basak तुष्टिमो०. Read सीमा उ०. उस्त्रिङ्गय = having painted or marked (*infra*, No. 41, l. 19). ०देवस्य = देवाय. Bāyigrāma = Baigrām, near Hili, Bogra Dist. (*loc. cit.*)

9 Better read नीयम् । उक्तम्.

खदत्ताम्परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुन्धरा¹ ।

12 [स विष्ठा]यां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिस्सह पच्यते [॥*] 1

बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [॥*]

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य

13 तदा फलं [॥*] 2

षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिदः [॥*]

आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति² ॥ 3

No. 35—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Budha Gupta—Gupta Year 165 (=484 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) Dist., C. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 89; *ibid*, p. 88 for other references.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 आर्या.

TEXT³

1 जयति विभुश्चतुर्भुजश्चतुरारण्य-विपुल-सलिल-पर्यङ्कः [॥]

जगतः स्थित्युत्पत्ति-न्य[यादि*]-⁴

2 हेतुर्गर्ह-केतुः [॥*] 1

शते पञ्चपष्ट्यधिके वर्षाणां भूपतौ च बुधगुप्ते ।

आषाढ-मास-[शुक्र]-

3 [द्वा]दश्यां सुरगुरोर्दिवसे⁵ । [॥*] 2

सं १०० (+*) ६० (+*) ५ [॥*]

1 Properly, ०न्धराम् and फलम् .

2 Properly वसेत् ॥ इति ॥ 3 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

4 The restoration is due to Hall. न्यय=क्षय=प्रलय.

5 Prinsep: त्रयो०. The date is Thursday, 21st June, 484 A.D. This is an early use of the name of the weekdays which the Indians learnt probably from works of the Greek astronomers of Alexandria. Greek influence on Varāhamihira (d. 587 A.D.) is wellknown. His *Paulīśasiddhānta* is based on the works of Paul of Alexandria (c. 378 A.D.); cf. also his *Romakasiddhānta*; *Romaka*=Graeco-Roman.

कालिन्दी-नर्मदयोर्मध्यं पालयति लोकपाल-गुरौ-¹

जर्जगति महा[राज]-

4 श्रियमनुभवति सुरश्चिमचन्द्रे च ।[*] 3

अस्यां संवत्सर-मास-दिवस-पूर्वायां² स्वकर्माभिरतस्य क्रतु-याजि[नः]

5 अधीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रर्षेभ्यैत्रायणीय-वृषभस्येन्द्रविष्णोः प्रपौत्रेण पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो
वरुण[विष्णोः]

6 पौत्रेण पितरमनुजातस्य³ स्व-वंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः पुत्रेणात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तेन
विधातुरिच्छया स्वयंवरयेव र[ि]ज-

7 लक्ष्म्याधिगतेन चतुःसमुद्र-पर्यन्त-प्रथित-यशसा अक्षीण-मानधनेनानेक-शत्रु-समर-
जिष्णुना महाराज-मातृविष्णुन[ि]⁴

8 तस्यैवानुजेन तदनुविधायिन[ि] तत्प्रसाद-परिगृ[ही]तेन धन्यविष्णुना च ।⁵ मातृ-
पित्रोः⁶ पुण्याप्यायनार्थमेव भगवतः ।⁵

9 पुण्यजनार्दनस्य⁷ जनार्दनस्य ध्वजस्तम्भो(S*)भ्युच्छ्रितः [॥*] स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-
[पु]रोगाभ्यः सर्व-प्रजाभ्य इति ।[*]

1 Read गुरौः । जगति. With the province called कालीन्दी-नर्मदा-मध्य, compare अन्तर्वदी of *supra*, No. 27, l. 4. Rivers were apparently taken to be the natural boundaries of some of the Gupta *vishayas*.

2 पूर्वायां (=during the above) is an idiomatic use for पूर्वायां तिथौ.

3 पितरम् अनुजातः=one who takes after or resembles his father (in merits).

4 The Eran inscription of Toramāna and Dhanyavishṇu (*infra*) proves that the eastern part of Central India passed to the Hūṇas almost immediately after Budha Gupta (possibly during the reign of Bhānu Gupta; cf. *infra*, No. 38), and it is not impossible that the western part of Central India had been gradually conquered by them during the later years or after the death of Skanda Gupta. But the evidence of the *Harshacharita* suggests that the Guptas regained power in Mālwa (East Mālwa?) after the short rule of the Hūṇas and of the local line represented by Yaśodharman (cf. Mandasor ins., *infra*).

5 The sign of punctuation is unnecessary

6 Read मातापित्रोः.

7 पुण्यजनार्दन=troubler of the demons (पुण्यजन).

No. 36—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budha Gupta (c. 476-94-95 A.D.).

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur Dist., Bengal

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 138f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 फाल्गुन-दि १० (+*) [५] परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-
श्रीबुधगु[प्त]² [पृथिवी*]-
- 2 [पतौ*] [त*]त्पाद-परिग्रहोतस्य पुण्ड्रचर्द्धन-भुक्तावुपरिक-महाराज-जयदत्तस्य³
भोगेनानु[वहमा]-
- 3 नके [को]टि[वर्ष]-विषये च तन्नियुक्तकेहायुक्तक-गण्डके⁴ अधिष्ठानाधि-करण[*]
नगरश्रेष्ठिरिभु-

1 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

2 Read बुध०.

3 Jaya Datta appears to have belonged to the family of Chirāta Datta and Brahma Datta of *supra*, No. 34 (cf. names of the *śreṣṭhins* Dhṛiti Pāla and Ribhu Pāla; the *sārthavāhas* Bandhu Mitra and Vasu Mitra; the *Kulikas* Vara Datta and Mati Datta; the *Kāyasthas* Sāmba Pāla, Vipra Pāla and Skanda Pāla). The cognomens like *Gupta* show that the second member of the father's name was usually continued in the son's, and thus gave rise to a cognomen. The successors of Chandra Gupta I and Gopāla had names ending in *Gupta* and *Pāla* and thus the lines came to be known as the Gupta and Pāla families. In the fifth century A.D. such cognomens appear to have been widely recognised in Bengal as also in other parts of India. Most of the mod. Bengali family-names are of this type, though some (e.g. Niyogī) are derived from official titles (some of them being of Mahomedan times) and from *mūlagrāmas* or *gāis*, i.e. villages where the families claimed to have originally lived (e.g. Vandyopādhyāya from a village called Vandyā).

4 Read इहायु० and ऋभु०. The reading may possibly be आयुक्तक and गण्डक.

- 4 पा[ल]-सार्थवाहवसुमित्र-प्रथमकुलिकवरदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थविप्रपाल-पुरोगे च स[म्व्य]-
वहरति¹
- 5 अनेन श्रेष्ठि-रिमुपालेन विज्ञापितं हिमवच्छिखरे² कोकामुखस्वामिनः³
चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः [श्वे]तव-⁴
- 6 राहस्वामिनो(S*)पि सप्त कुल्यवापाः अस्मत्फलाशन्सिनो⁵ पुन्यामिद्वद्वये⁶
डोङ्गाग्रापे⁷ पूर्व मया
- 7 अप्रदा अतिसृष्टकास्तदहन्तत्क्षेत्र-सामीप्य-भूमौ⁸ तयोराद्य-कोकामुखस्वामि-
श्वेतवराह-
- 8 स्वामिनोर्नामलिङ्गमेकं⁹ देवकुल-द्वयमेतत्कोष्ठिका-द्वयञ्च कारयितुमिच्छाम्यर्हथ वास्तुना

1 Read संव्य०. The correct form of the Sreshṭhin's name is ऋमुपाल.

2 हिमवच्छिखर literally means "the summit of the Himalayas". Here however it appears to refer to a territorial unit (called a forest in No. 39). The situation of the land granted to the gods (cf. *infra*, n. 7 and l. 14; No. 39. l. 17) suggests that it was not far from Dāmodarpur. There is as yet no proof that the Koṭivarsha district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal.

3 कोक=she-wolf; but कोक also means a ruddy goose, cuckoo, frog or wild lizard, also Viṣṇu. In the दुर्गास्तोत्र of the *Mahābhārata*, VI, 8, the goddess Durgā (female form of Śiva's energy) is called कोकामुखा. It is therefore possible to think that कोकामुख is a form of Śiva. आद्या is another name of Durgā and आद्य (primeval) may possibly indicate Śiva. A *tīrtha* called कोकामुख is mentioned in *Mbh.*, III, 84, 158; XIII, 25, 52. A *Yakṣī* named Kṣudra-Kokā is mentioned in a Barhut inscription.

4 One of the incarnations of Viṣṇu is the Varāha. श्वेतवराहस्वामी therefore appears to be a form of the god Viṣṇu.

5 Read ०शंसिना.

6 Read पुरया०

7 Read ग्रामे. This village has also been mentioned in *supra*, No. 18.

8 Better ०सृष्टकाः (=दत्ताः) । तद०

9 ०मेन ? Possibly नाम-लिङ्ग. This expression appears to indicate "Līṅga named after a person (possibly Ribhu Pāla, the name of the Līṅga in that case being Ribhupāleśvara)." That there is reference to a Śaivite god in this passage seems to be evident from the fact that only one Līṅga was made. Of the two gods, only one was a form of Śiva. Cf. the expressions स्वाख्य-लिङ्ग (=स्वनाम-लिङ्ग a Līṅga named after one's own name) in the Malkāpur stone inscription. देवकुल=temple; कोष्ठिका=store-room, or surrounding wall.

- 9 सह [कुल्य]वापान्यथाक्रय-मर्थ्यादया दातुमिति [१*] यतः पुस्तपाल-विष्णुदत्त-विजय-
[नन्दि]-स्थानु-¹
- 10 नन्दिनामवधारणयावदृतमस्यनेन हिमवच्छिखरे तयोः क्रोकामुखस्वामि-श्वेतवरा[ह]-
स्वामि[नोः]
- 11 अग्रदा-क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापा एकादश दत्तकास्तदर्थञ्चेह देवकुल-कोष्ठिका-करणे² युक्त[मे]त-
[द्विजा]-
- 12 [पित] [क्र]मेण तत्क्षेत्र-सामीप्य-भूमौ वास्तु दातुमित्यनुवृत्त-क्षिदीनारिक्यकु[ल्यवा]प-
विक्रय[मर्थ्या]द-³

Second Side

- 13 [या*]... ..
- 14 पु[ष्करि]णी पू [व्वेण] रिभु[पा]ल-पु[ष्करिणी ?] [दक्षिणेन]
- 15 दत्ताः [१*] [त]दुत्तरकालं [स]व्यवहारिभिर्देवभ[क्त्या]नु-
मन्तव्या⁴ [उक्तं] व्यासेन [१*]
स्व-दत्तां परदत्ता-
- 16 [म्वा⁵ यो हरेत] वसुन्धराम [१*]
स विष्टा[यां] क्रिमिभूर्त्वा⁶ पि[तृ]भिस्स[ह पच्यते] [॥*] 1
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो
- 17 [यत्नाद्रक्ष यु]धिष्ठिर [१*]
महीं [महीमतां] श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छेयो(S*)नुपालनं⁷ [॥*] 2
[बहु]भिर्व्वसु[धा द]त्ता
- 18 [राजभिश्च] पुनः पुनः [१*]
[य]स्य [य]स्य यदा भूमि[स्तस्य तस्य] त[दा] फलमिति⁸ [॥*] 3

1 Read स्थाणु०. वास्तु=building ground.

2 करणे=करणाय or करणविषये. क्रमेण=in proper order.

3 क्रयमर्थादा (1.9) from the purchasers' viewpoint is the same as विक्रयमर्थादा from the sellers' viewpoint. Ll. 13-15 contained a description of the boundaries of the land.

4 Better ०मन्तव्याः । उक्तं.

5 Read ०त्तां वा.

6 The usual spelling is क्रमि. विष्टा=विष्टा. Read ०भूर्त्वा

7 Properly ०नम्.

8 Properly फलम् ॥ इति ॥

No. 37—Gunaighar Copper-plate Inscription of Vainya Gupta—Gupta year 188 (=507 A.D.)

GUNAIGAR, Tippera Dist., Bengal.

D. C. BHATTACHARYA, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, p. 53ff; M. GHOSH, *ibid*, p. 561.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmi of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥*] महानौ²-हस्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारात्कीपुराद्भगवन्महादेव-पादानुद्धयातो³
महाराज-श्रीवैन्यगुप्तः⁴
- 2 कुशली * * * * *⁵ स्वपादोपजीविनश्च कुशलमाशंस्य समाज्ञापयति [॥*]
विदितं भवतामस्तु यथा
- 3 मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पु[रया]भित्ति[द्ध]ये(S*)स्मत्पाददास-महाराज-रुद्रदत्त-
विज्ञाप्यादनैनैव साहायानिक-शाक्यभिद्धा-

1 Prepared with the help of Bhattacharya's transcript. The plates published in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, VI, are not quite serviceable. The seal has the figure of a recumbent bull to right and the ins. महाराज-श्रीवैन्यगुप्तस्य].

2 महानौ=ship. Note that the Navy gradually became an important factor in the army of Indian kings, though the conventional units are said to have been हस्यश्व-रथ-पादात् सेनाङ्गं स्याच्चतुष्टयम् . Note also the omission of the chariot.

3 The king was a devotee of Siva; but the way in which it is expressed is only rare in inscriptions; cf. वामदेव-पादानुद्ध्यात in the Kalachuri and नागदेवपादानुद्ध्यात in the Chalukya records. For अनुद्ध्यात, see *supra*, p. 271, n. 6.

4 Usually वैश्यः. It is interesting that his पाददास and उपरिक are also styled महाराज (ll. 3 and 16). His title महाराज therefore cannot prove that Vainya Gupta was an insignificant prince. One of the Nālandā seals represents him as महाराजाधिराज. His dominion possibly comprised large parts of Bengal and Bihār.

5 Some 8 aksharas are lost and may be restored as ब्राह्मणादीन्कुटुम्बिनः or समवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः .

- 4 चार्थ्य-शान्तिदेवमुद्दिश्य गोप (?) ... [दिग्भागे?] कार्थ्यमाण-कार्थ्याव-
लोकितेश्वराश्रम-विहारे¹ अनेनै-
- 5 वाचार्येण प्रतिपादित[क?] -माहायानिक-वैवर्तिक-भिन्नु-संघनाम्परिग्रहे² भगवतो
बुद्धस्य सततं त्रिष्कालं³
- 6 गन्ध-पुष्प-दीप-धूपादि-प्रवर्त्तनाय*] [त*]स्य भिन्नुसंघस्य च चीवर-पिण्डपात-
शयनासन-ग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्यादि-
- 7 परिभोगाय⁴ विहारे [च] खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्कार-करणाय⁵ उत्तरमाण्डलिक-कान्ते-
डदकग्रामे⁶ सर्वतो भो-
- 8 गेनाग्रहारत्वेनैकादश-खिल-पाटकाः⁷ पञ्चभिः खण्डैस्ताम्र-पट्टेनातिसृष्टाः [।*] अपि
च खलु श्रुति-स्मृती-
- 9 [ति*]हा[स]-विहिता⁸ पुरयभूमिदान-श्रुतिमैहिकामुन्निक-फल-विशेषे स्मृतो⁹ भावतः
समुपगम्य खतस्तु पी-

1 Mahāyāna is a developed school of Buddhism, the early orthodox school being called Hinayāna. The Mahāyānists worshipped many gods and goddesses, such as the five *Dhyāni*-Buddhas derived from *Adi-Buddha* and *Adi-Prajñā*, the numerous Bodhisattvas, etc. Avalokiteśvara was a Bodhisattva. See *supra*, p. 129, n. 5.

2 Read सङ्घानां. *Vaivarttikas* (following the doctrine of *Vivartta* or *Māyā*?) otherwise unknown were apparently a sect of the *Māhāyānikas*.

3 Possibly त्रिष्कालं (=तिसन्द्य) is intended.

4 चीवर=cloth; पिण्डपात=giving alms; here possibly, getting food; शयनासन=bed and seat; ग्लानप्रत्यय-भैषज्य=पीडाहेतुक=medicine or medical treatment for diseases.

5 फुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फुटित.

6 I.e., in the village of Kāntēḍadaka in the division called Uttaramaṇḍala.

7 पाटक is the name of a measurement. According to Hemachandra, it means half of a village (cf. Beng. *pārā*). By calculation of the area of the five plots, we see that $8\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭakas* + 90 *droṇavāpas* = 11 *pāṭakas*; or $2\frac{1}{2}$ *pāṭakas* = 90 *droṇavāpas*. *Pāṭaka* was therefore = 40 *droṇavāpas*. For the *droṇ* of Chittagong Dist. as noticed by Hunter (*Stat. Ac. Beng.*, VI, p. 164), see *supra*, p. 286, n. 9. *Ib*, p. 301, suggests that in Noakhāli Dist., the *droṇ* in Shāistānagar = about 48 acres, in Sandvip = about 34 acres, and in Government states = about 25 acres. 1 acre = $3\frac{1}{4}$ *bighās*. The scheme is 4 *karā* = *gaṇḍā*, 20 *g.* = *kānī*, 16 *k.* = *droṇ*; but measuring rod = 14, 16 or 22 cubits, and cubit = 18 or 20 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches (sometimes, reference is to the hand of a particular person, i.e. a cubit of uncertain length).

8 Bhattacharya: हापविहिता

9 Read षेण स्मृतौ. Some suggest स्मृतां.

- 10 डामप्यूरीकृत्य पात्रोभ्यो भूमि¹ * * * * * [१*] द्विष(१)द्विरस्म-
द्वचन-गौरवात्स्व-यशो-धर्मावाप्तये चैते
- 11 पाटका अस्मिन्वि(१)हारे शश्वत्कालमभ्यनुपालयितव्याः ॥*² अनुपालनम्प्रति च
भगवता पराशरात्मजेन वेदव्या-
- 12 सेन व्यासेन गीताः श्लोका भवन्ति [१*]
षष्टिं वर्ष-स[हस्रा]णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [१*]
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च ता-
- 13 न्येव न(र*)के वसेत् [१*] I
स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्बा³ यो हरेत् [वसु]न्धरां [१*]
[स] विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते [१*] 2
- 14 पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [१*]
महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानात्श्रयो(S*)नुपालनं⁴ [१*] 3
वर्त्तमानाष्टाशीत्यु-
- 15 त्तर-शत-संवत्सरे पौष-मासस्य चतुर्विंशतितम-दिवसे⁵ दूतकेन महाप्रतीहार-
महापीलुपति-पञ्चाधि-
- 16 करणोपरिक-पात्र्युपरिक-[पुर?]-पुरपालोपरिक-⁶महाराज - श्रीमहासामन्त - विजयसेने-⁷
नैतदेकादश-पाटक-दा-

1 Restore नापहरेत्, बाधाच्च न कुर्यात्. पीडामप्यूरीकृत्य=even courting (pecuniary) troubles.

2 Bhattacharya suggests ०भ्यनुमन्तव्याः.

3 Read दत्तां वा.

4 Read दानाच्छ्रेयो०.

5 Read ०विंशति.

6 पुर seems to have been engraved twice owing to mistake.

7 This Vijayasena has been identified with the prince of the same name mentioned in the Mallasārul inscription (*infra*). महाप्रतीहार=the chief officer superintending the doorkeepers of the royal palace (i.e. palace-guards and possibly also the royal body guards). पञ्चाधिकरणोपरिक=chief superintendent of five administering offices. पात्र्युपरिक=chief officer of the accounts department (cf. पाटी=arithmetical). पुरपालोपरिक=the chief police officer of the royal city. उपरिक=superior officer. पीलु (originally Persian)=elephant (Medinikara, 14th cent.). See *supra*, n. 264, n. 7. पीलुपति=leader of the elephant force, or keeper of the elephants (cf. *Mahāvīyutpatti*, p. 30, mentioning *pīlupati* and *gajapati* side by side), or both. Words like पीलु and दिबिर were introduced into Indian administration by foreign invaders.

- 17 नायाज्ञामनुभाविताः कुमारामाल्य-रेवज्जस्वामी भामह-वत्स-भोगिकाः¹ [॥*] लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहारिकरण-काय-²
- 18 स्थ-नरदत्तेन [॥*] यत्रैक-क्षेत्रखण्डे नव-द्रोणवापाधिक-सप्त-पाटक-परिमाणे सीमा-लिङ्गानि [॥*] पूर्व्वेण गुणिका-
- 19 ग्रहारग्राम-सीमा विष्णुवर्धकि-क्षेत्र³ [॥*] दक्षिणेन मिदुविलाल(?)-क्षेत्रं राज-विहार-क्षेत्रञ्च [॥*] पश्चिमेन सूरी-नाशी-रम्पूरैक-
- 20 क्षेत्रं [॥*] उत्तरेण दोषी-भोग-पुष्करिण[?] ⁴
[ए*]वम्पियाकादित्य-वन्धु-क्षेत्राणाञ्च सीमा [॥*]
- 21 द्वितीय-खण्डस्याष्टाविंशति⁵-द्रोणवाप-परिमाणस्य सीमा [॥*] पूर्व्वेण गुणिका-⁵ ग्रहारग्राम-सीमा [॥*] दक्षिणेन पक्क-
- 22 विलाल(?)-क्षेत्रं [॥*] पश्चिमेन राजविहार-क्षेत्रं [॥*] उत्तरेण वैद्य(?)-क्षेत्रं [॥*] तृतीय-खण्डस्य त्रयोविंशति⁶-द्रोणवाप-
- 23 परिमाणस्य सीमा [॥*] पूर्व्वेण क्षेत्रं [॥*] दक्षिणेन नखदा-र्चरिक्(?)-क्षेत्र-सीमा [॥*] पश्चिमेन

Second Side

- 24 ज(जो?)लारी-क्षेत्रं [॥*] उत्तरेण नागी-जोडाक-क्षेत्रं [॥*] चतुर्थस्य त्रिंशद्द्रोणवाप-परिमाण-क्षेत्र-खण्डस्य सीमा [॥*] पूर्व्वेण
- 25 बुद्धाक-क्षेत्र-सीमा [॥*] दक्षिणेन कालाक-क्षेत्रं [॥*] पश्चिमेन [सू]र्य्य-क्षेत्र-सीमा [॥*] उत्तरेण महीपाल-क्षेत्रं [॥*] [प]ञ्चमस्य

1 Read ०गिकौ च. It appears that the *dūtaka* (executor) Vijayasena entrusted the business to the Kumārāmātya Revajjasvāmin, and two other officers called *Bhogikas*. *Bhogika* (keeper of the horses) may indicate an officer connected with the royal stables. Sometimes the word possibly also indicates a *jāgirdār*.

2 Read विग्रहाधि०. Naradatta seems to have been a scribe belonging to the office of the minister for peace and war.

3 Read क्षेत्रञ्च. वर्धकि=carpenter in profession or caste.

4 भोग may be a personal name. It may also indicate Doshi's temporary possession of the tank.

5 Read विंशति.

6 Guṇekāgrahāra of ll. 18-19 and Guṇikāgrahāra of l. 21 are apparently identical and the same as modern Gunaighar.

- 26 पादोन-पाटक-द्वय-परिमाण-क्षेत्र-खण्डस्य सीमा [1*] पूर्व्वेण खण्ड-वि[डु]ग्गुरिक-
क्षेत्रं [1*] दक्षिणेन मणिभट्ट-
- 27 क्षेत्रं [1*] पश्चिमेन यज्ञरात-क्षेत्र-सीमा [1*] उत्तरेण नादडदकग्राम-सीमेति [11*]
विहार-तलभूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि [1*]
- 28 पूर्व्वेण चूडामणिनगरश्रीनौयोगयोम्मद्वये जोला¹ [1*] दक्षिणेन गणेश्वर-
विलाल-पुष्करिण्या नौ-खातः [1*]
- 29 पश्चिमेन प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुल²-क्षेत्र-प्रान्तः [1*] उत्तरेण प्रडामार-नौयोग-खातः [11*]
एतद्विहारप्रावेश्य-शून्यप्रतिकर-
- 30 हज्जिक³-खिल-भूमेरपि सीमा-लिङ्गानि [1*] पूर्व्वेण प्रद्युम्नेश्वर-देवकुल-क्षेत्र-
सीमा [1*] दक्षिणेन शाक्यभिद्धवाचार्य-जित-
- 31 सेन-वैहारिक-क्षेत्रावसा(?)नः⁴ [1*] पश्चिमेन ह(?)चात-गंग उत्तरेण दण्ड-पुष्करिणी⁴
चेति ॥ सं १०० (+*) ८० (+*) ८ पोष्प⁵-दि २० (+*) ४ [11*]

No. 38—Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Bhānu Gupta—Gupta year 191 (=510 A.D.)

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) Dist., C. P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ind. Ind.*, III, p. 92f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्); Vv. 3-4 इन्द्रवज्रा.

TEXT⁶

- 1 १^७ [11*] संवत्सर-शते एकनवत्युत्तरे श्रावण-बहुलपक्ष-स[प्त]म्य[ति] [1*]

1 Beng. जोला (=खात) means a ditch. Between Chūdāmaṇinagara and Śrināyoga, or, between the *navyogas* (places for parking boats) of Chūdāmaṇi and Nagaraśrī?

2 For another temple of Pradyumneśvara Śiva, see the Deopārā ins. (*infra*).

3 Cf. Beng. हाजा in the expression हाजा-शुका, flood and draught; loss caused by them. Here हज्जिक may mean marshy land. विहारप्रावेश्य=property of the monastery (प्रावेश्य=right of प्रवेश or income, revenue.) शून्यप्रतिकर=free from compensatory dues. तलभूमि=low land. विलाल=possibly, a mechanic caste like वर्धकि. गंग (Beng. गाङ्), rivulet.

4 Read ०सानं and पुष्करिणी.

5 Read पौष०.

6 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. 7 सिद्धं expressed by a symbol.

2 संवत् १०० (+*) ९० (+*) १ श्रावण-व-दि¹ ७ ॥

* * क²-वङ्गादुत्पन्नो³ * *⁴

3 राजेति विश्रुतः [1*]

तस्य पुत्रो(S*)तिविक्रान्तो नाम्ना राजाथ माधवः ॥ I

गोपराजः]

4 सुतस्तस्य श्रीमान्विख्यात-पौरुषः [1*]

शरभराज-दौहित्रः स्व-वङ्ग⁵-तिलको(S*)धुना(?) [1*] 2

5 श्री-भानुगुप्तो⁶ जगति प्रवीरो

राजा महान्पार्थ-समो(S*)ति-शूरः [1*]

तेनाथ सार्द्धन्तिवह गोपर[जो]

6 मित्रानु[गत्येन]⁷ किलानुयातः ॥ 3

कृत्वा (च*) [यु]द्धं सुमहत्प्रक[र]शं

स्वर्ग⁸ गतो दिव्य-न[रे?][न्द्र-कल्पः*] [1*]

7 भक्तानुरक्ता च⁸ प्रिया च कान्ता

भ[ार्याव]ल[म]ानुगता[मि]र[र]शिम् ॥ 4⁹

1 व is an abbreviated form of बहुलपक्ष and दि of दिवस. Sometimes we have व (=वय) instead of व (=बहुल).

2 प्रशुक्ल or अशुक्ल? Fleet suggested that of the three letters the third is क्त and the second may be ल.

3 Read वंशा०.

4 The two letters containing the name cannot be read. There are possibly traces of a subscribed r sign which may suggest that the name was something like प्र वराज. Or, गोपराज ?

5 Read वंश.

6 It is not impossible that when Vainya Gupta was ruling the eastern part of the old Gupta empire, Bhānu Gupta was ruling the western part and the line of Pura Gupta had control over the central part.

7 The *aksharas* are indistinct. Fleet conjecturally reads वल्लार ; but the last *akshara* appears to be न.

8 Fleet thinks that the metre is faulty as this च has been lengthened by the influence of मि. But the conjuncts प्र and ह as also ब्र and क्र are said to be exceptions to the rule वर्णसंयोगपूर्व्वेश्च and before them the vowels may be short by a sort of poetical license; cf. *Kumāra.*, VII, 11, *Susūpāla.*, X, 60, etc.

9 Here is an early reference to the Suttee. The battle referred to may represent a phase of the struggle between the Guptas and the Hūṇas in Central India.

No. 39—Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of * * Gupta—Gupta year 224 (=543 A.D.)

DĀMODARPUR, Dinājpur Dist., Bengal.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 142f.; K. N. DIKSHIT, *ibid*, XVII, p. 193f.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुम्)

TEXT¹

Seal

कोटिवर्षाधिष्ठानाधि[करणस्य]¹ ।

First Side

1 स[स्व]² २००(+*) २०³ (+*) ४ भाद्र-दि ५ परमदैवत-परमभट्टारक-म[हा]-
राजाधिराज-श्री...⁴

1 From the facsimile (not quite serviceable) in *Ep. Ind.*, XV. "[The seal] of the administrative office, i.e., the governing body of the city of Kotivarsha".

2 Read संव which is a contraction of संवत्सरः or ०२. 3 Basak: १०.

4 Basak suggests बुधगुप्त, while Krishna Shastri wants to restore कुमारगुप्त, sometimes identified with the king mentioned in *supra*, No. 32, though Vishṇu Gupta's name may also be the thought of (p. 320, n). It may be pointed out that another Kumāra Gupta lived about the same time. According to the Apsar inscription of Adityasena, his predecessor Kumāra Gupta III (of the Later Gupta dynasty which was probably an offshoot of the Early Imperial Gupta line) was a contemporary of the Maukhari Isānavarman whose Haraha Inscription is dated in A.D. 554. But his case seems to be less probable. It may also be noted that the आर्यमञ्जुश्रीमूलकल्प (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 671-76) gives the list of later Imperial Gupta kings as बालाख्य (बालादित्य)-कुमार-उकाराख्य-देव. If this Deva [Gupta?] may be identified with Devabhāṭṭāraka (who appears to have been the emperor's son made governor of the *bhukti* or province of Puṇḍravardhana) of the present inscription, the missing name may be conjecturally restored as उपगुप्त. The possibility of an Upa Gupta in the Gupta genealogy has been suggested by Raychaudhuri on the basis of the name of Upa Guptā, mother of Maukhari Isānavarman (*Political History*, 4th ed., p. 500 n). It is also possible to suggest the identification of उकाराख्य with Vishṇu Gupta.

- 2 गुप्ते पृथिवीपतौ तत्पाद-परिग्रहोते¹ पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन-भुक्तावुपरि[क-महाराज]स्य [महा*]-
 3 राजपुत्र-देवमहारकस्य हस्त्यश्व-जन-भोगेनानुवहमा[न]के को[टिव]र्ष-विष[ये] च त-
 4 न्नियुक्तकेहविषयपति-स्वयम्भुदेवे² अधिष्ठानाधिकरण(म*) आर्य्य[न]गर-
 [श्रेष्ठिरिभु]पाल-
 5 सार्थवाहस्थाणुदत्त-प्रथमकुलिकमतिदत्त-प्रथमकायस्थस्कन्दपाल-पुरोगे [सो]व्य[वह]रति
 6 आयोध्दक-कुलपुत्रक-अमृतदेवेन³ विज्ञापितमिह-विषये समुदयबाह्याप्रहत-⁴
 खिल-[क्षे]त्रा-
 7 णां त्रिदीनारिक्थकुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(S*)नुवृत्तः तदर्हथ मत्तो दीनारानुपसंगृह्य
 मन्मातुः [पु]रया-
 8 मित्रद्वये अत्तारण्ये⁵ भगवतः श्वेतवराहस्वामिनो देवकुले खण्ड-फुट-प्रति-⁶
 [सं]स्का[र]-[क]-
 9 रणाय बलिचरुसत्तप्रवर्तन-गव्यधूपपुष्पप्रापण-मधुपर्कदीपाद्युप[यो]गा[य] च
 10 अप्रदा-धर्मेण ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य क्षेत्-स्तोकन्दातुमिति⁷ [I*] यतः प्रथमपुस्तपाल-
 नर[न]न्दि-

1 Read गृहीतस्य. The technical difference between अनुव्यात and परिग्रहोत is not known. One of them possibly indicates appointment and the other acceptance of an appointment or position.

2 Basak's corrections इह० and स्वयम्भू० are unnecessary.

3 Read ०पुत्रकामृत०. Ayodhyā is mod. Oudh. The city of that name has been located near mod. Faizābād. कुलपुल=born of a noble family.

4 *Supra*, p. 284, n. 10. It may also be suggested that of the two terms खिल and अप्रहत, one indicates land never tilled (or not tilled for a long time), and the other land whose cultivation has been stopped for some time (or for a short period). Some scholars translate खिल as 'fallow' and अप्रहत as 'untilled'.

5 Note that the territorial unit called Himavachchhikara (*supra*, No. 36) has been indicated here as a forest.

6 Prakrit फुट is for Sanskrit स्फुटित. *I.e.*, "for making repairs of whatever is broken or torn."

7 "For instituting बलि, चरु and सत्त; for supplying cow's milk, incense and flowers, and for applying मधुपर्क, lamp, etc." बलि=oblation, animal offered to a diety; चरु=oblation of rice or barley usually boiled in milk; सत्त=oblation; here possibly, distribution of food (प्रसाद), or giving food and shelter to guests. मधुपर्क=usually दधि सर्पिर्जलं क्षौद्रं सिता चैतैश्च पंचभिः । प्रोच्यते मधुपर्कः. स्तोक=small plot. गव्य=milk (sometimes क्षीरं दधि तथा चाज्यं मूतं गोमयमेव च).

- 11 गोपदत्त-भट(?)नन्दिनामवधारणया युक्त[त]या ध[र्म्मधि]कार-[बु]द्ध्या विज्ञापित(*)¹
ना[त्र*] [वि*]-
- 12 षय-पतिना(*) कश्चिद्विरोधः केवलं श्री-परमभट्टारकपादेन धर्म्मप[र]-
- 13 [तावाप्ति] [ः*]²

Second Side

- 14 इत्यनेनावधारणाक्रमेण एतस्मादमृतदेवात्पञ्चदश-दीनारानुपसंगृह्य एतन्मातु[ः*]
- 15 अनुग्रहेण स्वच्छन्दपाटके(S*)[र्द्ध]टी-प्रावेश्य-लवङ्गसिकायाञ्च³ वास्तुभिस्सह
कुल्यवाप-द्वयं
- 16 साटुवनाश्रमके(S*)पि वास्तुना सह कुल्यवाप एकः परस्पतिकायां पञ्च-कुल्य-
वापकस्योत्त[रे]ण
- 17 जम्बून[चा]ः⁴ पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप एकः पूरणवृन्दिकहरौ पाटक-पूर्व्वेण कुल्यवाप
एकः इत्येवं खिल-क्षेत्र-
- 18 स्य वास्तुना सह पञ्च कुल्यवापाः अप्रदा-धर्म्मेण⁵ भग(व*)ते श्वेतवराहस्वामिने
शश्वत्कालभोग्या दत्ताः [।*]

1 Basak: विज्ञापितवा...; see No. 41, ll. 12-13; No. 42, ll. 15-17. Basak's translation has "...a quarrel with the Vishayapati. However through his Highness Paramabhaṭṭāraka the victory of right is assured." There is however no doubt that श्रीपरमभट्टारकपादेन धर्म्मपरतावाप्तिः is the same as भट्टारकपादानां धर्म्मफल-षड्भागावाप्तिः of *infra*, No. 41, l. 13. परता=फल=result; धर्म्मपरतावाप्ति=धर्म्मरूपफलप्राप्ति. See also *infra*, p. 352, n. 5. विरोध=अर्थविरोध (No. 41, ll. 12-13)=opposition to one's interest. Or, विषयपतिनां विरोध:=opposition on the part of the District Magistrates.

2 These *aksharas* are engraved below the closing words of the previous line. Better इति । अनेनाव०.

3 मातुः अनुग्रहेण=out of consideration for his mother. अर्द्धटी-प्रावेश्य=belonging to a person named Ardhaṭī. प्रावेश्य=right of प्रवेश (=revenue, income).

4 Read जम्बू०. The plots of land referred to simply as पञ्चकुल्यवापक, etc. possibly already belonged to the god. Pūṛaṇa-vṛindikahari may be mod. Brinda-koorēe, 14 miles to the north of Dāmodarpur.

5 I.e., "according to the custom relating to अप्रदा (see p. 284, n. 10; p. 325, n. 1)." वास्तु=building land; खिल-क्षेत्र=fallow land.

- 19 तदुत्तरकालं संव्यवहारिभिः¹ देवभक्त्यानुमन्तव्याः [१*] अपि च भूमि[दा]न-
सम्बद्धाः² श्लोका भवन्ति [१*]
- 20 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा³ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां⁴ [१*]
स विघ्नायां क्रिमिर्भुत्वा⁵ पितृभिस्सह पच्यते [१*] I
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा⁶ दत्ता
- 21 राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [१*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] 2
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिद⁷
- 22 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति⁸ [॥*] 3

1 संव्यवहारिन्=officers of administration.

2 Read सम्ब०.

3 Read दत्तां वा.

4 Properly ०न्धराम् and फलम्.

5 Usually कृमि०. Read ०न्भूत्वा.

6 Read बहु०.

7 Properly, भूमिदः । आक्षेप्ता.

8 Properly वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

CHAPTER II

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES AND SUBORDINATES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN NORTHERN INDIA

A—INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL

No. 40—Susuniyā Rock Inscription of Chandravarman¹

SUSUNIYĀ Hill, near Bānkuṛā, Bānkuṛā Dist., Bengal.

N. N. VASU, *Baṅgīya-Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā*, III, p. 268f;

H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 317ff; XIII, p. 133; DIKSHIT, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, A. R., 1927-28, p. 188f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the 4th century A. D.

*TEXT*²

Part I

1 पुष्करणाधिपतेर्महाराज³ श्रीसिद्धवर्मणः⁵ पुत्रस्य

1 This king is usually identified with the Āryāvartta king Chandravarman mentioned in *supra* No. 2. Some scholars wrongly identify Pushkaraṇā with Pushkara near Ajmer and suggest that the king was a brother of Naravarman of Mālwa and was the same as king Chandra of *supra*, No. 14. Pushkaraṇā is however modern Pokharna, a place on the Dāmodar river in the Bānkuṛā Dist. and Chandravarman was apparently a local ruler of Southeast Bengal.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIII. The inscription is found on the back wall of a ruined cave. ए in Part I is different in shape from the ए in Part II.

3 ०पते० looks like पुते ; but the subscript does not appear to be due to the engraver.

4 Shastri: रज.

5 Read ०सिंह०.

2 महाराज¹-श्रीचन्द्रवर्मणः कृतिः [1*]

Part II

1 चक्रस्वामिनः दोसग्रणतिसृष्टः² [11*]

No. 41—Baigrām Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 128 (=448 A.D.)

BAIGRAM, Bogrā (Bagurā) Dist., Bengal.

R. G. BASAK, *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 81f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT³

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति [11*] पञ्चनगर्या⁴ भट्टारक⁵-पादानुध्यातः कुमारामात्य-कुलवृद्धिरेत-
द्विषयाधिकरणञ्च
2 वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृत(1*)-श्रीगोहाह्वयोः⁶ ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्सम्ब्यवहारि-प्रमुखान्ग्राम-⁷
कुडुम्बिनः कुशलमनु-

1 This line begins from below ०णाधि of पुष्करणाधि० of the previous line.

2 Shastri: ०दास. The vowel mark of the first consonant is *o*, and the consonant itself looks like फ. But we have to accept Shastri's correction दासाग्रोणातिसृष्टः (better ०सृष्टा). Chakrasvāmin is Vishṇu to whom possibly the cave, Candavarman's *kṛiti* (work), was dedicated.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI. Cf. the text with that of the Nandapur copperplate inscription in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 54f.

4 Pañchanagarī was apparently the chief town of the district where Kulavarddhi's court was situated. Mod. Pañchbibi in Bogrā Dist.?

5 The word evidently refers to the Gupta Emperor Kumāra Gupta I (c. 414-55 A.D.), as the date of the record (128 G.E. = 448 A.D.) falls in his reign.

6 Trivṛitā and Srigohālī were localities connected with Vāyigrāma which is also mentioned in *supra*, No. 34, l. 9, and is the same as mod. Baigrām.

7 Read संव्य०. संव्यवहारिन्=officers of administration, apparently the members of the अष्टकुलाधिकरण, (the village jury) possibly consisting of 8 members.

289 : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXI).

- 3 वर्यं बोधयन्ति¹ [।*] विज्ञापयतोरत्नैव² वास्तव्य-कुटुम्बि-भोयिल-भास्करावावयोः
पित्ता शिवनन्दि-
- 4 ना कारि[त]क[*] भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनः देवकुलस्तदसावल्पवृत्तिकः³ [।*] इह-
विषये समुदय-
- 5 बाह्यायस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणामकिञ्चित्प्रतिकराणां शश्वदाचन्द्रार्कतारक-भोज्यानां-⁴
मत्तय-नीव्या
- 6 द्विदीनारिकक्यकुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(S*)मुवृत्तस्तदर्हथावयोस्सकाशात्षड्दीनारानष्ट च रूप-
कानायी-⁵
- 7 [क्र]त्य भगवतो गोविन्दस्वामिनो देवकुले [ख]गड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्क[।*]र-करणाय⁶
गन्ध-धूप-दीप-
- 8 सुमनसा[*] प्रवर्तनाय च त्रिवृतायां भोगिलस्य⁷ खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-त्यं
श्रीगोह्याल्याश्चापि⁸
- 9 तल-वाटकार्य[*]⁹ स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापमेकं भास्करस्यापि स्थलवास्तुनो द्रोण-
वापश्च दातु-

1 Basak's correction ोधयति is wrong, as the order was issued by Kulavṛddhi and the governing body of the *vishaya*.

2 Read ०पयतोऽत्नैव.

3 Read देवकुलं । तददोऽल्पवृत्तिकम्.

4 Read भोज्यानामत्तय०. समुदयबाह्य=rent-free, or not yielding any revenue to the state. अस्तम्ब=shrubs. अकिञ्चित्प्रतिकर=अप्रतिकर (l. 12); cf. शून्यप्रतिकर (*infra*, No. 37, l. 39, etc.). प्रतिकर=compensation. As in the *Rāj. Tar.*, here it apparently indicates a compensatory allowance paid by the State to dispossessed owners of temple lands; cf. ll. 12-13. अप्रतिकर=for which no compensation is to be paid by the State. कुटुम्बि=householder (or agriculturist).

5 I.e., Six *dīnāras* (gold coins) and eight *rūpakas* (silver coins). These apparently indicate the Gupta gold and silver issues. The price of 3 *kulyavāpas* and 2 *droṇavāpas* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *kulyavāpa* of the value of $\frac{1}{2}$ *dīnāra*) was 6 *dīnāras* and 8 *rūpakas* (= $\frac{1}{2}$ *dīnāra*); see l. 17. One gold coin was therefore equal to 16 silver coins. The rate of 2 *dīnāras* per *kulyavāpa*, while 3 *dīnāras* were the rate at Dāmodarpur, indicates less demand and therefore less populousness of the district in question.

6 फुट्ट is Prakrit for Sanskrit स्फुटित.

7 The same as भोयिलस्य. भोगिल may be another form of the name, or a mistake for भोयिल.

8 Read ०ल्याश्चा०.

9 तल=dwelling site (Basak); but possibly, pit (to be dug when earth or mud is required for constructing plinth, etc.). वाटक=path; garden. स्थलवास्तु=home-
stead land. But तलवाटक may actually mean a class of persons serving in temples; see *C. I. I.*, III, p. 216-17.

- 10 मि[ति] [1*] यतो युष्मान्वोधयाम(ः*) पुस्तपाल-दुर्गदत्तावर्कदासयोरवधारणया¹
अवधृत-
- 11 मस्तीह-विषये समुदय-व्याह्वयस्तम्ब-खिल-क्षेत्राणा(**) शश्वदाचन्द्रावर्क-तारक-
भोज्यानां द्विदी-
- 12 नारिक्यकुल्यवाप-विक्रयो(S*)नुवृत्तः [1*] एवंविधाप्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्र-विक्रये च
न कश्चिद्राजार्थ-
- 13 विरोध उपचय एव भट्टारक-पादानां धर्मफल-पङ्गागावाप्तिश्च तदीयतामिति [1*] एतयोः
- 14 भोयिल-भास्करयोस्सका(शा*)त्पूडीनारानष्ट च रूपकानायीकृत्य भगवतो गोविन्द-
स्वामिनो

- 15 देवकुलस्यार्थे भोयिलस्य विवृतायां खिलक्षेत्र-कुल्यवाप-त्रयं तलवाटकाद्यर्थम्²

Second Side

- 16 श्रीगोहाल्या(*) स्थल-वास्तुनो द्रोणवापं भास्करास्याप्यत्रैव स्थले-वस्तुनो³ द्रोणवाप-
- 17 मेव(*) कुल्यवाप-त्रयं स्थल-द्रोणवाप-द्वयञ्च अक्षयनीव्यास्ताम्र-पट्टेन⁴ दत्तम् [1*]
निम्न-⁵
- 18 कु ३ स्थल-द्रो २ [1*] ते⁶ यूयं स्वर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने⁷ दर्वी-कर्म-हस्तेनाष्टक-
नवक-नळाभ्या-

1 Note the nature of the work the *pustapālas* (record-keepers) did. They tried to determine whether the purchaser had a religious motive and whether the land could be sold rent-free without any loss to the State. Loss of revenue was supposed to be compensated by the spiritual gain. Basak: दुर्गा°.

2 Read °र्त्य. 3 Read भास्कर° and स्थल-वास्तु°. 4 Read °नीव्या ताम्र°.

5 As H. Shastri suggests, it stands for (or, is a mistake for) निम्न. Thus we have निम्न(=निम्नभूमि)-कुल्यवापाः ३, स्थल-द्रोणवापौ २।

6 The Paharpur plate has तद् which is better. यूयं refers to the villagers.

7 स्वर्षणाविरोधिस्थाने=in places which have no conflict with your own agricultural work, i.e., in places which do not belong to any of the villagers. दर्वीकर्म (cf. also the Nandapur ins., l. 14) may have been the technical designation of the person who measured the area; cf. दूतकर्म=दूतक. Or, दवीकर्महस्त indicates a cubit of special length. *Infra*, Nos. 48-45 have a proper name in this place. हस्त here may not indicate the fact that the measuring was done by the person. Even in records of the 19th century reference is found to the hand of a person as a cubit of unspecified length. अपविच्छ्रय=having measured out.

- 19 मपविञ्छ्य चिरकाल-स्थ(1*)यि-तुषाङ्गारादिना¹ चिह्नैश्चातुर्दिशो नियम्य दास्यथाक्षय-
 20 नीवी-धर्मेन² च शश्वत्कालमनुपालयिष्यथ [1*] वर्त्तमान-भविष्यैश्च संव्यवहार्यादि-
 भिरेत-
 21 द्वर्मापेक्ष्यानुपालयितव्यमिति [11*] उक्तञ्च भगव(ता*)³ वेदव्यास-महात्मना [1*]
 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां
 22 व्वा⁴ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां ।
 स विघ्नायां किमिर्भूत्वा⁵ पितृभिस्सह पच्यते [11*] 1
 षष्टिं वर्ष-सह-
 23 स्त्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [11*] 2
 पूर्व-
 24 दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*]
 मही(*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(ऽ*)नुपाल-
 25 नमिति⁶ [11*] 3
 सं १००(+)२०(+)८ माघ-दि⁷ १०(+)६ [11*]

1 Read ०रादीनां. Cf. Yājñavalkya: सीम्नो विवादे क्षेतस्य सामन्ताः स्थविरादयः । गोपाः सीमाकृषाणाश्च सर्वे च वनगोचराः ॥ नयेयुरेते सीमानं स्थलाङ्गारतुषद्भूमैः । सेतुवल्मीकनिम्नास्थिचैल्याद्यैरुपलक्षिताम् ॥ (व्यवहाराध्यायः, १५०-५१) ; also Manu: अश्मनोऽस्थीनि गोबालांस्तूषान् भस्मकपालिकाः । करीषमिष्टकाङ्गाराञ्छर्करा वालुकास्तथा ॥ यानि चैवम्प्रकाराणि कालाद्भूमिर्न भक्षयेत् । तानि सन्धिषु सीमायाम-प्रकाशानि कारयेत् ॥ (VIII, 250-51). According to Brihaspati, प्रक्षिप्य कुम्भेष्वेतानि सीमान्तेषु निधापयेत् ।

2 Read धर्मेण.

3 Basak: भगवद्वेद०.

4 Read वा. The duplication is due to the sandhi rule वा पदान्तस्य ; cf. संवत्सरः and सव्वत्सरः.

5 Usually कृमि.

6 Propeltry पालनम् ॥ इति ॥

7 सं=संवत्सरे ; दि=दिवसे.

No. 42—Pāhārpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 159 (=479 A.D.)

PĀHĀRPUR, Rājshāhī Dist., Bengal.

K. N. DIKSHIT, *Ep. Ind.*, XX, p. 61ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स्वस्ति [॥*] पुण्ड्र[वर्द्ध]नादायुक्तका² आर्य्यनगरश्चेष्टि-पुरोगन्नाधिष्ठानाधिकरणम्³
दक्षिणांशकवीथेय-नागिरट्ट-
- 2 माण्डलिक-पलाशाट्टपार्श्विक - वटगोहाली - जम्बुदेवप्रावेश्यपृष्ठिमपोत्तकगोषाट-
पुञ्जक-मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य-
- 3 नित्वगोहालीषु⁴ ब्राह्मणोत्तरान्महत्तरादि-कुटुम्बिनः कुशलमनुवर्णयन्नुबोधयन्ति [॥*]
विज्ञापयत्यस्मान्ब्राह्मण-नाथ-

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XX.

2 Dikshit: •युक्तकः. There were more Āyuktakas than one at Puṇḍra-
vardhana, the headquarters of the province.

3 Read •णं. The *adhikaraṇa* (governing body) of the city was headed
by the *nagara-śreṣṭhīn* and others who are known from *supra*, No. 18, etc.
The order was jointly issued by the Āyuktakas and this governing body.

4 I.e., in Vaṭa-gohālī, in Nitva-gohālī in the possession of Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa, and
in Prishṭhimapottaka and Goshāṭapūñjaka in the possession of Jambudeva—all
situated in the Palāśāṭṭa-pārśva, in the Nāgiraṭṭa-manḍala, in the Dakṣiṇām-
śaka-vīthi. The word *gohālī* (Sanskrit *gośālā*; Bengali *goāl*) suggests that either
Vaṭa-gohālī or Nitva-gohālī (possibly the former which was a more important place
owing to the situation of the Jaina Vihāra) is to be identified with the village of
Goālbiṭā near Pāhārpur. प्रवेश=income, revenue; प्रावेश्य=right of revenue. It
seems that Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa and Jambudeva were not entitled to get the
प्रतिकर or compensatory dues. The villages owned by them possibly contained some
plots of State land. Vīthi=district on the banks of a river, according to some.

- 4 शम्मी एतद्भार्य्या रामी-च [1*] युष्माकमिहाधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्वि-दीनारिवक्य-कुल्य-
वापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्याक्षयनीवी-समुदयवाह्या-¹
- 5 प्रतिकर-खिलक्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो(S*)नुवृत्तस्तदर्थथानेनैव वक्रमेणावयोस्सकाशादीनार-
लयमुपसङ्गद्वावयो(:*) स्व-पुरयाप्या-
- 6 यनाय वटगोहाल्यामवास्याङ्गाशिक²-पञ्चस्तूपनिकायिक-निग्रन्थश्रमणाचार्य्य-गृह-³
नन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-विहारे
- 7 भगवतामर्हतां गन्ध-धूप-सुमनो-दीपाद्यर्थन्तलवाटक-निमित्तञ्च अ(तः*) एव वट-
गोहालीतो वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धञ्च-
- 8 म्बुदेवप्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके क्षेत्रं⁴ द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं गोपाटपुञ्जाद्रोणवाप-
चतुष्टयम् मूलनागिरह-
- 9 प्रावेश्य-नित्वगोहालीतः अर्द्धलिक-द्रोणवापानित्येवमध्यर्द्ध क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापमक्षय-⁵
नीव्या दातुम[ति] [1*] यतः प्रथम-
- 10 पुस्तपालदिवाकरनन्दि-पुस्तपालवृत्तिविष्णु-विरोचन-रामदास-हरिदास-शशिनन्दि-
[सु]प्रभ-मनुद[त्ताना]मवधारण-⁶

1 Read वाह्या°. The rates of 2 and 3 *dināras* in 2 *vishayas* of North Bengal suggest that one region was more populous and land was more in demand there. As fallow land of a district is referred to, there can be no question of the character of the soil. But the *kulyavāpa* in this district may have been smaller in area; cf. षट्क-नड in l. 19, and p. 332, n. 7.

2 Read °ल्यामेवा°. H. Shastri connects the name with *Navyāvakāśikā* and *Dikshit* with Benares. Guhanandin and the *Pañchastūpa* sect appear to have belonged to Benares.

3 निग्रन्थ=निग्रन्थ=Jain. निग्रन्थ-श्रमणा=a Jain monk. पञ्चस्तूप is suggested to have been the name of a locality. पञ्चस्तूप-निकायिक=belonging to the sect called पञ्चस्तूपनिकाय or पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकाय.

4 Read क्षेत्रं.

5 कुल्य was engraved upon द्रोण which had been originally engraved. अर्ध्यर्द्ध=1½ and अर्द्धलिक=2½. So the lands were: 1½ *vāstu-droṇavāpas* at *Vaṭa-gohāli*+4 *droṇavāpas* at *Prishṭhimapottaka*+4 *droṇavāpas* at *Goshāṭapuñja*[ka]+2½ *droṇavāpas* at *Nitva-gohāli*=in all 1½ *kulyavāpas* (=12 *droṇavāpas*, 1 *kulyavāpa* being=8 *droṇavāpas*). 4 *ādhavāpas*=1 *droṇavāpa*. *Dikshit*: दातुम[त्यल].

6 Or मनुदासा° ? *Dikshit*: शशिनन्दिषु प्रथम-नु...नामव°.

- 11 यावद्वृत्तम् अस्यस्मदधिष्ठानाधिकरणे द्वि-दीनारिकव्य-कुल्यवापेन शश्वत्कालोपभोग्या-
क्षयनीवी-समु[दय]वाह्याप्रतिकर-¹
- 12 [खिल*]क्षेत्रवास्तु-विक्रयो(S*)नुवृत्तस्तद्यद्युष्मान्मन्त्राद्वाण-नाथशर्म्मा² एतद्भार्य्या रामो
च पलाशाष्टपाक्षिक-वटगोहाली-स्थ[गि]-

Second Side

- 13 [काशि*]क-पञ्चस्तूपकुलनिकायिक³-आचार्य्य-निग्रन्थ-गुहनन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठित-
सद्विहारे अरहतां⁴ गन्ध-[धूप]ाद्युपयोगाय
- 14 [तल-वा*]टक-निमित्तञ्च तदैव वटगोहाल्यां वास्तु-द्रोणवापमध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्रजम्बुदेव-
प्रावेश्य-पृष्ठिमपोत्तके द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं
- 15 गोषाटपुञ्जाद्द्रोणवाप-चतुष्टयं मूलनागिरट्ट-प्रावेश्य-नित्यगोहालीतो द्रोणवाप-द्वय-
माढवा[प-द्व]याधिकमित्येवम-⁵
- 16 ध्यर्द्धं क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापमप्रार्थयते(S*)त्र⁶ न कश्चिद्विरोधः गुणस्तु यत्परमभट्टारक-
पादानामर्थोपचयो⁷ धर्म-षड्भागाप्याय-
- 17 नञ्च भवति [।*] तदेवङ्क्षित्यतामित्यनेनावधारणा-क् मेणास्माद्वाद्वाणनाथशर्म्मत
एतद्भार्य्यारामियाश्च⁸ दीनार-त्त-

1 Read °वाह्या°.

2 Read °ष्मान्त्राद्वाण.

3 Read °यिकाचार्य्य.

4 Read अर्हतां.

5 आढवाप here follows the formula चतुराढको भवेद्द्रोणः. Ārhā is even now a land measure in some parts of Bengal. The Ārhā in Mymensingh Dist. is said to be 100×100 square yards (*Journ. Dep. Let., XVI, E. Hist. Beng., p. 45*), the scheme being 4 *kākas=gandā*; 20 *gaṇḍās=kāṭhā*; 20 *kāṭhās=kānī*; 4 *kānīs=ārḥā*; 16 *ārḥās=droṇ*. See p. 332, n. 7. But as regards Mymensingh, Hunter (*op. cit.*, V, p. 447f.) speaks of *ārḥā* (a little above 1½ acres) as 1/8 of *purā* (=25 acres, 3 roods, 12 poles) in some Parganās, and of *droṇ* which is equal to 5 acres, 2 roods, 12 poles in some Parganās, but to 16 acres, 3 roods, 1 pole in others.

6 Read प्रार्थयेते.

7 The emperor referred to is no doubt Budha Gupta (c. 476-95 A.D.)

8 Read राम्याश्च.

- 18 यमाथीकृत्यैताभ्यां विज्ञापितक-क्रमोपयोगायोपरि-निर्दिष्ट-ग्राम-गोहालिकेषु तल-वाटक-
वास्तुना सह चेतं
- 19 कुल्यवाप(:*) अध्यर्दो(S*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्मैण दत्तः [1*] कु १ द्रो ४¹ [1*]
तद्युष्माभिः स्व-कर्षणाविरोधि-स्थाने² षट्-नडैरप-
- 20 विच्छद्य³ दातव्यो(S*)क्षय-नीवी-धर्मैण च शश्वदाचन्द्रार्क-तारक-कालमनुपाल-
यितव्य इति [1*] सम् १००(+*)५०(+*)६
- 21 माघ-दि⁴ ७ [1*] उक्तञ्च भगवता व्यासेन [1*]
स्व-दत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [1*]
- 22 स विघ्रायां क्रिमिभूर्त्वा⁵ पितृभिस्सह पच्यते [11*] 1
षष्टि-वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो वसति भूमिदः [1*]
- 23 आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [11*] 2
राजभिर्वहुभिर्दत्ता⁶ दीयते च पुनः पुनः [1*]
यस्य यस्य
- 24 यदा भूमि⁷ तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [11*] 3
पूर्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*]
महीम्महीमतां श्रेष्ठ
- 25 दानाच्छ्रेयो(S*)नुपालनं [11*] 4
विन्ध्याटवीष्वनम्भस्सु⁸ शुष्क-कोटर-वासिनः(*) [1*]
कृष्णाहिनो⁹ हि जायन्ते देव-दायं हरन्ति ये [11*] 5

1 कु=कुल्यवाप ; द्रो=द्रोणवाप.

2 Dikshit reads स्वकर्मणा ; but see *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, p. 82, note 4. षट्क-नल= measuring rod 6 cubits long, and not possibly a unit of land measure 6×6 reeds. नड=नल.

3 N. P. Chakravarti connects the word with Bengali वाछा, to select, to choose.

4 सम्=संवत्सरे ; दि=दिवसे.

5 Usually क्रिमि०.

6 Read र्वहु०.

7 Read भूमिस्तस्य.

8 Dikshit reads ०म्बुन्धु० and suggests the correction ०म्बुषु०.

9 Read कृष्णाहयो. दाय=gift, donation ; or, share.

No. 43—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of Dharmāditya¹—Regnal Year 3.

FARIDPUR Dist., Bengal.

F. E. Pargiter, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 195f; *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 710ff; R. G. Basak, *Sir Asutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Vol.*, III, part ii, p. 475ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1722 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : V. 1 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT²

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य [॥*]³

First Side

1 १^४ स्वस्वस्यां पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे ययात्यम्बरिष-सम-वृत्तौ⁵ म-

1 It is difficult to determine whether Dharmāditya was a scion of the Gupta family or a local prince who assumed independence during the decline of the Imperial Guptas. His name ending in *āditya* seems to connect him with the Guptas. The *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. Sankrityayana, vv. 844-46) appears to refer to the rule of a king called व and of his successor (or, younger brother) called ध. It is tempting to suggest that व=वैन्यगुप्त and ध=धर्म्मोदित्य. But the text of the work is corrupt and the statements are often confused; it is therefore not easy to rely on them.

2 From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record is spurious; but he was later convinced of its genuineness (*Bāṅgālār Itihās*, Beng., I, 2nd ed., p. 94)

3 वारक was originally the name of a मण्डल (subdivision); but वारक-मण्डल afterwards became the name of a विषय (district); cf. खेटक, खेटकाहार and खेटकाहार-विषय. I cannot accept Pargiter's translation "a district in the province of Vāraka". The seal apparently belonged to the government of the *vishaya* called Vārakamaṇḍala which seems to have included parts of the Goalundo Subdivision and the Koṭālipārā region in the Gopālganj Subdivision of the Faridpur Dist. See p. 352, n. 11.

4 Symbol for सिद्ध. Better स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां

5 Read ०म्बरीष.

- 2 हाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्मादित्य-राज्ये तत्प्रसाद-लब्धास्पद-महाराज-स्था-
- 3 ण्दत्तस्याध्यासन-काले स्तद्विनियुक्तक-वारकमण्डले¹ विषयपति-ज-
- 4 जावस्यायोगो(S*)धिकरणं विषयमहत्तरेदित-कुलचन्द्र-गरुड-वृहच्च²-
- 5 शालुकानाचार-भाशैल्य-शुभदेव-घोषचन्द्रानिमित्र-³गुणचन्द्र-कालस(सु?)-
- 6 ख-कुलखामि-दुर्लभ-सत्यचन्द्रार्जुन-वप्प⁴-कुण्डलित-पुरोगा(ः*) प्रकृतयश्च
- 7 साधनिक-वातभोगेन⁵ विज्ञाप्ताः⁶ [I*] इच्छाम्यहं भवतान्सकाशा(त*)⁷ क्षेत्र-खण्डमुप-
- 8 क्रीय ब्राह्मणस्य प्रतिपादयितुं [I*] तदर्हथ सत्तो मूल्यं गृहीत्वा विषये विभ-⁸
- 9 ज्य दातुमिति [I*] यतः एतदभ्यर्थनमधिकृत्य(I*)स्माभिरकात्ये⁹ भूत्वा पुस्तपाल-
- वि[न]¹⁰
- 10 यसेनावधारणया अवधृतमस्तीह-विषये प्राक्समुद्र-मर्यादा चतुर्दै¹¹
- 11 नारिक्य-कुल्यवापेन क्षेत्राणि विक्रीयमानकानि [I*] तथा वाप-क्षेत्रखण्डल(I**)

1 Read तद्वि० and ०मण्डल-विषय०. Note that Jajāva was appointed governor of the Vāraka maṇḍala not by Dharmāditya, but by Sthānu Datta (cf. तत् in तद्वि-नियुक्तक), apparently a viceroy of Navyāvākāsikā. आस्पद=authority, office. अध्यासन=occupation=government. आयोग=appointment. Read आयोगे.

2 Read वृह०.

3 Pargiter suggested अनमिल.

4 Pargiter took अर्जुनवप्प ("father of Arjuna") as one name. Evidently however there are two names अर्जुन and वप्प. वप्प is used as a personal name in many inscriptions; cf. the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarman.

5 Cf. दौःसाधिक, दौःसाधनिक or दौःसाधसाधनिक of later Bengal grants. साधन=payment of debt; infliction of fine; and साधनपत्र=document of evidence. साधनिक may have been an agent in the court of justice.

6 Read विज्ञापिताः.

7 Read भवतां सका०.

8 *Infra*, p. 262 n.

9 Read ०रैकात्म्ये. Pargiter: भूत्वा.

10 Or, वि[ज]० ?

11 Read चातुर्दीना० and ०माणकानि. Pargiter's view that the *kulyavāpa* was land 8×9 reeds (of 16 cubits), i. e., a little more than an acre, is apparently wrong (cf. the high rate of price). It is interesting that the Faridpur Dist. is connected with the Eastern Sea. In the Sāhitya Parishat grant, l. 47, a village in the Nāvya (lit. navigable) district is said to have had the sea to its east. This Nāvya may be connected with Navya (Nāvya?)-Avakāsikā mentioned in No. 44. Samudra in some cases may indicate a *bil* (lake) like the Dhol-Samudra (near Faridpur). But Prāksamudra no doubt refers to the Bay of Bengal which touches the Faridpur Dist. through several estuaries and was probably nearer that Dist. in the Gupta age. As the Madaripur region (Faridpur) is called South Vikrampur and apparently formed a part of the Vikramapurabhāga (Dacca) in ancient time, the main course of the Padmā must then have reached the sea through a mouth many miles to the west of the present Goalundo-Chandpur course. प्राक्समुद्र-मर्यादा=custom in the countries bordering the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal).

- 12 कृत-कलना दृष्टि-मात्र-प्रबन्धेन¹ ताम्रपट्ट-धम्मणा² विक्रयमानका(ः*)³ [।*] तच्च
 13 परमभट्टारक-पादानामत्र⁴ धर्मे-षड्भाग-लाभः⁵ [।*] तदेतां प्रवृत्तिमधिगम्य न्यासा-
 14 धा⁶ स्व-पुराय-कीर्त्ति-संस्थापन-कृताभिलाषस्य यथा संकल्पाभि तथा⁷ कृत्य[यावृ]⁸
 15 त्य साधनिक-वतभोगेन⁹ द्वादश-दीनारानग्रतो दत्त्वा¹⁰ [।*] शिवचन्द्र-ह[स्तेनाष्ट]-
 16 क-नवक-नलेनामपविञ्च्य¹¹ वातभोग-सकाशे(S*)स्माभि ध्रुविलाह्यां¹² क्षेत्र-[कुल्य]-
 17 वाप-त्रयं ताम्रपट्ट-धम्मणा¹³ विक्कीत(*) [।*] अनेन(I*)पि वातभोगेन

1 Read दृष्टि and प्रबन्धेन. वाप-क्षेत्र=cultivated field (as opposed to अप्रहत- or खिल-क्षेत्र). खण्डल=खण्ड, a plot. कृतकलन=कृतचिह्नाङ्क=whose boundary marks are fixed. दृष्टिमात्रप्रबन्धेन=by a plan that can be settled in a moment. Note the different rate for the cultivated land.

2 Read धर्मेण. I.e., according to the custom of granting copper-plate charters.

3 Read विक्रीयमाणः. Pargiter suggested ०मानिका. 4 Pargiter: ०मंत.

5 Following Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 197), Basak suggests (*op. cit.*, pp. 483, 487) that the State was to receive only the sixth part of the price according to law in such transactions and that the remaining five-sixths of the price used to go to the funds of the village assemblies. The text (cf. also *supra* No. 34, l. 7; Nos. 39, 41 42, etc.) however shows that the land was sold rent-free in view of the religious motive of the purchase. धर्मेषड्भाग thus apparently refers to the king's share of $\frac{1}{6}$ part of the merit in lieu of the customary share of grain. In regard to the Brāhmaṇas' exemption from taxes, Vasishṭha quotes three Vedic texts to the effect that the king shares $\frac{1}{6}$ of the Brāhmaṇa's spiritual merit acquired by the performance of sacrifices and charitable works. The *Vishṇu-saṃhitā* (III, 13-14) also says. ब्राह्मणेभ्यः करादानं न कुर्यात् ; ते हि राज्ञो धर्मेकरदाः । राजा प्रजाभ्यः सुकृत-दुस्कृत-षष्टांश-भाक् । See also Ghoshal, *Hindu Rev. Sys.*, p. 186.

6 Pargiter read न्यासाधो and suggested न्यासाधेः. Possibly न्यासतः or न्यसनात् is intended.

7 ०कल्पितं तथा ? Pargiter suggested ०कल्पाभिस्तथा.

8 Read क्रिययावृत्य. आधृत्य=supporting.

9 Read वातभोगेन. 10 Pargiter: ०नाग्रतो. Read दीनारा अग्रतो दत्ताः.

11 Dhruvilāṭī is identified with mod. Dhulāt, (near Pansha. B. & A. Ry., Goalundo Subdivision) about 28 miles to the northwest of the Faridpur town.

12 Read नलेनापविञ्च्य ; or possibly नलाभ्यामपः. 13 Read ताम्रपट्टधर्मेण

- 18 चन्द्रतारावर्क-स्थितिकाल-संभोग्यं य(।*)वत्परत्रानुग्रह-काञ्चिणा भ(।*)रद्वारज-सगो¹
 19 ब्र-वाजसनेय-षलङ्गाध्यायिनस्य² चन्द्रस्वामिनस्य मातापितोरनुग्रहा-
 20 य³ मुदक-पूर्व्वेण⁴ प्रतिपादितमिति [।*] तदुपरिलिखितकागाम-सामन्त-⁵
 राजभिः(*) सम-
 21 धिगतशास्त्रभि⁶ भूमि-दानानुपालन-क्षेपानुमोदनेषु सम्य(ग्*)-दत्तान्यपि दानानि
 22 राजभिरनै⁷ प्रतिपादनीयानिति⁸ प्रत्यवगम्य भूमिदानं सुतरामेव प्रतिपालनी-
 23 यमिति [।।*] सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्र पूर्व्वेण हिमसेन-पाटके⁹ दक्षिणेण¹⁰
 त्रिघटिका¹¹
 24 अपर-ताम्रपट्टश्च पश्चिमेण¹² त्रिघटिकायाः शीलकुण्डश्च उत्तरेण [ना]वाता-¹³
 25 क्षेणी हिमसेन-पाटकश्च [।।*] भवति चात्र शोकः¹⁴ [।*]
 स्व-दत्तां परदत्ताम्वा¹⁵ यो ह-
 26 रेत वसुन्धरां [।*]
 श्व-विप्राया(।*) किमिर्भूत्वा पच्यते पितृभस्सह¹⁶ ॥ 1
 27 सम्बत्¹⁷ ३ वैशा दि ५ [।।*]

1 Pargiter: सागो०.

2 Read षडङ्गाध्यायिने चन्द्रस्वामिने.

3 I. e., ब्राह्मणात् पारलिकानुग्रहलाभायः.

4 Read उदक०. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृहीयाद्दानीति तथावदेत् । तोयं दद्यात्ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः ॥ अग्निपुराण, २०६।४६-५०.

5 Pargiter suggested कागम. The reading intended seems to be लिखितकम् आगामि०. लिखितकं qualifies भूमिदानं in l. 22.

6 Read सामन्तराजैः समधिगत-शास्त्रैर्भूमि०. क्षेप=transgressing.

7 Read ०रन्यैः. Pargiter suggested एभिः or एतैः.

8 Read ०नीति.

9 Read पाटको (=land measuring a *pātaka*.)

10 Read ०णेन.

11 Read त्रिघटिका which was possibly a very big village, named after three *ghāṭs* (landing places) of a river. ताम्रपट्ट=पट्टप्राप्त-भूमि

12 Read ०मेन. *Silakunḍa* was a small village (No. 45, l. 25).

13 ना may also be read भा. नौ+आता (=door-frame)+क्षेणी (=क्षेत्र, harbour)=ship-building harbour, according to Hoernle and Pargiter.

14 Read श्लोकः.

15 Read दत्तां वा.

16 Read पितृभिः०.

17 Read संवत्. I. e., संवत्सरः तृतीयः वैशाख-दिवसः पञ्चमः

No. 44—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Dharmāditya.

FARIDPUR Dist., Bengal.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 200f; BHANDARKAR, *List*, No. 1723 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class of the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Vv. 1-2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 स्वस्त्यस्याम्पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथे² नृग-नघुष-ययात्य-³
- 2 म्वरीष-सम-धृतौ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीधर्म्मोदित्यभट्टारक-रा
- 3 ज्यै⁴ तदनुमोदना-लद्धास्पदो⁵ नव्यावकाशिकायां⁶ महाप्रति-
- 4 हारोपरिक-नागदेवस्याद्वयासन-काले(S*)नेनापि वारकमण्डल-
- 5 विषयाधिनियुक्तक-व्यापार-कारण्डय-गोपालस्वामी⁷ [।*]

1 From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX. R. D. Banerji at first believed that the record (also Nos. 43 and 45) is spurious ; but later he was convinced about its genuineness. The mistakes are due to the carelessness and incompetence of the engraver and to the fact that he could not follow the draft of the scribe.

2 Read स्वस्ति ॥ अस्यां पृथिव्या०.

3 Read नघुष. These are the names of some famous kings of Brahmanical traditions.

4 Read ०रके राज्यं पालयति.

5 Read लब्धास्पदस्य.

6 अवकाश=opening. The district had its headquarters at Navyāvakāśikā which may have derived its name from a canal. Nāgadeva seems to have originally been a Mahāpratihāra ; but later he was appointed Uparika (here, viceroy) of the Navyāvakāśikā district. The name of this city reminds one of Kāśiyā-nī in the Gopālganj Subdivision of the Faridpur Dist. Bhaṭṭasali (*Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 85) suggests Sābhār (Dacca).

7 व्यापारकारण्डय=one who has to regulate trade, according to Pargiter. But there may be some mistakes in the text.

- 6 यतो(S*)स्य सम्बवहरतो¹ वसुदावस्वामिना² सादरमभिगम्य
 7 ज्येष्ठाकायस्थ³-नयसेन-प्रमुखमधिकरणम्महत्तार-⁴
 8 सोमधोष-पुरस्सराश्च विषयान(I*)' महत्तरा विज्ञाप्ताः⁵ [I*]
 9 इच्छेयम्भवतान्प्रसादाद्यथार्थेण⁶ भवद्भयोरेव⁷ क्षेत्रा-खण्डलकै-⁸
 10 क्रीत्वा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये गुणवत्कारव-द्वा-⁹
 11 जिसिनेय-लौहित्यसगोत्राय ब्राह्मणे¹⁰ सोमस्वामिने प्रति-
 12 पादितुं¹¹ [I*] तदर्हन्त्यस्मद्विज्ञाप¹²-वसान्यानमांसम्बितकुम्बि¹³ [I*] एतदावा-¹⁴
 13 भ्यर्थानमधिकृत्यास्त्येतत्प्राक्क्रीयमानक-मर्त्यादा¹⁵ चतुर्द्दीनारिक्य-¹⁶
 14 कुल्यवापेन क्षेत्राणि विक्रीयन्तानोत्यस्माद्रसु(देव*)स्वामिनः¹⁷

- 1 Read संव्यवहरतो.
 2 Read वसुदेव०.
 3 Read ज्येष्ठ०. ज्येष्ठकायस्थ is the same as प्रथमकायस्थ of other records.
 4 Read ०हत्तर०.
 5 Read विज्ञापिताः.
 6 Read ०वतां प्र०.
 7 Read भवद्भ्य एव.
 8 Read क्षेत्र-खण्डलकं (or, ०कान्) वक्रीत्वा.
 9 Read वाजसनेयि. I.e., belonging to the Kāṇva śākhā, Vājasaneyi charaṇa and Lauhitya gotra.
 10 Read ब्राह्मणाय, or ब्राह्मण-सोम०.
 11 Read ०पादयितुं.
 12 Read तदर्हन्त्यास्मद्वि०.
 13 Pargiter suggested अस्मद्विज्ञाप-वशा न्यानमांसं विभक्तुमिति. ०दस्माद्विज्ञाप्य-वशाद्यथान्यायेन प्रसादं कर्तुमिति ?
 14 Read एतदेवाभ्यर्थन०.
 15 Read प्राक्क्रीयमानक० or प्राग्विक्रयमर्त्या०.
 16 Better read चतुर्द्दीनारिक्य.
 17 Pargiter suggested विक्रीयन्त इति. Read विक्रीयमानानीति । अस्मा०.

Second Side

- 15 खिल[सत्वात्प्रप्यर्थ ?] कुल्यवापस्य [प्रवर्त्त]वापाधिकस्य दीनार-
 16 द्वयमादाय¹ यथार्हञ्च [षष्ठर्गण्डयवाप्तयुरस्मानि ?]
 17 शात्पलानि श्रीमान्महत्तर²-थोड-सम्बद्ध³-जेन्न-खण्डलका तसनी (?)
 18 पुस्तपाल-जंमभूतेरवधारणयावश्चत्य [पूर्तेदुनिवद]⁴ [प्रतीत?]-
 19 धर्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविञ्छय [व*]सुदे-
 20 व-ब्राह्मणा(य*) विक्क्रीतमतेनापि⁵ कक्रीत(*). सीमालिङ्गानि चात्र
 21 पूर्वस्यां [सो]ग-ताम्रपट्ट⁶-सीमा । (दक्षिणस्यां*) वृद्धस्थ-पट्टुकि-पक्कटी-वृत्त-सी-⁷
 22 मा [1*] पश्चिमस्यां गोरथ्य-सकृत्परभास्ताटकस्थ-द्वगडेरस्यापि-
 23 एडेतिश्चय-नौदण्डक-सीमा⁸ । उत्तरस्यां गगर्गखामि-ताम्रपट्ट-सीमा [11*]
 24 भवन्ति चात्र धर्मा-शास्त्र-श्लोकानि⁹ ॥

षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि

- 25 खगर्गे मोदति भूमिद(:*) [1*]
 आक्षेप(1*) चानुमन्ता च लान्येव¹⁰
 26 नरके वसेत् । [1*] 1
 ख-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ताम्वा¹¹ यो हरेत वसु-
 27 न्धरा(मू*) [1*]
 श्व-[वि]प्रायां(*) कृमिभूत्वा पितृभि(:*) सह पच्य[ते] [11*] 2

1 Read द्वय०. खिलस्वत्वात् प्राप्यम् अर्द्धकुल्यवापस्य विद्रोणवापाधिकस्य ?

2 Read श्रीमन्म०. षष्ठर्गण्डकाधिकरूपकलयम् अस्माभिः ?

3 Read संबद्ध (belonging to). खण्डलकान्दीयतामिति, or ०कान्ताम्रशासनीकृत्य ?

4 पट्टेषु निबद्धं, or ताम्रपट्टधर्मेण ? 5 Read ०मनेनापि.

6 ताम्रपट्ट is possibly the same as शासन found in other records. The words appear to mean "land possessed or owned on the strength of a charter".

7 Read पक्कटि. Vṛddhastha and Paṭṭuki may be proper names.

8 Read पश्चिमायां. गोरथ्य-सकृत्प्रभ-तटाकस्थ-दण्डोऽस्मिन् दण्डे तिर्यग्नौ० ? नौदण्ड= oar ; दण्ड= post to fasten boats?

9 Read भवतः चात्र धर्म-शास्त्र-श्लोकौ.

10 Read तान्येव.

11 Read ०त्तां वा.

No. 45—Faridpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Gopachandra—Regnal year 18¹

FARIDPUR Dist., Bengal.

F. E. PARGITER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, 1910, p. 204; BHANDARKAR, *List*, No. 1724 (for other references).

Language: Sanskrit

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class of the first half of the 6th century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

Seal

वारकमण्डलविषयाधिकरणस्य [॥*]³

First Side

- 1 स्वस्वस्याम्पृथिव्यामप्रतिर[थे] [य]या[त्यम्बरी][ष-सम-वृत्तौ म*]हा-
- 2 राजाधिराज-श्रीगोपचन्द्रभट्टारक-राज्ये [तदनुमोदना-लब्धास्प*]-
- 3 [द*]स्य नव्यावकाशिकायां महाप्रतिहार-व्या [पारगञ्ज-वृ?]तमूल-कु-⁴
- 4 [मारा?]मात्य-उपरिक-नाग[देवस्या*]द्वयासन-[का*]पे⁵ वारक[मण्ड*]लविषय-
- 5 व्यापाराय विनियुक्त-वत्सपाल[स्वामी]⁶ [॥*] [यतो*](S*)[स्य] [सं*]व्यवहर-
- 6 [तो] ज्येष्ठकायस्थ-नयसेन-प्र [मुखम*][धिक][र]ण...[मह?]-

1 Gopachandra apparently belonged to a local family which assumed independence about the downfall of the Imperial Guptas. See *infra*, p. 359, n. 4. Gopachandra's dominions extended over a wide area including the Faridpur Dist. in Central Bengal and the Burdwan Dist. in south-east Bengal. The king of the East called Gopa in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* (ed. R. Sankritayana, v. 760) may be the same as Gopachandra. From a consideration of the developed form of य in this record, Pargiter (*op. cit.*, p. 207) suggested that Gopachandra was later than Dharmāditya. He read the date as 19.

2 From the facsimile in *Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX.

3 I.e., [seal] of the administrative office of the district called Vārakamaṇḍala.

4 Read ०रके राज्यं पालयति. Pargiter suggested क्रियामाल्य. Read ०मात्यो-परिक, व्यापारगञ्ज=the business of managing trade, according to Pargiter. But the reading is doubtful and the text corrupt.

5 Read काले वारक०.

6 Pargiter read स्वामि[ना]...ष्ट(स्य ?) and suggested स्वामिना तस्य.

- 7 त्तर-विषयकुराड-प.....ह.....घो-
 8 षचन्द्रानाचार-रा[ज्य].....ल.....व[ह]...मह-
 9 त्तरा(:*) प्रधान-व्याप[रिणः १].....[य].....र.....मन-
 10 सा यथार्ह[' विज्ञाप्ताः] [1*] [इ*] [च्छेयं] भवत[ि*] [प्रस*] [दाद] ... [महाको१] -
 11 टिक[ना*]म.....[प].....[त्त] ...द्वयो¹ क्षेत्-कुल्य-
 12 वापैकं यथा[र्षे*]णो[पक्को]य मा[तापि*]तो[रा][त्मनश्च*] पुण्याभिवृद्धये [गु]-
 13 एवन्त-कएव-[वज]सिनय-[लौहत्त्य-[भ]ट्टगो[मि]दत्तस्वामि² प्र-
 14 [ति]पा[दितुं] [1*] त[द*]र्हथ [भा]रद्वाज-सगोत्र(तो*) [भ]वन्तो(S*)स्मत्तोमूल्यमादा-
 15 य.....धैनमस.....³कृतमत [1*] [यत एतद]भ्य*]थनमधिवक्तु]-

Second Side

- 16 [त्य]गम्यमाना प्राकप्रवृ[त्ति*]-मर्ग्यादा चतु[र्द्वा*]रि[क्कय*]-[कुल्य]वा[पे]न
 [क्षेत्रा]-
 17 णि विक्रीयमानानीति पुस्तपाल-[न]य[भू*]तिक्ष⁴ स्थलावधारण-
 18 यावद्वृत्त्य विषयाधिकरणेनाधिकरणकज्ञन कुलवारान्प्रकल्प्य⁵ प्र-
 19 तीत-धर्मशील-शिवचन्द्र-हस्ताष्टक-नवक-नलेनापविच्छ्रय वत्सपाल-
 20 स्वामि(ने*) क्षेत्र-कुल्यवापैकम्विकीतं⁶ [1*] अनेनापि ककीत्वा भट्ट-गोमिदत्तस्वामि-
 21 ने पुत्र-पौत्र-क्रमेण विधिना प्रतिपादितं[1*] सीमा-लिङ्गानि चात्र
 22 पूर्व्वस्यां ध्रुविलाट्याग्रहार-सीमा दक्षिणस्यां करङ्क(:*)
 23 पश्चिमस्यां⁷ शीलकुण्डग्राम-सीमा उत्तरस्यां करङ्क-सी-

1 Read ०द्वयः. Ll. 7-9 contained the list of persons who were approached by Vatsapālasvāmin. The names Ghoshachandra and Anāchāra are the same as in *supra*, No. 43. The name of Sivachandra is also found in Nos. 44-45. There could not therefore have been a long interval between Dharmāditya and Gopachandra.

2 Read गुणवते काएव-वाजसनेयि-लौहित्य-भट्टगोमिदत्तस्वामिने प्रतिपादयितुं.

3 Pargiter suggested अंशमङ्कितुमिति. Possibly ०न्दातुमिति

4 Possibly नयभूतेस्तु स्थलावधारणया or नयभूति-सुस्थलावधारणया. Read ०साणानीति

5 Pargiter: ज्वन or शुण. Read ०करणिकजनाङ्कु० or ०णिकज्ञेन. N. G. Majumdar read ०करणिकज्ञान्कु० (those who are acquainted with administrative affairs) in *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 156, n. कुलवार possibly means witness or arbitrator.

6 Read ०कं विकीतं.

7 Read पश्चिमायां. Karañka seems to be the name of a village. For Dhuvilāṭī, see *supra*, p. 352, n. 11

24 मा [१*]

स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [१*]

25 सस्यत्^१ १०(+*) ८^२ [॥*]

श्व-विघ्नाया(ः*) कृमिभृत्वा पितृभिः(ः*) सह पच्यते [॥*] 1

No. 46—Mallasārul Copper-plate Inscription
[of Vijayasena] of the time of Gopa-
chandra—Regnal year 3³

MALLASĀRUL, Burdwan Dist., Bengal.

N. G. MAJUMDAR, *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, p. 159ff.

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of the first half of the
6th century A. D.

Metre : Verse 1 आर्या ; V. 2 उपगीति ; Vv. 3-10 श्लोक (अनुष्टुम्).

TEXT⁴

Seal

[महा*]राज-विजय[से]नस्य [॥*]⁵

First Side

1 [१^३ स्वस्ति ॥*]⁶

1 Read दत्तां वा and संवत्.

2 Pargiter takes the figure to be ६. The date portion should be read after the second half of the stanza in अनुष्टुम्.

3 Note that this record is earlier than No. 45.

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII.

5 This Vijayasena has been identified with the person of the same name mentioned in *supra*, No. 37. This would place Gopachandra almost about the time of Vainya Gupta (507 A.D.). "The seal bears in relief a standing figure of a two-armed deity (Lokanātha?) with a *chakra* in the background, representing perhaps the wheel of Law." Vijayasena may have been a Buddhist; cf. adoration to Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha in ll. 1-2.

6 The restorations are conjectural but probable.

[जयति श्री-लो*]कनाथः¹ यः पुंसां सुकृत-कर्मफल-हेतुः [।*]

सत्य-तपो-मय-मूर्तिर्लोक-द्वय-साधनो धर्मः [॥*] 1

तदनु जितदम्त²-लोभा जय-

2

[न्ति चिरा*]य³ [पर]हितार्थाः [।*]

नि[मं]त्सराः सुचरितैः पर-लोक-जिगीषवः सन्तः [॥*] 2

पृथिवीं पृथुरिव⁴ प्रथित-प्रताप-नय-शौ[ग्ये] महाराजाधिराज-श्री-गोप-

3

[चन्द्रे*]⁵ प्रशासति तदनुज्ञप्तायां पुरयोत्तर-जनपदाध्यासिताया['] सतत-धर्म-

क्रिया-वर्द्धमानायां वर्द्धमानभुक्तौ⁶ पूज्यान्वर्त्तमानोपस्थितत⁷-कार्त्ताकृतिक-कु-

4

मारामाल्य- [चौरो]द्वरणि कोपरिकौद्रज्जिकाग्रहारिकौर्णस्थानिक-भोगपतिक-विषयपति-

तदा(।*)युक्तक-हिरण्यसामुदायिक-पत्तलकावसथिक-देवद्रोणीसम्ब-⁸

5

द्वादीन्विधिवत्सम्पूज्य⁹ वक्तृक-वीथी-सम्बद्धार्द्ध करकाग्रहारीण-महत्तरः हिमदत्तः

1 Read ०नाथो.

2 Read दम्भ०.

3 The restoration is conjectural but probable.

4 Read पृथाविव.

5 This probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

6 Vardhamānabhukti was the province round mod. Burdwan.

7 Read वर्त्तमानोपस्थित (those who are serving at the present time and are present on the spot).

8 With the single exception of the actual व sign in ब्राह्मणस्य in l. 16, in all other cases व has been indicated by the sign for व. This shows the gradual dying out of the old sign for व. Read सम्बद्ध, बाहुच, etc.

9 कार्त्ताकृतिक (from कृताकृत, business done and to be done), possibly superintendent or manager of state-affairs. कुमारामाल्य, executive officer of the same status as the Kumāra. चौरोद्वरणिक, possibly Police Inspector. उपरिक, any superior officer ; sometimes, viceroy. औद्रज्जिक (from उद्रज्ज, possibly a tax on permanent tenants), collector of the tax called उद्रज्ज, or enjoyer of the right of that tax. आग्रहारिक, owner of an *agrahāra* (gift-village belonging to a Brāhmaṇa [or a god]) or, officer superintending the *agrahāras*. और्णस्थानिक (from ऊर्ण, wool), owner of a wool market or factory producing wool ; or, officer superintending the *ūrṇasthānas*. भोगपतिक, possibly the same as भोगिक or भोगपाल, officer connected with the stable. It may also indicate a Jāgirdār. विषयपति, ruler of a district. तदायुक्तक, possibly an आयुक्त, a magistrate or treasury officer, appointed by particular officers like the Vishayapati. हिरण्यसामुदायिक, head of the royal



Courtesy : Arch. Surv. Ind. (Ep. Ind., XXIII).

Seal of the Mallasārul C. P. Inscription (Bk. III, No. 46).

- निर्वृ तवाटकीय-महत्तर-सु[व*]र्ण-यशा(:*) कपिस्थवाटकाग्रह[र]रीण-
- 6 महत्तर-धनस्वामि¹ वटवल्लकाग्रहारीण-महत्तर-यष्टिदत्त-श्रीदत्तौ कोडुवीराग्रहारीण-
भट्ट-वामनस्वामि¹ गोधग्रामाग्रहारीण-महिदत्त-राज्य-
- 7 दत्तौ शाहमल्लिवाटकीय-जीवस्वामि¹ चक्रत्तकीय खाड्गि-हरिः² मधुवाटकीय-
खाड्गि-गोडक(:*) खण्डजोटिकेय-खाड्गि-भद्रनन्दि³ विन्ध्यपुरेय-वाह-नायक-
- 8 हरि-प्रभुतयो⁴ वीथ्यधिकरणश्च⁵ विज्ञापयन्ति [।*] पूज्यं-महाराज-विजयसेनेन⁶
वयमभ्यर्थिता इच्छे(S*)हमेत(द*)-वीथी-सम्बद्ध-वेत्रगर्ताग्रामे युष्मभ्यो य-
- 9 था-न्यायनोपक्रीयाद्यै⁷ कुल्यवापान् मातापितृोरात्मनश्च पुण्यामिद्वद्धये कल्पान्तर-
स्थायिन्या प्रवृत्त्या पुत्र-पौत्रान्वय-भोग्यत्वेन कौसिडन्य-सगोत्राय
- 10 बाह्वृच-वत्सस्वामिनो⁸ पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्तनाय प्रतिपादयितुमिति⁹ [।*] यतो-

treasury or collector of revenue. पत्तलक, possibly ruler of a territorial division called पत्तला. आवसथिक, possibly superintendent of the *avasathas* or *Dharamsālās*. देवद्रोणी-संबद्ध, officers superintending the processions of idols of the temples, or probably, of temple-property (cf. l. 12 of the Veraval ins. where देवद्रोणी seems to mean temple or temple-property). These are technical terms the actual meanings of which are uncertain. The suggested interpretations are sometimes no better than conjectures. It is better to take them all as officers' designations.

1 Read स्वामी.

2 खाड्गि० is possibly the same as खड्गिन्, swordsman. वाहनायक=head porter or coach-driver; but it is better to suggest that the expression represents one personal name or two. आग्रहारीण=अग्रहारिन्.

3 Read नन्दी.

4 Read प्रभुतयो.

5 I.e., the governing body of the territorial division known as Vithi. विज्ञापयन्ति=declare. Note that the *mahattaras* and others as well as the *Vithi* government were approached by Vijayasena. The charter was issued by the elders and the *Vithi* government.

6 Read पुज्य० and इच्छये (or इच्छामि).

7 Read न्यायेन०.

8 Read स्वासिने. प्रवृत्ति=continuance.

9 Read पादयितु०. The word पञ्चमहायज्ञ actually refers to a Brāhmaṇa householder's sacred duties. They are अध्यापनं ब्रह्मयज्ञः पितृयज्ञस्तु तर्पणम् । होमो दैवो (or देवयज्ञो) बलिर्भौतो (or भूतयज्ञो) नृयज्ञोऽतिथिपूजनम् ॥ मनु । ३।७०-७१. They are sometimes mentioned as बलि, चरु, वैश्वदेव, अग्निहोत and अतिथि.

- (S*)स्माभिरस्याभ्यर्थं(न*)यावद्वृतमस्योषो(S*)नुक्रमः¹ उभयलोक-विजिगीषुभिः(:*)
- 11 [सा]धुभिः कियमाणा-पुण्य स्कन्धेषु श्री-परमाभट्टारक-प(।*)दानां² धर्म-षड्भागो-
(प*)चयो(S*)स्माकमपि प्रतिपालयतां कीर्ति-श्रेयोभ्यां योगः [।*] उक्तञ्च [।*]
यः क्रियां धर्म-सं-
- 12 युक्तां मनसाप्यभिनन्दति [।*]
(व*)र्द्धते स यथेष्टे³ च शुक्र-पक्ष इवोडुराट्[॥*] 3
तत्सम्पद्यतामस्याभिप्राय इत्यस्मन्वारकृतैरनेन⁴ दत्तक-दीनारा(न*) वीथ्यां
सम्बिभज्यास्मद्वेष्ट्र-
- 13 गार्त्ता-ग्रामे(S*)ष्टाभ्यः⁵ कुल्यवापेभ्यो यथोचितं दानं त[द्वी]थी-समुदये एव प्रनाय्यं
वोढव्यमित्यवचूर्यार्थै⁶ कुल्यवापा महाराज-विजयसेनस्य दत्तोः⁷ [।*]
- 14 [अनेना*]पि⁸ राज्ञास्मै कौशिडन्य-सगोत्राय बाह्वृच-वत्सस्वामिने पञ्चमहायज्ञ-
प्रवर्तनाय ताम्र-पट्टेन⁹ प्रतिपादिता(:*) [।*]
अथ च¹⁰ चैषां चतुर्षु दिक्षु सीमा भवन्ति[॥*] पू-
- 15 [र्वस्यां दि*]शि गोधग्राम-सीमा[।*] दक्षिण्यां¹¹ गोधग्रामा¹² [ए]व [।*] उत्तरस्यां

1 Read ०मस्ये०.

2 Read परम०.

3 Read यथेष्टं च.

4 Read इत्यस्मद्वार०. वारकृत=persons appointed for the occasion (the same as वारनियुक्त in the Chammak grant, l. 45), seems to refer to some official duty, and is possibly connected with the word कुलवार=arbitrator, witness. वारकृतैः may be related to अववृत्तं in l. 10 and not to संबिभज्य. The fact that the *dīnāras* were divided in the *vithī* (a territorial division, on the banks of a river according to Majumdar) suggests that the money was proportionately divided amongst the *grāmāśṭakulādhikarāṇas* within the jurisdiction of the *vithyadhikarāṇa* or any other persons having the प्रावेश्य of the lands. Cf. विषये विभज्य of No. 43, ll. 8-9, which is usually but wrongly taken to indicate division of the land.

5 Read संबिभज्या०.

6 Read प्रणाय्यं=honestly. वीथी-समुदये=in the revenue (or, treasury?) of the *vithī*. वोढव्य= to be borne. दान=देय=dues. अवचूर्य=अपविच्छ्रय.

7 Read दत्ताः. ०सेनस्य=०सेनाय.

8 This very probable restoration is due to Majumdar.

9 Read ०पट्टेन.

10 Read अथ चैषां चतसृषु.

11 Read दक्षिण्यां.

12 Read ०ग्राम.

वटवल्लुकाग्रहार-सीमा [१*] पश्चिमस्यां^१ दिशि अर्द्धेन आम्रगर्तिका-सीमा [॥*]^२
कीलकाश्चात्र कम[ला]-

Second Side

- 16 क्ष-मालाङ्किता(ः*) चतुर्षु^३ दिक्षु न्यस्ता भवन्त्येवमेषां कृत-सीमाङ्कानामस्य ब्राह्मणस्य^४
पञ्चमहायज्ञ-प्रवर्तनेनोपभुञ्जानस्य न
17 केनचिदेतद्वन्शजेनान्यतमेन^५ वा स्वल्प(ः*)प्यावाधा^६ हस्तप्रक्षेपो वा क[ः]र्त्यः [१*]
एवमवधृते यो(S*)थ करोति स वध्यः पञ्चभिर्मर्-
18 हापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्तः स्यादपि च [१*]^७
नास्य देवा न पितरो हविः-पिण्डं समाप्नुयुः [१*]
[छि]न्न-मस्तक-वेत्तालः^८ अप्र-
19 तिष्ठः पतिष्यति [॥*] 4
भूमि दानापहरण-प्रतिपालन-गुण-दोष-व्यञ्जकाः^९ आर्षाः श्लोका भवन्ति [१*]
पष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि
20 स्वर्गो नन्दति भूमिदः [१*]
आक्षेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*] 5

1 Read पश्चिमायां.

2 The identifications suggested are the following. Godhagrāma=Gohagrām on the Dāmodar to the southeast of Mallasārul. Amragarttikā=Ambahulā to the south of Mallasārul. Khaṇḍajotikā=Khāṇḍjuli between Gohagrām and Mallasārul. Vakattaka=Baktā to the east of Gohagrām. Sālmali=Mallasārul, also called Sārul.

3 Read चतसृषु. Better भवन्ति । एव०.

4 This is the only instance in the inscription of the use of the real sign for व.

5 Read ०द्वंश०.

6 Read ०वाधा

7 Better स्यात् । अपि

8 Better वेतालो ह्यप्रतिष्ठः. Majumdar : ०वेत्तालः.

9 Read ०दोष०.

आस्कोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः [1*]

भूमिदो-

21 (S*)स्मन्कुले¹ जातः स नः सन्तारयिष्यति [11*] 6

यत्किञ्चिन्कुरुते² पापं नरो लोभ-समान्वितः³ [1*]

अपि गो-चर्म-मात्रेण भूमि-दानेन शुष्यति [11*] 7

पू-

22 र्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो य[त्ना]द्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*]

भूमिं भूमि(S*)तां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रे यो(S*)नुपालनं [11*] 8

इयं राजशतैर्दत्ता दीयते च पुनः

23 पुनः [1*]

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [11*] 9

तडित्तरङ्ग-बहुलां श्रियं मत्वा च मर्त्यानां [1*]

न धर्म-स्थितय-

24 स्सद्भिः⁴ युक्ता लोके विलोपितुम् [11] 10⁵

कुल्य⁶ न [1*] दूतकः शुभदत्तो लिखितं सान्धिविग्रहिक-भोगचन्द्रेण⁷ [1*]

25 तापितं⁸ पुस्तपाल-जयदासेन [11*] संवद⁹ ३ श्राव-दि २० (+*) ७ [11*]

1 Read ०स्मत्कुले.

2 Read ०ञ्चिन्कुरुते.

3 Read समान्वितः.

4 Read बहुलां and ०स्सद्भिर्युक्ता.

5 The verse is defective in the sixth syllable of the first *pāda* which ought to have been long. The seventh syllable of the second *pāda* should also have been short.

6 I.e., कुल्यवापाः

7 Cf. सन्धिविग्रहकारी तु भवेद्यस्तस्य लेखकः । स्वयं राज्ञा समादिष्टः स लिखेद्राज-शासनम् ॥ quoted in the *Mitāksharā* on Yājñavalkya, *Āchārādhyāya*, v. 320.

8 तापित=heated. This seems to be a technical expression indicating that this officer was responsible for the final examination of the charter, especially for soldering the seal, which required heating. The *pustapāla* may have supervised the actual engraving which however hardly required heating.

9 Read संवत् (=संवत्सरे) ; see *supra*, p. 345, n 4. श्राव-दि=श्रावण-दिवसे.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE UNITED PROVINCES AND NEPĀL.

No. 47—Kosam Stone Slab Inscription of Bhadra Magha—[Śaka?] Year 86 (=A.D. 164?)¹

Hasanābād, near KOSAM, Allahābād Dist., U.P.

D. R. Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 160. *mc III*, while *II* is that of Siva magh p. 159.

Language : Sanskrit, influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of c. 2nd-3rd century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 [स्वस्ति]³ महाराजस्य श्रीभद्रम[धस्य*]⁴
 2 [संवत्सरे*] ८० (+*) ६⁵ वर्षा-पक्ष ३ दिवस ५
 3 * * * कस्य⁶ शम(प?)रस्य पुत्र-हेमाङ्गन⁷
 4 * * * * [दत्ता]⁸ अयाया⁹ देवदार¹⁰ ।

1 Sahni reads 88, refers the year to the Gupta era and assigns the record to 407 A.D. Palaeographically however the record seems to be earlier. At that date moreover no महाराज of Kosam could have failed to mention the name of the Gupta महाराजाधिराज. Jayaswal refers it to the Kalachuri era of 248-49 A.D. (*Hist. Ind.*, pp. 230-31), while A. Ghosh prefers a local era connected with the dynasty (*Ind. Cult.*, I, p. 715). The inscriptions of the Maghas and others like that of Bhimavarman dated in the year 139 (*Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 267), if referred to the Gupta era, would suggest a less developed state of the Brāhmī script in the Kosam region than in other parts of the country. Jayaswal's theory however cannot be accepted until the use of the Kalachuri era in the above region is proved satisfactorily. Ghosh's suggestion is better than that of Jayaswal. As indicated above, p. 132, n. 1, the foundation of an era was possible with any independent ruling dynasty. As these kings ruled apparently before the Gupta emperors, the era may have started about the middle of the 2nd century A.D. But since almost the whole of U.P. formed part of Kanishka's empire, I prefer the Kanishka or Śaka era to an otherwise unknown local era.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII.

3 The indistinct *aksharas* may also be सिद्ध.

4 Generally corrected to ०मेघ and sometimes to ०माघ.

5 Sahni reads ८. Read वर्षापक्षे (or ०क्षः) and दिवसे (or ०सः)

6 Are we to restore कौशाम्बिकस्य ?

7 Read हेमाङ्गेन. पुत्रे(ण*)?

8 Possibly दत्तं is intended.

9 Possibly आर्यायाः is intended.

10 Possibly देवद्वारं (=दिव्य-तोरणं) is intended. Sahni suggests आर्या यादवद्वारा.

No. 48—Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa Pillar Inscription of Mānadeva—[Śaka?]¹ Year 386 (=A.D. 464?)

Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa² temple, near KĀTMĀNDU, Nepāl.

Bhagawānlāl INDRAJĪ and BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, 1880, p. 163 ff; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, Intro., p. 95; S. LEVI, *Le Nepal*, II, p. 126.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of about the 4th-5th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-17 शार्ङ्गलविक्रीडित.

TEXT³

First Face

1 संवत् ३०० (+*) ८० (+*) ६ ज्येष्ठ-मासे शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि १ [1*]

1 There is difference of opinion amongst scholars about the epoch of the era to which the date of this record is to be referred. Bhagwānlāl Indrajī referred it to the Vikrama era starting in 58 B.C. and assigned it to 329 A.D., while Fleet referred it to the Gupta era starting in 320 A.D. and ascribed it to the 28th April, 705 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 210; *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Intro., p. 95). Fleet depended on the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription of the year 316 [or 318] (*Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 97; also IX, p. 168) which mentions the *Mahāsāmanta* Aṃśuvarman of the Thākuri dynasty (who later became king of Nepāl) as a contemporary of the Lichchhavi or Sūryavaṃśī king Śivadeva I. As Aṃśuvarman has been mentioned by Yuan Chwang and was therefore a contemporary of Harshavardhana (606-47 A.D.), the epoch of the era to which year 316 of the Golmāḍhiṭol ins. is to be referred was ascribed by Fleet to A.D. 320. Sylvain Lévi points out that the astronomical data in the Kisipidi inscription of the year 449 which had an intercalary Āshāḍha agree only with Śaka 432 current. According to this scholar therefore the Lichchhavi era of Nepāl started in (482-449)=33 Śaka=110 A.D. That is suggested to be supported by the details of the date of the present record. The year of the Chāngu-Nārāyaṇa record would then be (386+110=) 495-96 A.D. The date of the Golmāḍhiṭol inscription has been read by Lévi as 518. He reads 519 and 520 in two other records mentioning both Śivadeva I and Aṃśuvarman (*Le Nepal*, II, p. 126; II, pp. 61-64; 70-81). It is rather difficult to be definite on this point. Indrajī's theory, though palaeographically alright, is improbable, as the early use of the Vikrama era in Nepāl is unlikely. Fleet's theory seems to be wrong, as the alphabet of the present record is earlier than the 7th-8th century script (e.g., the records of Aṃśuvarman); cf. initial and medial इ, ख, च, ट, ए, थ, ल, ह, the numerical figures, etc. I prefer Kaṇiska's era (p. 365, n. 1).

2 चाङ्गु in the Nepālī language means Garuḍa (literally, 'one with a beak'). The name therefore means Garuḍa and Nārāyaṇa, or Nārāyaṇa on the Garuḍa. The temple contains an old image of Vishnu riding on Garuḍa.

3 From the eye copy in *Ind. Ant.*, IX.

- 2 [रो*]हिणी-नक्षत्र-युक्ते¹ चन्द्रमसि मुहूर्ते प्रशस्ते (S*)मिजिति² [॥*]
 3 [श्री*]वत्साङ्कित-दीप्त-चारु-विपु[ल*]-प्रोदृत्त-व[क्षः]स्थलः
 4 —वक्ष—न-पद्मवाहु[रुचिरः*] स्म[र्त्तृ*]-प्रवृद्धोत्सवः [॥*]
 5 [लै*]लोक्य-भ्रमयन्त्वव — — — व्यासङ्ग-निल्यो(S*)व्ययः
 6 [दो*]लाद्रौ³ निवसज्जयत्यनि[मि*]षैरभ्यर्च्यमानो हरिः [॥*] [१*]
 7 — — त्सा — — — य प्रताप-विभ[वैर्व्या]याम-संक्षेपकृत
 8 [राजाभू*]दृषदेव इत्य[नुपमः] [स]त्य-प्रतिज्ञोदयः [॥*]
 9 [संवृद्ध*]-सवितेव दीप्त-किर[णै*] सम्यग्[तैः*] स्वैः सुतैः
 10 [विद्व*]द्विर्वहु-गर्वितरच[पलैः*] [ख्यातै*]र्विनीतात्मभिः [॥*] २
 11 [त*]स्याभूतनयः समृद्ध-[विष*]यः सङ्क्षेपवजेयो(S*)रिभिः
 12 [राजा*] शङ्करदेव इत्यप — — — तिप्रदः सत्यधोः [॥*]
 13 [प्रज्ञा*]-विक्रम-दान-मान-वि[भवै]र्लब्ध्वा यशः पुष्कलम्
 14 — — — ररक्ष गामभि[मतैर्भृ]त्यै[मृगे*]न्द्रोपमः [॥*] ३
 15 [तस्या*]प्युत्तम-धर्म-कर्मय[शसः*] [पुत्रोऽर्थ*]विद्वार्मिकः
 16 [क*]र्मा[त्मा*] विनयेऽसुरुत्त[मगुणः] [श्री-ध*]र्मदेवो नृपः [॥*]
 17 [ध*]र्मेणैव कुलकमागत — — — — — राज्यं महत्⁴

... ..

Second Face

- 27 देवी राज्यवती तु तस्य नृपतेर्भार्याभिधाना⁵ सती
 28 श्रीरेवानुगता भविष्यति तदा लोकान्तरासङ्गिनी [॥*]
 29 यस्याज्ञात इहानवद्य-चरितः श्री-मानदेवो नृपः

1 We may have a stanza in Āryā in ll. 1-2, if we read वर्षे षडष्टलिके for संवत् ३८६, and रोहिणि for रोहिणी.

2 The eighth of the 15 *muhūrtas* of a day is called अभिजित्.

3 Dolādri or Dolaparvata is the hill on which the temple stands.

4 Nine lines following this line and containing verses 5-6 and the 4th *pāda* of v. 4 are buried in the ground.

5 Indrajī suggests ०धानात्.

- 30 कान्त्या शारद-चन्द्रमा इव जगत्प्रह्लादयन्सर्व्वदा [॥*] ७
 31 प्रत्यागल्य स-गद्गदाक्षरमिदन्दीर्घं विनिश्चय्य च
 32 प्रेम्णा पुत्रमुवाच साश्रु-वदना यातः पिता ते दिवं [१*]
 33 हा पुत्रास्तमिते तवाद्य पितरि प्राणैर्वृथा किम्मम
 34 राज्यम्पुत्रक कारयाहमनुयाम्यद्यैव भर्तुर्गतिम्¹ [॥] [८*]
 35 किम्मे भोग-विधान-विस्तर-कृतैराशामयैर्व्वन्धनैः
 36 माया-स्वप्न-निभे समागम-विधौ भर्त्रा विना जीवितुम् [१*]
 37 यामीत्येवमवास्थिता खलु तदा दीनात्मना स्रुता
 38 पादौ भक्तिवशान्निपीड्य शिरसा विज्ञापिता यत्नतः [॥*] ९
 39 किम्भोगैर्मम किं हि जीवित-सुखैस्त्वद्विप्रयोगे सति
 40 प्राणान्पूर्व्वमहञ्जहामि परतस्त्वं यास्यसीतो दिवम् [१*]
 41 इत्येवम्मुखपङ्कजान्तर-गतैर्नन्ताम्बु-मिश्रैर्दृढम्²
 42 वाक्पाशैर्व्विहगीव पाशवशगा बद्धा ततस्तस्थुषी [॥*] १०
 43 सत्पुत्रेण सहौर्द्ध्वदेहिक-विधिं भर्तुः प्रकृत्यात्मनः³

Third Face

- 51 अस्त्रापास्त्र-विधान-कौशल-गुरौः प्रज्ञात-सत्त्वोरु[भिः]⁴
 52 श्रीमन्चारुभुजः प्रमृष्ट-कनक-श्लक्ष्णावदातच्छविः [१*]
 53 पीनांसो विकचासितोत्पल-दल-प्रस्पर्द्धमानेक्षराः
 54 साक्षात्काम इवाङ्गवान्नरपतिः कान्ता-विलासोत्सवः [॥*] १०(+*)३
 55 यूपैश्चारुभिरुच्छ्रितैर्व्वसुमती पित्रा ममालङ्कृता
 56 क्षात्रेणाजिमखाश्रयेण विधिना दीक्षाश्रितो(ऽ*)हं स्थितः [१*]
 57 यात्राम्प्रत्यरि-सङ्क्षयाय तरसा गच्छामि पूर्वान्दिशम्
 58 ये चाज्ञा-वश-वर्त्तिनो मम नृपाः संस्थापयिष्यामि तान् [॥*] [१०(+*)४]
 59 इत्येवञ्जननीमपेतकलुषां राजा प्रणम्योचिवान्

1 This is another early reference to the prevalence of the Suttee. For कारय better read धारय.

2 Read दृढं.

3 Seven lines containing v. 12 and the last 3 *pādas* of v. 11 are under the ground.

4 Read सत्त्वोऽरिभिः.

- 60 नाम्बानृण्यमहन्तपोभिरमलैः शक्नोमि यातुम्पितुः [1*]
 61 किन्त्वाप्तेन यथावदस्त्र-विधिना तत्पाद-संसेवया
 62 यास्यामीति ततो(ऽ*)म्बयातिमुदया दत्ताभ्यनुज्ञो नृपः [11*] १०(+*)^१
 63 प्रायात्पूर्वपथेन तत्र च शठा ये पूर्वदेशाश्रयाः
 64 सामन्ताः प्रणिपात-बन्धुर-शिरः-प्रभ्रष्ट-मौलिस्रजः [1*]
 65 तानाज्ञा-वश-वर्त्तिनो नरपतिः संस्थाप्य तस्मात्पुनः
 66 निर्भीः सिंह इवाकुलोत्कट-सटः पश्चाद्भुवङ्गमिवान् [11*] १०(+*)^६
 67 सामन्तस्य च तत्र दुष्ट-चरितं श्रुत्वा शिरः कम्पयन्
 68 बाहुं हस्तिकरोपमं स शनकैः स्पृष्ट्वाव्रवीद्विषितम् [1*]
 69 आहूतो यदि नैति विक्रमवशादेशयत्यसौ^१ मे वशं
 70 किं वाक्यैर्बहुभिर्विधानृ-गदितैः संक्षेपतः कथ्यते [11*]^२ [१०(+*)^७]

1. Read °देयत्यसौ

2. Possibly 8 lines or 2 stanzas more are under the ground.

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE INDIGENOUS KINGS OF CENTRAL INDIA.

(i) Eastern Part of Central India

(a) Uchchakalpa Family.

No. 49—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of Śarvanātha—Gupta year 193 (=513 A.D.)¹

खोह, Nāgaudh State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 126 ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

TEXT²

First Plate³

1 १^४ [॥*] स्वस्त्युच्चकल्पात्महाराजौघदेवस्तस्य⁵ पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्धयातो महा-
देव्या(*)

1 Some scholars refer the date to the Kalachuri era the first year of which corresponds to 248-49 A.D. The Bhumara ins. (Bhandarkar, List, No. 1661), the date of which is possibly A.D. 508 rather than A. D. 484 or 520 shows that Hastin of the Parivrajaka family with dates between 156 and 191 and Sarvanātha of Uchchakalpa with dates between 191 and 214 were contemporaries. The dates should better be referred to the Gupta era as the region in question either formed part of or, at least, bordered on the Gupta empire. There is no evidence of the Kalachuri era being used in that area in early times. See also Mīrashi in *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 171ff.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

3 Fleet says, "The first plate of this grant is a quasi-palimpsest. On the outer side of it there are traces of sixteen lines of writing, containing an inscription of the same *Mahārāja* Sarvanātha, in the same characters as those of the extant inscription. They have been so carefully beaten in that no impression of them is possible, and only detached words can be read here and there..... And this inscription seems to have been cancelled because of the omission of the words तमसा-नया उत्तरपारे, between महाराज-शर्वनाथः कुशली and ब्राह्मणा-दीन्कुडुम्बिनः, in line 7."

4 सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

5 Read •कल्पान्महा•. May the place be the same as mod. Uchchaharā in the Nāgaudh State? *Khoh* literally, means 'a cave.'

- 2 कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-कुमारदेवस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानु-
- 3 द्यायातो महादेव्यां जयस्वामिन्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जयस्वामी तस्य
- 4 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्वयातो महादेव्यां रामदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-व्याघ्रस्तस्य¹
- 5 पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्वयातो महादेव्यामङ्कितदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-जय-
- 6 नाथस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुद्वयातो महादेव्यां मुरुण्डदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-
- 7 शर्वनाथः² कुशली तमसा-नद्या उत्तर-पारे आश्रमके ब्राह्मण-
- 8 दीन्कुटुम्बिनस्सर्व-कारुन्ध³ समाज्ञापयति [1*] विदितम्बास्तु⁴ यथैष
- 9 ग्रामो मयाचन्द्रावर्क-समकालिकस्सद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकरः⁵ अ-चाट-
- 10 भट-प्रावेश्यश्चोर-दण्ड-वर्जितः चतुभिरन्शे⁶ प्रतिपादितः [1*] अतो-
- 11 (S*)न्श-द्वयं⁷ विष्णुनन्दिनः [1*] अपरो(S*)प्यन्शः⁸ स्वामिनाग-पुत्र-वणिज-

1 This Vyāghra is identified by Bhandarkar with Vyāghrarāja of *supra*, No. 2 and with the feudatory of Vākāṭaka Prthivishena mentioned in the Nachne and Ganj inscriptions. But the dates 174 and 177 (=493 and 496, or 421 and 424 A.D.) of his son Jayanātha (Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1194-95) are too late for Vyāghra to have been a contemporary of Samudragupta.

2 Fleet: शर्व. 3 Read कारुन्ध. Tamasā=Tons, tributary of the Ganges. Muruṇḍadevi is also called Muruṇḍasvāminī. 4 Read विदितं वोऽस्तु.

5 Read °स्सोद्रङ्ग°. उद्रङ्ग=उद्धार, उद्रन्ध (Śāsava)=probably a tax on permanent tenants; cf. Marāṭhī *Udhār-jamābandī*, assessing the total revenue of a village upon the chief proprietor who is entitled to distribute the proportions. उपरिकर (cf. Marāṭhī *uprī*)=tax paid by temporary tenants.

6 Read °भिरन्शैः. चाट=swindler; irregular troops. भट=soldier; an out-cast or barbarian; a Bhaṭṭa (professional genealogist, usually working as a spy) Brāhmaṇa. Cf. चाट-भाट, चट्ट-भट्ट, चड-भड of later records. The entrance of undesirable persons like the above into the gift village was prohibited. Fleet translates, "not to be entered by the regular or irregular troops," while Indrajī points out (*Bom. Gaz.*, I, i, p. 81f) that according to the *Kumārāpālacharita* Siddharāja despatched Chāṭas and Bhāṭas to apprehend the fugitive Kumārāpāla and refers to the Bhāṭ community of Western India. Passages like अभटप्रवेश्य, अभटच्छात्रप्रावेश्य (छात्र=छत्रवाह ?), प्रतिनिषिद्धचाटभट-प्रवेश, समस्तराजकीयानाम् अप्रवेश्य, राजसेवकादीनां वसतिदण्डप्रयाणदण्डौ न स्तः (*C. I. I.*, III, p. 98 n), सर्वसपदराजपुरुषप्रवेशविवर्जित, etc. suggests that by चाट-भाट royal officers are intended (cf. चाटस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः । पीड्य-मानाः प्रजा रक्षेत कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥ याज्ञवल्क्य । आचाराध्याय, 1336). The fines imposed on thieves were not exempted in favour of the donee.

7 Read अतोऽन्श°.

8 Read °प्यन्शः. वणिज=trader.

- 12 शक्तिनागस्य [१*] अपरो(S*)प्यन्शः कुमारनाग-स्कन्दनागयोः [॥*] एतत्पु-
 13 त्र-(पौत्र*)-प्रपौत्र-तत्पुत्रायनुक्कमेण¹ ताम्र-शासनेनातिसृष्टः [॥] (१*) एभिरप मय(१*)-
 14 नुमोदितकं यथोपरिलिखितक-वक्कमेणैव स्व-पुरयाभिष्टुदये स्व-प्रति-
 15 ष्ठापितक-भगवत्पादानामादिस्त्वा-भट्टारकपादानाच्च² खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसं-³
 16 स्कार-करणाय वलि-चरु-सत्र-गन्ध-धूप-मास्य-दीप-[प्र]वर्त्तनाय⁴ च(१*)ति
 सृष्टः⁵ [१*]

Second Plate.

- 17 तै⁶ यूयमेषां समुचित-भाग-भोग-कर-हिरण्यदि-प्रत्यायोप-⁷
 18 नय(१*) करिष्यथाज्ञा-श्रवण-विधेयाश्च भविष्यथ [१*] ये चास्मद्वन्शोत्पद्य-⁸
 19 मानक-राजानस्तैरियन्दत्तिर्न विलोप्यानुमोदनीया यथोकात्तच्च⁹
 20 [प्रति]पालनीया समुचित-राजाभाव्य-कर-प्रत्यायाश्च न प्राह्याः [१*] यः
 21 ¹⁰इमान्दत्तिनोपयेत्स पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च¹¹ संयुक्तः(१*)
 22 स्यादुक्तञ्च महाभारते भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [१*]
 स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता-

1 Fleet is inclined to supply a word like उपभोग्यः after it. Read एभिरपि.

2 Evidently ०दित्य. The subscript y, owing to the engraver's carelessness, has got the shape of a subscribed s. Supply मन्दिरयोः. Bhagavat is possibly Vishnu.

3 This is a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit स्फुटित. Cf. वराहदिन्न (for वराहदत्त) in line 30.

4 Read बलि०

5 छः is engraved below च for want of space at the end of the line.

6 Read ते.

7 भाग=royal share of produce. भोग=periodical supplies of fruits, firewood, flowers, etc., which the villagers had to furnish to the king. कर=tax to be paid beside the grain share. हिरण्य=king's share of certain crops paid in cash. प्रत्याय=revenue. आज्ञाश्रवणविधेय=obedient to commands.

8 Read ०द्वंशो०. दत्ति=gift. Cf. दत्त्वा भूमिं निबन्धं वा कृत्वा लेख्यन्तु कारयेत् । आगामि-भद्र-वृषति-परिज्ञानाय पार्थिवः ॥ पटे वा ताम्रपटे वा स्वमुद्रोपरिचिह्नितम् । अभि-लेख्यात्मनो वंशयानात्मानञ्च महीपतिः ॥ प्रतिग्रहपरीमाणं दानच्छेदोपवर्णनम् । स्वहस्त-कालसम्पन्नं शासनं कारयेत् स्थिरम् ॥ *Yājñavalkya, Āchārādhyāya*, vv. 818-20.

9 Read यथा०. आभाव्य=भाव्य=accruing in future.

10 Read इमान्दत्ति लो०.

11 Read ०त्स पञ्च०. Better स्यात् । उक्त०

- 23 म्बा¹ यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [I*]
महीम्महीमताञ्छ्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(S*)नुपालनं [II*] 1
- 24 प्रायेन² हि नरेन्द्राणां विद्यते न शुभा³ गतिः [I*]
पूयन्ते ते तु सततं प्र-
- 25 यच्छन्तो वसुन्धरा(म*) [II*] 2
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [I*]
यस्य
- 26 यस्य यदा भुमिस्तस्य⁴ तस्य तदा फलं [II*] 3
षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोद-
- 27 ति भूमिदः [I*]
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे-⁵ 4
त्सर्व-सस्य-समृ-
- 28 द्धान्तु यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [I*]
श्वविष्टायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिस्सह मज्जते [II*] 5
- 29 लिखितं सम्बत्सर-शते⁶ तुनवत्युत्तरे⁷ चैत-मास-दिवसे दशमे
- 30 भोगिक-फाल्गुदत्तामास-नप्ता⁸ भोगिक-वराहदिन-पुत्रे[ण] महा-
- 31 सान्धिविग्रहिक-मनोरथेन [I*] दूतकर्म-(म*)हावलाधिकृत-क्षत्रिय-⁹
- 32 शिव[गु]प्त[ः] [II*]

1 Read दत्तां वा.

2 Read प्रायेण.

3 नाशुभा, usually found in inscriptions for न शुभा, is better.

4 Read भूमि०.

5 Properly ०वसेत् ॥ सर्व्व०.

6 Read संवत्सर.

7 Read त्रि०.

8 Properly फल्गु० and वराहदत्त.

9 भोगिक=keeper of the horses; or *bhoga=jāgir*. दूतकर्म=दूतक. For the other offices, see *supra*. p. 360, n. The specific mention of क्षत्रिय may indicate that the Kshatri caste is meant.

B—PARIVRAJAKA FAMILY

No. 50—Khoh Copper-plate Inscription of
Samkshobha—Gupta Year 209 (=529 A.D.)

KHOH, Nāgaudh State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 114 f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-3 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्); V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा
+उपेन्द्रवज्रा).TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 १^२ [॥*] नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ स्वस्ति [॥*] नवोत्तरे(५*)वद-शत-
द्वये^३ गुप्तनृप-र(१*)ज्य-भुक्तौ
- 2 श्रीमति प्रवर्द्धमान-विजय-राज्ये महाश्वयुज-स(*)वत्सरे^४ चैत्र-मास-शुक्ल-
- 3 पक्ष-त्रयोदश्य(१*)मस्यां संवत्सर^५-मास-दिवस-पूर्वाया[']^६ [१*] चतुर्दशविद्यास्थान
विदि-
- 4 त-परमार्थस्य कपिलस्य^७ महर्षेः सर्व्व-तत्त्वज्ञस्य^८ भरद्वाज-सगोलस्य नृपि-

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 सिद्धे expressed by a symbol.

3 Read वद. The record generally does not distinguish between व and व. The true form of व is however used in संवत्सर (l. 3.).

4 Here is a reference to the Twelve Year Cycle of Jupiter, the years being named after the lunar months in accordance with the particular *nakshatra* in which Jupiter's heliacal rising takes place. According to this system there are 11 Jupiterian years in 12 solar years, one year being altogether omitted.

5 Read संवत्सर.

6 पूर्वायां=during the above (date).

7 Read कपिलस्येव. For the 14 sections of the sciences, cf. षडङ्गमिश्रिता वेदा धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणकर्म । सीमांसा तर्कमपि च एता विद्याश्चतुर्दश ॥

8 Usually तत्त्व.

- 5 पि¹-परिव्राजक-सुशर्मणः कुलोत्पन्नेन महाराज-श्रीदेवाढ्य-पुत्रप्रनप्ता महारा-
 6 ज-श्रीप्रभञ्जन-प्रनप्ता महाराज-श्रीदामोदर-नप्ता गोसहस्र-हस्यश्व-हिरण्यानेक-
 7 भूमि-प्रदस्य गुरुपितृमातृ-पूजा-तत्परस्यात्यन्त-देव-ब्राह्मण-भक्तस्यानेक-समर-²
 8 शत-विजयिनः साष्टादशाटवी-राज्याभ्यन्तरं डहाला³-राज्यमन्वयागतं समडि-
 9 पालयिप्रोनेक⁴-गुण-विख्यात-यशसो महाराज-श्रीहस्तिनः⁵ सुतेन
 10 वरणाश्रम-धर्म-स्थापना-निरतेन परमभागवतेनात्यन्त-पितृ-भक्तेन स्व-वं-
 11 शामोदकरेण महाराज-श्रीसंक्षोभेन⁶ माता-पितोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभि-
 12 त्रिद्वये⁷ छोडुगोमि-विज्ञाप्या तमेव च स्वर्ग⁸-सोपान-पंक्तिमारोपय-

Second Plate

- 13 ता भगवत्याः पिष्टपुर्याः⁹ कारितक-देवकुले बलि¹⁰-चरु-सत्तोपयो-
 14 गार्थः खण्ड-स्फुटित-संस्कारार्थश्च मणिनाग-पेठे¹¹ ओपाणिग्राम-
 15 स्याद् चोर-द्रोहक-वर्जः¹² ताम्र-शासनेनातिसृष्टं [1*]

1 Read नृपति.

2 Read ब्राह्मण.

3 Fleet suggests that डहाला may also be the reading. In that case however we have to ignore the lower stroke of भ in the second *akshara*. The 18 forest kingdoms were apparently in Central India including Dāhala or the Jubbulpore region. Cf. the *ātavika* kingdoms mentioned in *supra*, No. 2.

4 Read समधिपालयिष्यो०.

5 Read श्री.

6 Read ०भेण.

7 Read ०वृद्धये. विज्ञाप्ति=विज्ञप्ति.

8 Read स्वर्ग. तम् possibly refers to Chhodugomin, who may have been the priest of the temple.

9 Pishtapuri was the name of a goddess (possibly identical with Annapūrṇā) established in a temple made by the king. *C. I. I.*, III, No. 29 calls her Pishṭa-purikadevi.

10 Read बलि and ०योगार्थ.

11 Peṭha is a territorial term; cf. Marāṭhi *peṭā*.

12 Read वर्ज. द्रोहक=evil-doer. चोर-द्रोहक-वर्ज (cf. चोरवर्ज=चोरदण्ड-वर्ज)= with the exception of (the right to fines imposed on) thieves and mischief-doers.

- तदस्मत्कुलोत्थौः¹ म-
- 16 त्पादपिरडोपजीविभिर्व्वा कालान्तरेष्वपि न व्याघातः कार्य्यः [1*]
एवमाज्ञा-
- 17 स² यो(S*)न्यथा कुर्यात्तमहं देहान्तर-गतो(S*)पि महतावध्यानेन निर्दहेयं [11*]
- 18 उक्तं च भगवता परमर्षिणा वेदव्यासेन व्यासेनः³ [1*]
पूर्व्व-दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो
- 19 यन्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिरः⁴ [1*]
महोम्महिमता(**) श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो(S*)नुपालनः⁵ [11*] 1
बहुभिः⁶
- 20 वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा
- 21 फलं [11*] 2
षष्टि वर्षे-सहस्राणि खर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*]
आप्तेप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्ये-
- 22 व नरके वसेत् [11*] 3
भूमि-प्रदानान्ना⁷ परं प्रदानं
दानाद्विशिष्टं परिपालनञ्छ⁸ [1*]
- 23 सर्वे(S*)तिसृष्टा(*) परिपालय भूमि(*)
नृपा नृगाद्यान्निदिवं प्रपन्नाः ॥ 4
लिखितञ्च⁹

1 Read °लोत्थैः.

2 Read °ज्ञप्ते. अवध्यान=contempt.

3 Read °व्यासेन.

4 Read युधिष्ठिर.

5 Read पालनम्.

6 Read बहुभिर्व्वसुधा.

7 Read प्रदानान्न.

8 Read पालनञ्च.

9 Read लिखितञ्च.

- 24 जीवित-नष्टा भुजंगदास-पुल्लेश्वरीदासेनेति [१*]स्व-मुखाज्ञा¹ [१*] चैत-दि २०
(+*) = [॥*]

(ii) KINGS OF THE WESTERN PART OF
CENTRAL INDIA.

No. 51—Mandasor Stone Inscription of the time
of Naravarman—Malava (=Vikrama) year 461
(=A.D. 404)

MANDASOR, Gwalior State, C. I.

H. P. SHASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 320 f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class

Metre : Verses 1-13 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्).

TEXT²

- 1 सिद्धम् [१*]
सहस्र-शिरसे तस्मै पुरुषायामितात्मने [१*]
चतुस्समुद्र-पर्यङ्कतोय-निद्रालवे नमः [॥*] 1
श्रीम्मालव-गणान्नाते³ प्रशस्ते कृत-संज्ञिते [१*]
2 एकषष्ट्यधिके प्राप्ते समा-शत-चतु[ष्टय] [॥*] 2
प्रावृट्काले⁴ शुभे प्राप्ते मनस्तुष्टिकरे नृणाम् [१*]
मघे⁵ प्रवृत्ते शक्यस्य कृष्णस्यानुमते तदा [॥*] 3

1 आज्ञा stands for आज्ञप्ति or दूतक in some records. Here the king appears to have given the order of execution personally. स्वमुखाज्ञा may also be the same as अवियेन आणतं of the Prakrit records. Fleet: पुल्लेश्वरदा० and २० (+*)६.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XII. The record begins with an adoration to the thousand-headed Purusha identified with Vishnu. Naravarman was the father of Viśhavarman (No. 52) and grandfather of Bandhuvarman (No. 21).

3 Read श्रीमालव० and चतुष्टये. आम्नात=hande down. Kṛita was an early name of the Vikrama era.

4 Shastri: प्रावृट्काले.

5 Read मघे. Shastri: मघे(हे) प्रवृत्ते.

- 3 निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवसा काश-पुष्पैरलंकृता [1*]
भाभिरभ्यधिकं भाति मेदिनी सस्य-मालिनी [11*] 4
दिने आश्वोज-शुक्लस्य¹ पंचम्यामथ सत्कृते [1*]
- 4 ईदृक्कालवरे रम्ये प्रशासति वसुन्धराम् [11*] 5
प्राक्पुरायोपचयाभ्यासात्सर्वद्वित-मनोरथे [1*]
जयवर्म-नरेन्द्रस्य पौत्रे देवेन्द्र-विक्रमे [11*] 6
- 5 क्षितीशे सिद्धवर्मणस्सिद्धविक्रान्त-गामिनि² [1*]
सत्पुत्रे श्रीवर्महाराज-नरवर्मणि पार्थिवे [11*] 7
तत्पालन-गुणोद्देशाद्धर्म-प्राप्त्यर्थ-विस्तरः [1*]
- 6 ³पूर्व[ज]न्मान्तराभ्यासाद्बलादाक्षित-मानसः⁴ [11*] 8
स्व-यशः-पुरय-संभार-विवर्द्धित-कुतोद्यमः [1*]
मृगतृष्णाजल-स्वप्न-विद्वद्दीपशिखा-चलम्⁵ [11*] 9
- 7 जीवलोकमिमं ज्ञात्वा शरण्यं शरणाङ्गतः [1*]
त्रिदशोदार-फलदं स्वर्गस्त्री-चारु-पल्लवम् [11*] 10
विमानानेक-विटपं तोयदांबु-मधु-स्रवम्⁶ [1*]
- 8 वासुदेवं जगद्वासमप्रमेयमजं विभुम् [11*] 11

1 आश्वोज is Prakrit for Sanskrit आश्वयुज or अश्वयुज=आश्विन. Better read आश्विन०. निष्पन्न-व्रीहि-यवस=with rising up paddy and grass.

2 Read सिंह०. The identification of this king with the father of Chandravarman of the Susuniyā ins. (*supra*, No. 40) is impossible. According to some scholars सिंहविक्रान्तगामिन् indicates that Naravarman was a feudatory of Simhavikrānta (i.e. Simhavikrama, or Chandra Gupta II). Read श्रीमहा०.

3 ज was written with an unnecessary curve below ; but that seems to have been cancelled. Shastri read ज्ज.

4 सं: seems to have been originally engraved.

5 Read विद्यु०

6 Shastri: स्रवम्. धु was originally engraved; but the sign for the superscript *r* seems to have been afterwards cancelled. Note that Vāsudeva is here represented as a tree with the gods (not heaven, as suggested by Shastri) as its fruits, with the *apsarases* as its shoots, and similar branches, etc. फलद=वृक्ष ; त्रिदशोदार-फलदः=सुररूपफलानां महावृक्षः. The reference seems to be to the Viśvarūpa conception.

- मित्त-भृत्यार्त्त-सत्कर्त्ता स्व-कुलस्य(I*)थ चन्द्रमाः [I*]
 यस्य वित्तं च प्राणाश्च देव-ब्राह्मण-सागता[:]¹ [II*] 12
 9 महाकाशणिकः सत्यो धर्म्मार्ज्जित-महाधनः [I*]
 सत्पुत्रो वरर्णवृद्धेस्तु सत्पौत्रो(S*)थ जयस्य वै [II*] 13
 दुहितुर्बलशूराया(:*) सत्पुत्रो जयमित्त(I*)या[:]
 10

✓ No. 52—Gāṅdhār Stone Inscription of Viśva-
 varman—Mālava (= Vikrama) year 480 (=423 A.D.)

GĀṆGDHĀR, Jhālāwār State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 74 ff ; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 4

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern Class.

Metre : Verses 1-18 वसन्ततिलका ; Vv. 19-20 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ;
 V. 21 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 22 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 23
 मन्दाक्रान्ता ; V. 24 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता.

TEXT⁵

- 1 — — — — — मस्य
 विष्णोर्भुजस्सुरपति-द्विप-हस्त-[स]र्प[::] [I*]
 — — — — —
 — — —
 2 — — — — — [II*] 1
 प्रकृयात-वीर्य-यशस[ti] [क्षिति]पाधिपानां
 वंशोद्भवो [ज*]गति वि[श्रुत-कीर्त्ति-भाजाम्*] [I*]
 — — — — —

1 Better read °सात्कर्त्ता: or सङ्गता:.

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Viśvavarman was the son of Nāravarman (No. 51) and father of Bandhuvarman (No. 21).

3

— — — कान्त-

श्रीमान्वभूव नरवर्म्म-नृपः प्रकाशः¹ ॥ 2

यज्ञैस्सुरान्मुनि-गणा[त्रिय]मैरुदारैः[ः]

— — — — — [1*]

4

[माने]न भृत्य-जनमप्रतिमेन लोके

यो(S*)तोषयत्सुचरितैश्च जगत्समग्रं ॥ 3

हस्त्यश्व-साधन — — — — —

— — — — —

5

— खड्ग-मरीचमतसु² ॥

सङ्ग्राम-मूर्द्धसु मुखं समुदीक्ष्य यस्य

नाशम्प्रयान्त्यरि-गणा भयन[ष्ट-चेष्टाः] [॥*] 4

[तस्यात्मजः*]³ — — — — —

6

— शौ महात्मा

बुद्ध्या बृहस्पति-समस्सकलेन्दु-वक्त्रः ॥²

औपम्य-भूत इव राम-भगीरथाभ्यां

रा — — — — —

7

— — [भु*]वि विश्ववर्म्मा ॥ 5

धैर्येण मेरुमभिजाति-गुरोर्न वैराय-

मिन्दुं प्रभा-समुदयेन बलेन विष्णुं [॥*]

[सं*]-

8

[व]र्त्तकानलमसह्यतमञ्च दीप्या

यो विक्क्रमेण च सुराधिपति विजिग्ये ॥ 6

व्यावृत्त-मार्ग इव भा-

9

[नुरस*]द्य-मूर्ति-

व्योद्भोदयाधिकतरोज्ज्वल⁴-घोर-दीप्तिः ॥²

1 प्रकाश=famous,

2 Read मरीचि°. Only one *danḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

3 तस्यानुजः is also possible.

4 Read °ज्ज्वल. व्यभ्र=free from clouds. व्यभ्रोदय=rise that is unshadowed by clouds.

यशशक्यते न रिपुभिर्भय-विह्वलाक्षै-

रुद्री-

10 [क्षितुं क्ष*]णमपि प्रगृहीत-शस्त्रः ॥ 7

निष्पूर्षणैरविगतास्त्र-जलाद्र-गरुडै-

र्विच्छिन्न-मण्डनतयोज्वल-नष्ट-

11 [शोभै*]: ॥¹

यस्यारि-कामिनि²-मुखाम्बुरुहैर्बलस्य

पूर्वं प्रताप-चकितैः क्रियते प्रणामः ॥ 8

रत्नोद्गम-द्युति-

12 [विर*]ञ्जित-कूल-तालै-

रुत्तस्त-नवक-मकर-क्षत-[फे]न-मालैः ॥¹

चण्डानिलोद्धत-तरङ्ग-समस्त-हस्तै-

13 र्यस्या[रणवै*]रपि बलानि नमः क्रियन्ते ॥ 9

भरुद्धित³-द्रुम-विकम्पित-शैल-कील-

विन्नस्त-विद्रुत-मृग-द्विज-शून्य-गु⁴

14 [ल्मा*] [।*]

यस्योन्नत-प्रविष[मी]कृत⁵-राजमागर्गा

स्सैरय-प्रयाण-समये⁶ विनिमज्जतीव ॥ 10

प्रत्यस्त-मौलि-

15 [म*]णि-रश्मि-नख-प्रभान्धै-

रन्भुद्यताञ्जलितया शबलाग्र-गरुडैः ॥⁷

विद्याधरैः प्रियतमा-भुज-पाश-व-

1 Only one *danḍa* is required for correct punctuation. Read ०ज्ज्वल.

2 नी has been made नि for metre's sake. This reminds one of the saying माष-मपि मषं कुर्याच्छन्दोभङ्गं विवर्जयेत्. बल=prowess ; army.

3 Read ०रुद्धित. 4 Read: शून्य. कील=lance ; मृग-द्विज=beasts and birds.

5 Read प्रविषमीकृत (made uneven). 6 Read सैन्य. प्रत्यस्त=directed towards. शबल=variegated.

- 16 [द्वै*]-
[य्य*]स्यादराद्वि यश[ि]सि नम×क्रियन्ते ॥ 11
अग्रे(S*)पि या¹ वयसि सम्परिवर्तमान-
शशास्त्रानुसार-परि-
- 17 [वर्द्धित*]-शुद्ध-बुद्धिः ॥²
सद्धर्म्म-मार्गमिव राजसु दर्शयिष्य-
नूत्ना-विधि भरतवज्जगत×करोति ॥ 12
तस्मिन्प्र-
- 18 [शास*]ति महीनृपति-प्रबोरे
स्वर्गं यथा सुरपतावमित-प्रभावे ॥²
नाभूद्धर्म्म-निरतो व्यसनान्वितो
- 19 [वा*]
[लोके*] कदाचन जनस्सुख-वर्जितो वा ॥ 13
यातेषु चतु[र्षु]³ क्रितेषु शतेषु सौम्यै-
ष्वाशीत-सोत्तरपदेष्विह वत्स-
- 20 [रेषु*] ॥²
शुक्ले त्रयोदश-दिने भुवि कार्तिकस्य
मासस्य सर्व्वजन-चित्त-सुखावहस्य ॥ 14
नीलोत्पल-प्र-
- 21 [सृत-रे*]रावरुणाम्बु-कीरणौ

1 Read यो. अग्रे वयसि संप०=when he was still in early youth.

2 Only one *danḍa* is required for correct punctuation.

3 The reading चतुर्षु appears to be correct, but the first of the syllables ought to have been long. Read कृतेषु and सौम्येष्वाशी०. We may suggest सौम्ये-
ऽष्टाशीत ; but सौम्येषु and not सौम्ये is required in the text. We may correct
the metre if we suggest the correction यातेषु चातुर-शतेषु कृतेषु सौम्येष्वाशीत-
सात्तरपदेष्विह वत्सरेषु.

वन्धूक-वाण-कुसुमोज्ज्वल¹-काननान्ते ॥²

निद्रा-व्यपाय-समये मधुसूदनस्य

का-

22 [ले प्रबु*]द्ध-कुमुदागर-शुद्ध-तारे ॥ 15

वापी-तडाग-सुरसन्न-सभोदुपान-³

नानाविधोपवन-सङ्क्रम-दीर्घिक[र]-

23 [भिः*] ॥⁴

शिष्टामिवाभरण-जातिभिरङ्गनां⁴ स्वां

यो गगर्गा-तट-पुरं सकलञ्चकार⁵ ॥ 16

राज्ञस्त्रितीयमिव⁶ चक्षुर्ददा-

24 [र-वृत्ति*]-

ईव-द्विजाति-गुरु-व[र]न्धव-साधु-भक्तः ॥⁷

शास्त्रै स्तुते च विनय⁷ व्यवहार-होने

यो(S*)पक्षपात-रहितो निद[धौ]

25 [स्व-चिन्त*]ाम् ॥ 17

सर्वस्य जीवितमनित्यमसारवच्च

दोला-चलामनुविचिन्त्य तथा विभूतिम् ॥²

न्यायाग[ति*]-

1 Read ०ज्ज्वल. काल=शरत्काल. Note that Vishnu sleeps during the four months of the rainy season from Āshāḍha śukla 11 to Kārttika Śukla 11.

2 Only one *daṇḍa* is required for correct punctuation. आगर=अमावास्या ; Fleet takes it in the sense of आगार. प्रबुद्धकुमुदागर-शुद्धतार=adorned with blossomed lilies and shining stars of the new moon.

3 Read ०भोदपान. उदुपान (=well or cistern) is Prakrit from Sanskrit उदपान. सुरसन्न=temple. सभा=shelter ; hall. सङ्क्रम=bridge. 4 Fleet सेष्टा०.

5 Read समल०. Gargarā has been supposed to be the ancient name of mod. Kālisindh, a tributary of the Chambal. The city referred to (Gangdhār?) seems to have been a provincial capital of Viśvavarman. The main capital was Daśapura = Mandasor. 6 Read ०स्तृतीय०

7 Read विनये. For the omission of *visarga* in शास्त्रै, see p. 384, n. 7. व्यवहार=litigation ; dispute.

- 26 [न वि*]भवेन पराञ्च भक्तिं
विकल्पापयन्नुपरि चक्र-गदा-धरस्य¹ ॥ 18
पीन-व्यायत-वृत्त-लम्बि-सुभुज-खड्ग-व्र[णै]-
- 27 [रङ्कि*]तः ॥²
करुणान्त-प्रतिसर्पमान-नयन³ ग्यामावदातच्छविः⁴ ॥
दर्पाविष्कितसोर-शत्रु-मथनो⁵ दुष्टाश्व-⁶
- 28 [यन्ता*] बली ॥²
भक्त्या चासुहृदाश्च बान्धव-समो धर्मार्थ-कामोदितः ॥ 19
प्रज्ञा-शौर्य-कुलोद्गतो दिशि
- 29 [दिशि*] प्रकल्पात-वीर्यो वशी ।²
पुत्रे विष्णुभटे तथा हरिभटे सम्बद्ध- वङ्ग-क्रियः ॥⁴
एत-
- 30 [त्पाप*]-पथावरोधि विपुलश्री-वल्लभेरात्मजैः⁷ ॥²
विष्णो स्थानमकारयद्भगव-
- 31 [तश्श्री*]मान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ 20
कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमस्य यस्य
दृष्टाकृतिं⁸ प्र-
- 32 [सुदितै*]र्वदनारविन्दः⁹ ॥⁴
विद्याधराः प्रियतमा-सहिताः सु-शोभ-
मादर्शि-विम्ब-¹⁰

1 Vishṇu is the wielder of both the discus and the club. उपरि=on.

2 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

3 Read साण०. The correction नयनः is unnecessary (see n. 7 below).

4 Read श्यामा० and वंश. Only one *danṭa* is required for correct punctuation.

5 Read ०कृत-सार०.

6 Read दुष्टाश्व (=दुष्टजनरूपाश्व०).

7 Read वल्लभै०. Note that the omission of *visarga* after विष्णोः (as also after शास्त्रैः in l. 24 and नयनः in l. 27) is supported by the *vārttika* खर्परे शरि वा विसर्ग-लोपो वक्तव्यः on Pāṇini's *sandhi* rule वा शरि ।न।३।३६.

8 Read ०कृति.

9 Read ०विन्दैः

10 Read ०दर्श.

- 33 [मिव*] यान्यवलोकयन्तः ॥ 21
यान्दष्टा सुर-सुन्दरी-कर-तल-व्यावृष्ट-पृष्ठ-क्षणम् ॥¹
प्रत्या-
- 34 [वर्त*]न-शङ्किनो रथ-हयानाक्रिष्य चञ्चत्सटान् ॥²
पुरयोदर्क-मति-प्रभाव-मुनिभिस्सं-
- 35 [स्तू*]यमानो(S*)म्बरे ॥¹
संरज्याञ्जलि-कूटलन्नत-शिरा³ भीतः प्रयात्यङ्गमान् ॥ 22
मातृणाञ्च⁴
- 36 [प्रमु*]दित-घनात्यर्थ-निहादिनीनाम् ॥¹
तन्त्रोद्धूत-प्रवल-पवनोद्वर्तिताम्भोनिधीनाम् ॥²
- 37 — — — — गतमिदं डाकिनी-संप्रकीर्णम् ॥¹
वेशमात्युग्र-नृपति-सचिवो(S*)कारयत्पुण्य-हेतोः ॥ 23
पाताले — — —
- 38 — — — रतिभिर्गुप्तं भुजङ्गो(प*)मैः ॥¹
शीत-खादु-विशुद्ध-भूरि-सलिलं सोपानि-मालोज्ज्वलम्⁵ ॥²
द — — —
- 39 — — — गहनं क्षीरोदधि-स्पर्द्धिनम् ॥¹
कूपञ्चैनमकारयद्गुण-निधिः श्रीमान्मयूराक्षकः ॥ 24
यावच्च — — —
- 40 — — — सागरा रत्नवन्तो
नाना-गुल्म-द्रुम-वनवती यावदुर्वी स[शै]ला ॥²
यावच्चन्दुग्रह-गण-चितं व्योम भा[सीक*]-
- 41 [रोति*]
[ता*]वत्कीर्तिर्भवतु विपुला श्रीमयूराक्षकस्येदिति⁶ [॥*] 25
सिद्धिरस्तु [॥*]

1 The punctuation mark is unnecessary. यां = आकृति. Possibly ०पृष्ठेक्षणान्.

2 Read ०नाकृष्य. चञ्चत्सट=with tossing manes. उदर्क=result. Only one *danḍa* is necessary for proper punctuation. 3 Read संकुच्याञ्जलिकुट्मलन्न० and ०त्यंशु०.

4 Read मातृ०. तन्त्र=spell. वेशमन्=abode. The temple for the Mothers indicates the influence of the Tantra cult.

5 Read सोपानमालोज्ज्वलम्.

6 Read ०कस्य ॥ इति ॥. चित=full of.

No. 53—Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśodharman alias Vishṇuvardhana—

Mālava (=Vikrama) year 589 (=A.D. 532)

MANDASOR, Gwalior State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 152 ff; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 220; XX, p. 188ff; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 9.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verse 1 पुष्पिताग्रा ; V. 2 शिखरिणी ; V. 3 मालिनी ; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 5 मालिनी ; Vv. 6-7 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 8 स्रग्धरा ; V. 9 शार्दूलविक्रीडित ; V. 10 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 11 मालिनी ; V. 12 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 13 मालिनी ; Vv. 14-16 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्) ; Vv. 17-18 मालिनी ; V. 19 स्रग्धरा ; Vv. 20-22 मालिनी ; V. 23 शिखरिणी ; V. 24 आर्या ; V. 25 मन्दाक्रान्ता ; V. 26 मालिनी ; V. 27 स्रग्धरा ; V. 28 शालिनी.

TEXT²

1 सिद्धम् [*॥]

1 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

2 In interpreting verses 5 and 6 of the record Fleet suggests that Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana were not identical and that the latter was a feudatory of the former. He thinks that Yaśodharman was a जनेन्द्र=tribal ruler, and Vishṇuvardhana a नराधिपति=king of men. But both the words mean 'a king' and the context shows that they were used for the sake of alliteration. It should further be noted that Yaśodharman is also called a *samrāt* (the same as *rājādhirāja-paramēśvara* of this record) in *infra*, No. 54. The passage स एव, Vishṇuvardhana's title राजाधिराज-परमेश्वर, and the facts that Mandasor was possibly the capital of Yaśodharman and that the engraver was very probably an officer of Yaśodharman (cf. No. 54, l. 9), go very strongly to suggest that Yaśodharman and Vishṇuvardhana were names of one and the same king. पुनश्च="further more" does not introduce a new person but only new details about the king. आजौ जिती विजयते जगतीं पुनश्च=besides, having been victorious in battle (referred to in v. 5), he acquired the earth (by conquest). See also p. 338, n. 2. Yaśodharman's relations with Naravarman's line is not known.

- स जयति जगतां पतिः पिनाकी
 स्मित-रव-गीतिषु यस्य दन्त-कान्तिः ।
 द्युतिरिव तडितां निशि स्फुरन्ती
 तिरयति च स्फुटयत्यदश्च विश्वम् ॥ 1
 स्वयम्भूर्भूतानां स्थिति-लय-[समु*]-
 2 तपत्ति-विधिषु
 प्रयुक्तो येनाज्ञां वहति भुवनानां विश्वतये ।
 पितृत्वं चानीतो जगति गरिमाणं गमयता
 स शम्भूर्भूयान्सि¹ प्रतिदिशतु भद्राणि भव[ताम्*] ॥ 2
 फण-मणि-गुरुभार[क्का]-
 3 न्ति-दूरावनम्रं
 स्थगयति रुचमिन्दोर्मण्डलं यस्य मूर्ध्नाम् [।*]
 स शिरसि विनिवध्नन्नध्रिनीमस्थिमालां
 सृजतु भव-सृजो² वः क्लेश-भङ्गं भुजङ्गः ॥ 3
 षष्ठ्या सहस्रैः सगरात्मजानां
 खात[ः*]
 4 ख-तुल्यां रुचमादधानः ।
 अस्योदपानाधिपतेश्विराय
 यशान्सि³ पायात्पयसां विधाता ॥ 4
 अथ जयति जनेन्द्रः श्री-यशोधर्म-नामा
 प्रमद-वनमिवान्तः शत्रु-सैन्यं विगाह्य [।*]
 व्रण-
 5 किसलय-भङ्गैर्यो(S*)क्तभूषां विधत्ते
 तरुण-तरु-लतावद्वीर-कीर्त्तीर्व्विनाम्य ॥ 5

1 Read ०भूयांसि. तिरयति च स्फुटयति=envelops and brings into full view.

2 Note that the Saivas consider Siva to be Creator, Preserver and Destroyer all in one. रुच् (fem.)=splendour. मण्डल=multitude.

3 Read यशान्सि. Note the epic story of the 60000 sons of the Ikshvāku king Sagara, who dug out the earth and went to the nether world in search of the horse let loose in connection with their father's Aśvamedha. Thus they excavated the bed of the ocean, called sāgara after their father.

4 अन्तः = in the interior. विनाम्य for विनमय्य is not grammatically happy.

आजौ जितौ विजयते जगतीम्पुनश्च
श्रीविष्णुवर्द्धन-नराधिपतिः स एव ।
प्रख्यात औलिकर-लाञ्छन आत्म-

6

वड्डो¹
श

येनोदितोदित-पदं गमितो गरीयः ॥ 6

प्राचो नृपान्सुवृहतश्च बह्वुदीचः

साम्ना युधा च वशगान्प्रविधाय येन [1*]

नामापरं जगति कान्तमदो दुरापं

राजाधिराज-परमे-

7

श्वर इत्युद्धम ॥ 7²

स्निग्ध-श्यामाम्बुदामैः स्थगित-दिनकृतो यज्वनामाज्य-धूम्रै-

रम्भोमेध्यं मघोनावधिष्ठु विदधता गाढ-सम्पन्न-सस्याः ।

संहर्षाद्वाणिनीनां कर-रभस-हृतो-

8

द्यानचूताङ्गराग्रा

राजन्वन्तो रमन्ते भुज-विजित-भुवा भूरयो येन देशाः ॥ 8

यस्योत्केतुभिरुन्मद-द्विप-कर-व्याविद्ध-लोभ्र-द्रुमै-

रुद्धतेन वनाध्वनि ध्वनि-नदद्विन्ध्याद्रि-रन्ध्रैर्बलैः [1*]

बाले-

1 Read वंशो. जितौ=conqueror. The meaning of औलिकर is unknown. Fleet suggests the hot-rayed sun or the cool-rayed moon. लाञ्छन=mark or token, is taken by that scholar to mean "the crest" which is the principal emblem impressed by kings on the seals attached to their charters and is different from the emblem on their *dhvajā* or banners. The Rattas of Saundanti and Belgaum had सुवर्णगरुडध्वज and सिन्धुरलाञ्छन; the Kadambas of Banawasi and Goa had शाखावरेन्द्रध्वज or वानरमहाध्वज and सिंहलाञ्छन. But Fleet's view may not be true to all cases; the Guptas, e.g., appear to have had the Garuḍa both in their seals and their banners.

2 The verse indirectly refers to Yaśodharma-Vishṇuvardhana's victory over the Guptas of the east and the Hūṇas of the north, which afforded him the right to the title of universal monarch. मघोना=by Indra; आम्भोमेध्यं=प्रचुरसजलमेघान्; possibly अम्भोमेध्य = purification by rain water. वाणिनी=wanton woman.

- 9 य-च्छवि-धूमरेण रजसा मन्दाङ्गु¹ संलक्ष्यते
पर्यावृत्त-शिखरिड-चन्द्रक² इव ध्यामं रवेर्मण्डलम् ॥ 9
तस्य प्रभोर्वृद्धकृतां³ नृपाणां
पादाश्रयाद्विभ्रुत-पुण्य-कीर्तिः ।
भृत्यः स्व-नैभृत्य-जिता-
- 10 रि-षट्क⁴
आसीद्वसीयान्किल षष्ठिदत्तः ॥ 10
हिमवत इव गाङ्गस्तुङ्ग-नम्रः प्रवाहः
शशभृत इव रेवा-वारि-राशिः प्रथीयान् [।*]
परमभिगमनीयः शुद्धिमानन्ववायो
यत उदित-गरि-
- 11 मणस्तायते नैगमानाम् ॥ 11
तस्यानुकूलः कुलजात्कलला-
त्सुतः प्रसूतो यशसां प्रसूतिः ।
हरेरिवाङ्गु⁵ वशिनं वराहं
वराहदासं यमुदाहरन्ति ॥ 12
सुकृति-विषयि-तुङ्ग⁶ रुढमूलं
- 12 धरायां
स्थितिमपगतभङ्गां स्थेयसीमादधानम् [।*]
गुरु-शिखरमिवाग्रे स्तत्कुलं स्वात्म-भृत्या
रविरिव रविकीर्तिः सुप्रकाशं व्यधत् ॥ 13
विभ्रता शुभ्रमभ्रङ्गि स्मार्तं वर्त्मोचितं सताम् [।*]

1 Read मन्दांशु. बालेयच्छविधूमर=smoke-coloured like an ass. धूसर may also be intended. ध्याम=black.

2 I. e., the eye in a peacock's tail reversed (=looked at from the wrong side).

3 Read ०वृश. वंशकृत्=ancestor; नैभृत्य=resoluteness; वसीयान्=excellent; नैगम=interpreter of śāstras. 4 The six enemies hindering religious practices are कामक्रोधस्तथा लोभो मदमोहौ च मत्सरः. 5 Read ०वांशं

6 Read ०विषयं which is Kielhorn's reading. I. e. 'high like the abode of those who have performed good actions' (mountain); 'eminent in containing men who perform good actions (family)'. अपगतभङ्ग=free from breaks.

- न विसंब्बा-¹
- 13 दिता येन कलावपि कुलीनता ॥ 14
 धुत-धीदीधिति-ध्वान्तान्हविर्भुज इवाध्वरान् [1*]
 भानुगुप्ता ततः साध्वी तनयांस्त्रीनजीजनत् ॥ 15
 भगवद्दोष इत्यासीत्प्रथमः कार्यवर्त्मसु ।
 आल-
- 14 म्वनं बान्धवानामन्धकानामिवोद्धवः ॥ 16
 बहु-नय-विधि-वेधा गह्वरे(S*)प्यर्थ-मार्गं
 विदुर इव विदूरं प्रेक्षया प्रेक्षमाणः ।
 वचन-रचन-बन्धे संस्कृत-प्राकृते यः
 कविभिरुद्दि-
- 15 त-रागं गीयते गीरभिज्ञः ॥ 17
 प्रणिधि-दगनुगन्ता यस्य बौद्धेन चाक्षणा
 न निशि तनु दवीयो वास्यदृष्टं धरित्र्याम्² [1*]
 पदमुदयि दधानो(S*)नन्तरं तस्य चामू-
 त्स भयमभयदत्तो नाम
- 16 वि[घ्न]न्प्रजानाम्³ ॥ 18
 विन्ध्यस्यावन्ध्य-कर्मा शिखर-तट-पतत्पाण्डु-रेवाम्बुराशे-
 र्गो-लाङ्गूलैः सहेल-प्लुति-नमित-तरोः⁴ पारियान्नस्य चाद्रेः ।
 आ सिन्धोरन्तरालं निज-शुचि-सचिवाद्धया-
- 17 सितानेक-देशं
 राजस्थानीय-वृत्त्या⁵ सुरगुरुरिव यो वरिणानां भूतये(S*)पात् ॥ 19

1 Read ०मभ्रंशि and विसंवादिता.

2 धरित्र्यां is to be taken with अदृष्टं and not with दधानः.

3 "Abhayadatta maintaining a high position and preventing any fear on the part of his subjects."

4 Fleet: सहेलं.

5 Read वृत्त्या. राजस्थानीय=a feudatory or viceroy; cf. तलवर=तुष्टभूपाल-
 प्रदत्त-पट्ट-बन्ध-विभूषित-राजस्थानीय (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 12); प्रजापालनार्थमुद्रहति
 रक्षयति च स राजस्थानीयः in Kshemendra's *Lokaprakāśa* (C.I.I., III, p. 157
 n.). Abhayadatta is claimed to have been ruling the land lying between the
 Vindhya and the Pāriyātra (p. 196, n. 3) and stretching as far as the Arabian Sea,
 as a viceroy of Yaśodharman surnamed Vishnuvardhana. Doshakumbha, father
 of Dharmadosha, was a younger brother of Abhayadatta.

विहित-सकल-वर्णसङ्करं शान्त-डिम्बं
कृत इव कृतमेतद्येन राज्यं निराधि ।
स धुरमयमिदानीं

- 18 दोषकुम्भस्य सूनु-
गुरु वहति तदूढां धर्मतो धर्मदोषः ॥ 20
ख-सुखमनभिवाच्छन्दुर्गमे(S*)द्वन्यसङ्गा¹
धुरमतिगुरुभारां यो दधद्भर्तुरर्थे ।
वहति नृपति-वेषं केवलं लक्ष्म-मात्रं
- 19 वलिनमिव विलम्बं कम्बलं बाहुलेयः² ॥ 21
उपहित-हित-रक्षामण्डनो जाति-रत्नै-³
भुज इव पृथुलांसस्तस्य दक्षः कनीयान् [।*]
महदिदमुदपानं खानयामास विभ्र-
- 20 च्छ्रुति-हृदय-नितान्तानन्द निर्दोष-नामा ॥ 22
सुखाश्रेय-च्छ्रायं परिणति-हित-स्वादु-फलदं
गजेन्द्रेणारुणं द्रुममिव कृतान्तेन वलिना ।
पितृव्यं प्रोद्दिश्य प्रियमभयदत्तं पृ-
- 21 धु-धिया
प्रथीयस्तेनेदं कुशलमिह कर्मोपरचितं ॥ 23
पञ्चसु शतेषु शरदां यातेष्वेकान्नवति-सहितेषु ।
मालव-गण-स्थिति-वशात्काल-ज्ञानाय लिखितेषु³ ॥ 24
य-
- 22 स्मिन्काले कल-मृदु-गिरां कोकिलानां प्रलापा
भिन्दन्तोव स्मर-शर-निभाः प्रोषितानां मनांसि ।

1 Fleet : °मनति°. Read °वाञ्छन्दु°. असङ्ग=अप्रतिबन्ध. तदूढ=borne by him (Abhayadatta). डिम्ब=hostility.

2 बाहुलेय=bull, from बाहुला, a cow. वलिन=weighty.

3 Read ज्ञाति which is Kielhorn's reading. The first line means "invested, as with a decoration, with the protection of friends, by excellent relatives", and "with a beneficial protective ornament fastened by excellent relatives".

भृङ्गालीनां धनिरनुवनं भार-मन्द्रश्च यस्मि-
न्नाधूत-ज्यं धनुरिव नदच्छूयते पुष्प-

23

केतोः ॥ 25

प्रियतम-कुपितानां कम्पयन्बद्धरागं
किसलयमिव मुरधं मानसं मानिनीनां⁴ [1*]
उपनयति नभस्मान्मान-भङ्गाय यस्मि-
न्कुसुम-समय-मासे तत्र निर्मापितो(S*)यम् ॥ 26

24

यावत्तुङ्गैरुदन्वान्किरण-समुदयं सङ्ग-कान्तं² तरङ्गै-
रालिङ्गन्निन्दु-बिम्बं गुरुभिरिव भुजैः संविधत्ते सुहृत्ताम् [1*]
विभ्रत्सौधान्त-लेखा-वलय-परिगतिं मुण्डमालामिवायं
सत्कूपस्तावदा-

25

स्ताममृत-सम-रस-स्वच्छ-विष्यन्दिताम्बुः ॥ 27

धीमां³ दक्षो दक्षिणः सत्यसन्धो

हीमांच्छूरो वृद्ध-सेवी कृतज्ञः ।

बद्धोत्साहः स्वामि-कार्येष्वखेदो

निर्दोषो(S*)यं पातु धर्मं चिराय ॥ 28

उत्कीर्णा⁴ गोविन्देन ॥

1 स्थिति=settled rule, ordinance, established custom. वशात्=owing to. Here स्थितिवशात्=owing to the custom seems to mean "according to the custom (established by the republic of the Mālavas)" and to be the same as स्थित्या in *supra*, No. 21, l. 19. एकाग्रनवति=एकोनवति. Fleet : रामयन्बद्ध०.

2 I.e., lovely owing to the contact with water. ०दयासङ्गकान्तं may also be intended.

3 Read धीमान्. Fleet takes the name to be Daksha and Kielhorn to be Nirdosha. The occurrence of both of these words in verses 22 and 28 suggests that Daksha had the second name Nirdosha.

4 Supply श्लोकाः or प्रशस्तिः after उत्कीर्णा.

No. 54—Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription of Yaśodharman (c. 525-35 A. D.)

MANDASOR, Gwalior State, C. I.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 146f; KIELHORN, *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 219f; XX, p. 188; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 1870.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Northern class of the first half of the sixth century A.D.¹

Metre: Verses 1-8 स्रग्धरा ; V. 9 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्)

TEXT²

- 1 वेपन्ते यस्य भीम-स्तनित-भय-समुद्भ्रान्त-दैत्या दिगन्ताः
शृङ्गाघातैः सुमेरोर्विघटित-दृषदः कन्दरा यः करोति ।
उच्चाणं तं दधानः क्षितिधर-तनया-दत्त-[पद्माङ्गुला]ङ्कं
द्राघिष्ठः शूलपाणेः क्षपयतु भवतां शत्रु-तेजाङ्घ्रि³ केतुः ॥ 1
- 2 आविर्भूतावलेपैरविनय-पटुभिल्लक्षिताचार-[मा]र्गै-
म्मोहादैर्द-युगीनैरपशुभ-रतिभिः पीड्यमाना नरेन्द्रैः ।
यस्य क्षमा शार्ङ्गपाणेरिव कठिन-धनुर्ज्या-किणा[ङ्क]-प्रकोष्ठ[']
बाहुं लोकोपकार-व्रत-सफल-परिस्पन्द-धीरं⁴ प्रपन्ना ॥ 2
- 3 निन्द्याचारेषु यो(S*)स्मिन्विनय-मुषि युगे कल्पना-मातृ-वृत्त्या⁵
राजस्वन्धेषु पादुष्विव कुसुम-वलिर्नावभासे प्रयुक्तः ।
स श्रेयो-धाम्नि सम्राडिति⁶ मनु-भरतालवर्क-[मान्धा]तृ-कल्पे

1 Yaśodharman's known date is Vikrama year 589 = A.D. 532 (see *supra*, No. 53)

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

3 Read तेजांसि.

4 The original looks like परिस्पन्दि.

4 Read वृत्त्या and पांसु.

5 सम्राट्=a ruler of kings and performer of the Rājasūya.

- कल्याणो हेमिन् भाखान्मणिरिव सुतरां भ्राजते यन्न शब्दः¹ ॥ 3
- 4 ये भुक्ता गुप्त-नाथैर्न सकल-वसुधावक्रान्ति-दृष्ट-प्रतापै-
र्नाज्ञा हृणाधिपाना['] क्षितिपति-मुकुटाद्व्यासिनी यान्प्रविष्टा ।
देशांस्तान्धन्व-शैल-द्रुम-शहन²-सरिद्वीरबाहूपगूढा-
न्वीर्यावस्कन्न-राज्ञः स्व-गृह-परिसरावज्ञया यो भुनक्ति ॥ 4
- 5 आ लौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवन-गह[नो]पत्यकादा महेन्द्रा-
दा गङ्गाश्लिष्ट-सानोस्तुहिनशिखरिण-पश्चिमादा पयोध्रे ।
सामन्तैर्यस्य³ बाहु-द्रविण-हृत-म[दै]ः पादयोरानमद्भि-
श्चूडा-रत्नाङ्गु-राजि-व्यतिकर-शबला भूमि-भागाः क्रियन्ते⁴ ॥ 5
- 6 स्थाणोरन्यत्र येन प्रणति-रूपणतां प्रापितं नोत्तमाङ्गं
यस्याश्लिष्टो भुजाभ्यां बहति हिमगिरिर्दुर्ग-शब्दाभिमान[म्] ।

1 "He, in whom possessed of a wealth of virtue, and so falling but little short of Manu, Bharata, Alarka and Māndhātṛi, the title of "universal sovereign",—which, in this age that is the ravisher of good behaviour, applied with a mere imaginary meaning to other kings, of reprehensible conduct, has not shone at all, being in their case like an offering of flowers placed in the dust,—shines even more than it ordinarily does, like a resplendent jewel set in good gold."

2 Read गहन. Note that Yaśodharman claims to have conquered more territories than did the Gupta and Hūṇa kings. This shows that his sovereignty in Central India followed that of the Guptas and the Hūṇas.

3 सामन्त=originally, a neighbour; but here, a feudatory ruler. बाहुद्रविण=strength of arms. चूडा=the single tuft of hair left on the crown after the ceremony called Chūḍākarana; here, top of head. रत्नाङ्गराजिव्यतिकरशबल=variegated owing to the intermingling of a multitude of the rays of jewels. तल=ताल=palmyra tree.

4 Read रत्नाङ्ग. The verse refers to the *digvijaya* which the king claims to have performed, and gives the conventional boundaries of the *Chakravartti-kshetra*. It is a conventional *prāśasti* and need not be entirely historical in all its details. There is no reason to believe that Yaśodharman actually conquered the whole of India from the Himalayas to the Mahendra and from the banks of the Brahmaputra to the Arabian Sea (p. 276. n. 4; also Sircar, *J. R. A. S. B.*, V, 407 ff). Lauhitya=the Brahmaputra; Tuhinaśikharin=the Himalayas; Mahendra=the Eastern Ghāṭs; here, Mahendrāchala in Tinnevely Dist.; Pāścima-payodhi=the Arabian Sea.

- नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणति-भुजवलावर्जन-क्लिष्ट-मूर्द्धा
 [चू]डा-पुष्पोपहारैर्मिहिरकुल-नृपेणाञ्जित['] पाद-युग्मं¹ ॥ 6
- 7 [गा*]मेवोन्मातुमूर्द्धं विगणयितुमिव ज्योतिषां चक्रवालं
 निर्देष्टुं मार्गमुच्चैर्दिव इव [सु]कृतोपार्जितायाः स्व-कीर्तैः ।
 तेनाकल्पान्त-कालावधिरवनिभुजा श्री-यशोधर्मणां
 स्तम्भः स्तम्भाभिराम-स्थिर-भुज-परिघेणोच्छ्रितं नायितो(S*)त्र ॥ 7
- 8 [श्ला]घ्ये जन्मास्य वहुं चरितमघहरं दृश्यते कान्तमस्मि-
 न्धर्मस्यायं निकेतश्चलति नियमितं नामुना लोकवृत्तम्² [I*]
 इत्युत्कर्षं गुणानां लिखितुमिव यशोधर्मणश्चन्द्र-बिम्बे
 रागादुत्क्षिप्त उच्चैर्भुज इव रुचिमान्यः पृथिव्या विभाति ॥ 8
- 9 इति तुष्टपया तस्य नृपतेः पुण्यकर्मणः ।
 वासुलेनोपरचिताः श्लोकाः कक्षस्य सूनुना ॥ 9
 उत्कीरणा³ गोविन्देन ॥

1 "He (i.e., Yaśodharman) to whose two feet respect was paid with complimentary presents of the flowers from the lock of hair on the top of his head, by even that famous king Mihirakula whose head had never previously been brought into the humility of obeisance to any other save the god Sthāṇu, and embraced by whose arms the Himālaya falsely prides itself on being styled an inaccessible fortress, and whose forehead was pained through being now for the first time bent low down by the strength of his (Yaśodharman's) arm in the act of compelling obeisance." The Hūṇa Mihirakula was thus an emperor; he was a devotee of स्थाणु=शिव; his capital was in the Himalayan region or not very far from it; he was subdued by Yaśodharman. Kalhaṇa mentions Mihirakula as a king of Kashmir. According to Buddhist traditions, he had his capital at Sākala or Siālkoṭ in the Panjāb. But his empire appears to have extended at least from Kashmir to Mālwa from where he was possibly ousted by Yaśodharman. For his record, see *infra*, No. 57; also p. 322, n. 3.

2 Read वंशे. अमुना नियमितं लोकवृत्तं न चलति, "controlled by him, the conduct of mankind does not swerve (from the right course)". रुचिमान्=endowed with splendour.

3 Fleet is inclined to supply प्रशस्तिः after उत्कीरणा; but the word possibly refers to श्लोकाः. No work of the poet Vāsula is known.

D—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE HŪṆA KINGS FROM CENTRAL INDIA AND THE PANJĀB

No. 55—Eran Stone Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa (c. 500-515 A. D.)¹—Regnal year 1

ERAN, Sāgar (Saugor) Dist., C.P.

FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 159f; BHANDARKAR, *List*, No. 1269 (for other references).

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

Metre : Verse 1 आर्या ; V. 2 श्लोक (अनुष्टुप्) [but the metre is faulty in the fifth syllable which is required to be short ; Fleet takes it to be a sentence in prose]; V.3 आर्या.

TEXT²

1 १^३ [॥*]

जयति धरण्युद्धरणे घन-घोणाघात-घूरिणत-महीदूः [॥*]

देवो वराहमूर्तिर्लोक्य-महागृह-स्तम्भः⁴ [॥*] ।

वर्षे प्रथमे पृथिवी[म्]⁵

2

पृथु-कीर्त्तौ पृथु-युतौ [॥*]

1 Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa emperor, was father of Mihirakula. Note that Mātri-vishṇu was a feudatory of Budha Gupta; but during the time of his younger brother Dhanyavishṇu the country was under Toramāṇa. See *supra*, No. 54

2 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III. Cf. the text with that of *supra*, No. 35.

3 सिद्धम् expressed by symbol.

4 The verse refers to the Varāha incarnation of Viṣṇu. घन-घोणाघात-घूरिणत-महीदूः=who caused the mountains to tremble with the blows of his hard snout.

5 Read पृथिवीं प्रथमे वर्षे to suit the metre.

महाराजाधिराज-श्रीतोरमाणे प्रशासति । [1*] 2

फाल्गुन-दिवसे दशमे ।¹ इत्येवं राज्य-वर्ष-मास-दिनैः [1*]

एतस्यां

3 पूर्वायाम् ।¹ स्व-लक्ष्मणैर्युक्त-पूर्वायाम् । [1*] 3

स्वकर्मभिरतस्य क्रतुयाजिनो(S*)धीत-स्वाध्यायस्य विप्रर्षेम्भैर्वायणीय-वृषभस्येन्द्र-
विष्णोः प्रपौत्रस्य ।¹

4 पितुर्गुणानुकारिणो वरुणविष्णोः पौत्रस्य पितरमनुजातस्य स्ववंश-वृद्धि-हेतोर्हरिविष्णोः
पुत्रस्यात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्तस्य विधातुरिच्छया ।¹

5 स्वयंवरयेव राजलक्ष्म्याधिगतस्य चतुःसमुद्र-पर्यन्त-प्रथितयशसः अक्षीण-मान[ध]न-
स्यानेक-शत्रु-समर-जिष्णोः महार(1*)ज-मातृविष्णोः

6 स्वर्गतस्य भ्रातानुजेन ।¹ तदनुविधायिना तत्प्रसाद-परिगृहीतेन² धन्यविष्णुना
तेनैव [स]हाविभक्त-पुण्यक्रियेण मातापित्तोः

7 पुण्याध्यायनार्थमेव भगवतो वराहमूर्त्तेर्जगत्परायणस्य नारायणस्य शिला-प्रा[सादः]
स्व-विष[ये](S*)स्मिन्नैरिक्किणे³ कारितः । [1*]

8 स्वस्त्यस्तु गो-ब्राह्मण-पुरोगाभ्यः सर्व्व-प्रजा[भ्य इ]ति ॥

1 The mark of punctuation is superfluous. Better read दशम and पूर्वार्या. Here पूर्वा has been used as a synonym of तिथि.

2 There is a sign following this word and resembling the dagger-mark of English typography which, as Fleet has suggested, indicates that the passage तेनैव सहाविभक्तपुण्यक्रियेण should be read here, i.e., just before धन्यविष्णुना.

3 ऐरिक्किण-विषय=district round mod. Eran.

No. 56—Kurā Stone Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa Shāhi¹ (c. 500-515 A.D.)

KURĀ, Salt Range, the Panjāb.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 239f.

Language : Sanskrit, strongly influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Nail-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Northern
Class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 [१*]³ [राजाधि*] राज-महाराज-तोरमाण-पा[हि]-जऊ[वल्लस्याभिवर्ध*] [मान-⁴
राज्ये]* * [संवत्सरे*]
- 2 * * * * मे⁴ मार्गशिर-मास-शुक्ल-द्वितीयायाम् चान्द्र[मग्र?] * * * * गग[न*]-
- 3 [चरे च] वर*शुचि-शात-ध्यानाध्ययन-मोक्ष-चित्तानुकूले⁵ प्र[दिष्ट] * * *
* * * * [न*]-
- 4 क्षत्रे भगवतो बुद्धस्य देवातिदेवस्य⁶ सर्वपापपरिहोण-सर्वपुण्यसमुद्गत[स्य]

1 He should probably be identified with the Hūṇa emperor Toramāṇa. See n. 4 below.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. Some *aksharas* here and there and a few lines at the end of the record appear to have been erased.

3 The restorations are probable in consideration of the space and traces before ०राज०.

4 Cf. l. 10 below. Since this prince has been called a जऊवल्ल (which is supposed to have been a feudatory title or a tribal name), Böhler and Kielhorn were not inclined to identify him with the father of Mihirakula, though they agreed that the record belongs to the 4th or 5th century A.D. I do not think that there is any improbability in the identification. There is evidence to show that a feudatory (and sometimes even his successors) continued to use the feudatory title even when he became actually independent. Note the title महाक्षत्रप used by the Śaka kings of Ujjain and the title सेनापति applied to Pushyamitra Śuṅga (p. 96) even after his celebration of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. It has been pointed out that the name तोरमाण is the same as the Turkish word *tōramān*, *tūramān*, or *tōremen*, meaning a rebel or insurgent. जऊवल्ल has been connected with Turkish *jvl*, "a falcon." For *shāhi*, see p. 142, n. 2 ; p. 144, n. 3.

4 Possibly the gap between राज्ये and संवत्सरे contained 2 cancelled *aksharas*.

5 Possibly शान्त and चिन्ता are intended. We may read वर-शुचि as the *akshara* between र and शु seems to be a cancelled शु.

6 There is a blank space between दे and वा

- 5 तीर्ण-स(*साराणव(स्य*) सत्वानां तारयिता¹ दशबल-बलिन(:*) चतुर्वैशारद्य-² चतस्रप्रतिसंभिदा]-³
- 6 अष्टादशावेणीकाद्भुत-धर्म-समन्वागतस्य⁴ सर्वसत्ववत्सल-महाकारुणिकस्य बु-
- 7 द्धप्रमुख-चातुर्दिशे⁵ भिक्षु-संघे देयधर्मो(S*)य(*) विहार(:*) प्रतिष्ठापन नश्चीर-
पति-प्रशस्ता-
- 8 दारित-नामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिः रोह-जयवृद्धि⁶ अनेक-विहार-स्वामिनो सत्पुत्रेण [।*] यदल
पुरयं तद्भवतु
- 9 [मा]तापित्तो(:*) आपायक-पोषक(योः*) चित्तस्य जंबुद्वीपस्य दर्शयितारो⁷ अग्ने-
भावप्रत्यंशतायास्तु तथा विहार-स्वामिनो
- 10 रोह-सिद्धवृद्धि सर्वेषां भ्रातराणां भगिनीनां पत्नीनां पुत्राणां दुहितृणां महाराज-
तोरमाण-पाह-जऊळः⁸ स-
- 11 वेषां देवीनां राजपुत्राणां राजदुहितानां⁹ च सर्व-सत्वानां अनुत्तर-ज्ञानावाप्तये¹⁰ [।*]
अयं पुन(:*) विहारस्यो-
- 12 पकरण चातुर्दिशे भिक्षुसंघे परिग्रहे आचाय(णां*) [म]होश[सकानां] [।*] [साद्धक-
पु]- * * लेण* [आचार्य]-
- 13

1 Read ०यितुः. For Daśabala, see p. 224, n. 3.

2 Read चतुर्वैशारद्य. A Buddha has four subjects of confidence or fearlessness, viz., the consciousness that he has attained omniscience, that he has freed himself from human passion, that he has rightly described the obstacles of religious life and that he has rightly taught the way to obtain salvation.

3 Read चतुःप्रतिसंभिदाष्टा०. The four *Pratisambhidās* are the analytical sciences being divisions of the supernatural knowledge of the Arhat regarding the meaning, the text and the origin of the words, as also the discriminatory knowledge of them.

4 Read ०वेणिकाद्भुत०. I.e., attained marvellous virtues resulting from the 4 *vaiśāradyas*, etc. The 18 *āveṇika* or independent states are said to be the distinguishing mark of a Buddha who is detached from the imperfections which attach to the majority of mankind.

5 बुद्धप्रमुख=belonging to the congregation of which Buddha is the head.

6 Read प्रतिष्ठापितः नश्चीरपति-प्रशस्तादृतनामधेय-विशेषवृद्धिना रोहजयवृद्धेः, etc.

7 Read आप्यायक and ०यित्तोः अग्रभागप्रत्यंशाय (or, ०शतायै)। अस्तु तथा विहारस्वामिनः रोह-सिद्धवृद्धेः सर्वेषां भ्रातृणां, etc. Note that my emendations and interpretations are different in some respects from those of Bühler. For अग्रप्रत्यंश and अग्रभागप्रत्यंश, see pp. 139, 154.

8 Read ०षाहिजऊळस्य.

9 Read दुहितृणां and ०स्योपकारः (benefaction in the shape of a monastery).

10 Between अ and नु two *aksharas* appear to be struck out.

No. 57—Gwalior Stone Inscription of Mihirakula (c. 515-35 A.D.)—Regnal year 15

GWALIOR (Gwālher), Gwalior State, Central India.

R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI, p. 391ff.; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 162f; BHANDARKAR, List, No. 2109.

Language : Sanskrit, slightly influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern Class of the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 मालिनी ; Vv. 3-12 आर्या ; V. 13 शाहूलवि-
क्रोडित.

TEXT¹

1 [१० ॥ स्वस्ति ॥*] ²

[ज*] [य]ति जलद-वल³-ध्वान्तमुत्सारयन्स्वैः

किरण-निवह-जालैर्व्योम विद्योतयद्भिः [।*]

उ[दय*]-[गिरि]-तटाग्र[*] मण्डयन्⁴ यस्तुर(*गं):

चक्रित-गमन-खेद-भ्रान्त-चंचत्सटान्तैः । [।*] 1

उदय-[गिरि]-⁵

2 — — — ग्रस्त-चक्रो(S*)त्ति-हर्ता

भुवन-भवन-दीपः शर्वरी-नाश-हेतुः [।*]

तपित-कनक-वर्णैरंशुभिः पङ्कजान(।*)-

मभिनव-रमणीयं यो विधत्ते स वो(S*)व्यात् । [।*] 2

श्री-तोर[माण इ*]ति यः प्रथितो

1 Ll. 1-6 from the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, and ll. 7-9 from the facsimile in *J. A. S. B.*, XXXI.

2 The restorations are conjectural.

3 Fleet reads वाल and translates "banks of clouds"; जलदवेला (=rainy day) seems to have been intended. The upper part of the *aksharas* are lost. The first two verses are in adoration to the Sun god.

4 न् was omitted in its proper place, and was then engraved below the line.
Read ०रङ्गैश्चक्रित०.

5 Possibly उदयगिरिवनान्तग्रस्त०.

- 3 [भूचक्र*]पः प्रभृत-गुणः [।*]
 सत्यप्रदान-शौर्य्याद्येन¹ मही न्यायत[ः] शास्ता [॥*] 3
 तस्योदित-कुल-क्रोर्त्तेः पुत्रो(S*)तुल-विक्रमः पतिः पृथ्व्याः [।*]
 मिहिरकुलेतिख्यातो(S*)भक्तो² यः पशुपतिम * * *³ [॥*] 4
 4 [तस्मिन्ना*]जनि शासति पृथ्वीं पृथु-विमल-लोचने(S*)तिहरे [।*]
 अभिवर्द्धमान-राज्ये पंचदशाब्दे नृप-वृषस्य । [।*] 5
 शशिरश्मिहास-विकसित-कुमुदोत्पल-गन्ध-शीतलामोदे [।*]
 कार्तिक-मासे प्राप्त⁴ गगन-
 5 [पतौ*] [नि*]र्मले भाति । [।*] 6
 द्विज-गण-मुख्यैरभिसंस्तुते च पुण्याह-नाद-घोषेण [।*]
 तिथि-नक्षत्र-मुहूर्ते संप्राप्ते सुप्रशस्त-[दिने] । [।*] 7
 मातृतुलस्य तु पौत्रः पुत्रश्च तथैव मातृदासस्य [।*]
 नाम्ना च मातृचेष्टः पर्व-
 6 [त-दुर्ग*][।नु]वास्तव्यः [॥*] 8
 नानाधातु-विचित्रे गोपाह्वय-नाम्नि⁵ भूधरे रम्ये [।*]
 कारितवान्शैलमयं भानोः प्रासाद-वर-मुख्यम् । [।*] 9
 पुण्याभिष्टुद्धिहेतोर्मातापितोस्तथात्मनश्चैव [।*]
 वसता(*) च गिरिवरे(S*)स्मि(न*) राज्ञः

1 Fleet suggests the correction प्रधान. शास्ता for शासिता or शिष्टा is not grammatically happy.
 2 Better मिहिरकुल इति ख्या०.

3 Possibly मर्चयति. Fleet and Kielhorn believed that Mihirakula broke the power of one Paśupati. Bhandarkar wants to read मेजे (which is however impossible in view of the clear traces on the plate) in the lacuna and suggests that the Hūṇa king was a worshipper of Paśupati = Śiva. अमङ्गः=पूजाव्यापारे विरामरहितः.

4 Read प्राप्त. I.e., when the month of Kārttika arrived.

5 गोपाह्वय is the same as गोपगिरि and गोपाद्रि=Gwalior, the immediate source of which form is possibly Gopālikera found in some records.

7 * * * [पा१]देन¹ [॥*] 10

ये कारयन्ति भानोश्चन्द्रांशु-सम-प्रभं गृह-प्रवरं [॥*]

तेषां वासः स्वर्गे यावत्कल्प-क्षयो भवति ॥ 11

भक्त्या रवेर्विरचितं सद्धर्म-ख्यापनं सुकीर्तिमयं [॥*]

नाम्ना च केशवेतिप्रथितेन च ।²

8 * * * [दि१]त्येन ॥* 12

यावच्छर्व्व-जटा-कलाप-गहने विद्योतते चन्द्रमा

दिव्यस्त्री-चरणैर्विभूषित-तटो यावच्च मेरुर्नगः [॥*]

यावच्चोरसि नील-नीरद-निभे विष्णुर्विभर्त्युज्ज्वलां³

श्रींस्तावद्विरि-मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठति

[शिला-प्रा*]साद-मुख्यो रमे [॥*] 13

1 The word may be प्रसादेन.

2 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. Better केशव इति प्र०. No work of the poet Kēśava is known for certain. He seems to have had a second name which was Āditya or ended in āditya.

3 Read ०र्विभर्त्युज्ज्वलां श्रीं ताव०. श्रीं has been wrongly used for श्रियं for the sake of the metre. Cf. the saying माषमपि मषं कुर्यात्, etc. (p. 381, n. 2).

E—WESTERN INDIA: MAITRAKAS OF VALABHĪ

No. 58—Bhamodra-Mohota Copper-plate Inscription
of Droṇasiṃha—Gupta-Valabhi year 183 (=A.D. 502)

BHAMODRA-MOHOTA, Bhaunagar State, Kāthiāwār.

A. M. T. Jackson, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XX, No. liv, p. 1ff;L. D. BARNETT, *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 18f.**Language :** Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit.**Script :** Brāhmī of the Southern class**Metre :** Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).TEXT¹

1 १^२ खस्ति [॥*] चलभीतः परमभट्टारक-पादानुध्यातो^३ महाराज-द्रोणसिंह-
 ×कुशली ख-विषय^४ सर्वनिवास्मत्सन्तकायुक्क-विनियुक्क-मह-^५

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XVI. For the Valabhi era, see *supra*, p. 269, n. 2. It was actually the Gupta era introduced during the age of the Gupta occupation of Kāthiāwār, but later continued by the Maitrakas who were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas.

2 सिद्धं expressed by a symbol.

3 Droṇasiṃha's father was Bhaṭārka whose name is not mentioned. Bhaṭārka was the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi (modern Wala in Kāthiāwār). The overlord of Droṇasiṃha referred to here appears to have been a Gupta emperor; but the power of the Guptas was by this time already on the decline.

4 Read विषये. Barnett suggests विषयकान्.

5 The function of the *drāṅgika* is not known. द्रंग may be connected with the expression सोद्रङ्ग (=with उद्रङ्ग, p. 371, n. 5). The reading intended seems actually to be महत्तरौद्रङ्गिक०.

- 2 त्तर-दाक्षिक-ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरणं¹ चाट-भटादी(*)²श्च³ समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वो विदितं
यथा मया³ विजयायुद्धम्मफल-यशोविषय-त्रिद्व-⁴
- 3 ये नो वर्षसहस्राय सव्वे-कल्याणाभिप्राय-संपत्तये च हस्तवप्राहरण्यां श्री-भगवत्या-
पारडुराज्यायाः⁵ मातापितोपुण्याप्यायन-नि-
- 4 मितमात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये⁶ आ-वन्दार्कारणव-क्षितिस्थिति-सरित्पव्वेत-समकालीनं
बलि-चरु-वैश्यदेवाद्यानां⁷ क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थं⁸
- 5 त्रिसंगमकप्रामो⁸ गन्ध-धूर्प-दीप-तैल्य-माल्योपयोज्यं⁹ देवकुलस्य च पतित-
विशीर्ण-प्रतिसंस्कारणार्थं सत्तोपयोज्येस्सहिरण्या-¹⁰
- 6 देयस्सहान्यैश्चादानै[र]चाट-भट-प्रावेश्यं¹¹ ब्रह्मदेय-स्थित्या उदकातिसर्गणं निसृष्टः [।*]

1 Barnett suggests °करणिक-चाट° which is unnecessary. ध्रुवस्थानाधिकरण possibly indicates the local government of some selected localities. *Dhruvādhikaraṇika* found in later Maitraka records has been explained as “one who has the superintendence of the *Dhruvas*” by Bühler who points out that *dhruva* is still used in Kāthiāwār and Kachh to denote “a person who on the part of a *rājā*, superintends the collection of the royal share of the produce in grain which is made by the farmers of revenue”. सन्तक is a Pāli word meaning ‘belonging to’. विनियुक्तक was possibly the same as तदायुक्तक.

2 For चाट and भट, see p. 371, n. 6.

3 Barnett: महा°. Read °यायुद्धम्म°.

4 Barnett: ब्रह्मये.

5 Possibly °राजायाः. This appears to be the name of the goddess of a temple in the Hastavapra āharanī, modern Hāthab, 6 miles south of Goghā in the Bhau-nagar State.. It is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Astakampra. The territorial division called āharanī is apparently related to Āhāra (district) and both appear to have been derived from ā+hrī, as they were centres of the collection of revenue.

6 Read °वृद्धये.

7 वैश्यदेव=an offering to the Viśvadevas or all gods. For बलि, चरु and सत्, see *supra*, p. 338, n. 7; p. 361, n. 9. समुत्सर्पण=going; here, continuation. उपयोज्य=provision.

8 Identified with Tarsamiā, near Hāthab.

9 Read धूप and तैल.

10 Read °स्करणार्थं and °योज्यस्स°. पतित=fallen; विशीर्ण=broken to pieces; cf. खरड-स्फुटित(=फुट) of other records.

11 र is engraved below the line. स-हिरण्यादेय=together with हिरण्य (=revenue in cash) to be paid to the State. हान्य and आदान appear to indicate “loss” and “gain”. ब्रह्मदेयस्थिति=custom regarding property granted to Brāhmaṇas.

- यतो(S*)स्योपचित-न्यायत(:*)¹ भुजंतः² कृशतः³ प्रदिशत-
 7 Xकर्षपयतो वा न केनचित्स्वल्पा⁴ बाधा विचारणा वा कार्या [I*] यश्चाच्छ्रियमान-
 मनुमोदोयुरसौ⁵ महापातकैस्तोपपातकैश्च
 8 संयुक्ता(S*)स्मद्रंशागामि-राजभिरन्यैश्च⁶ सामान्यं भूमिदायमवेत्य(I*)स्मदायो(S*)नु-
 मन्तव्यो(S*)पि चात्र व्यास-कृताः श्लोका भवन्ति [I*]
 9 षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [I*]
 आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च ।⁷ तान्येव नरके वशेत्⁸ [II*] 1
 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्ता(*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [I*]
 10 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तु(:*) प्राप्नोति⁹ किल्बिषं [II*] 2
 बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि शगरादिभिः(*)⁹ [I*]
 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि¹⁰ तस्य तस्य तदा(I*) फलं [II*] 3
 11 भिरुवक(:*)¹¹ देवि-कर्मान्तिकः [I*] सं १००(+)८०(+)३
 श्रावण-शुद्ध¹² १०(+)५ [I*] स्वयमाज्ञा¹³ [I*] लिखितं षष्ठिदत्त-पुत्रेण
 कुम(I*)रिल-क्षत्रिकेन¹⁴ [II*]

1 Read ०स्योचित.

2 Read भुजंतः.

3 Read कर्षतः. प्रदिश=assign, grant. Read कर्षयतः.

4 Read केनचित्स्व०. विचारणा=doubt or discussion regarding the right.

5 Read यश्चाच्छ्रियमानमनुमोदेतासौ. The *mahāpātakas* are ब्रह्महत्या सुरापानं स्तेयं
 गुर्वह्मनागमः । महान्ति पातकान्याहुस्तत्संसर्गश्च पञ्चमम् ॥ (मनु १११।५५). The
upapātakas are 49 in number. For these, see *Sabdakalpadrūma*, s.v.

6 Read संयुक्तः स्यात् । अस्म०. See p. 372, n. 8. सामान्य=belonging to all kings
 as sharers of the merit.

7 The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

8 Read वसेत्.

9 Read प्राप्नोति and राजभिः सग०.

10 Read भूमिस्तस्य.

11 Read देवी०. The letter ग was engraved between रु and व, but was after-
 wards cancelled. कर्मान्तिक=an agent connected with कर्मान्त (execution of business;
 a store of grain; cultivated ground). Bhiruvaka possibly received the grant on
 behalf of the goddess.

12 सं=संवत्सरे ; शुद्ध=शुद्धपक्षे=शुक्लपक्षे.

13 See p. 377, n. 1.

14 Read क्षत्रिकेण possibly the same as क्षत्रिया.

CHAPTER III

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CONTEMPORARIES OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS IN SOUTH INDIA

A—Vākātakas of Vidarbha

No. 59—Basim Copper-plate Inscription of Vindhyasakti II—Regnal Year 37

BASIM, Akola Dist, Berar.

D. C. SIRCAR, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVI, p. 182ff.; XVII, p. 110ff.;

Y. K. DESHPANDE and D. B. MAHAJAN, *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*,
Calcutta, 1939, p. 349ff.

Language : Sanskrit and Prakrit¹.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class
of the 4th century A. D.²

TEXT³

First Plate

[४४म्] [॥*]⁴

1 This record exemplifies the gradual advance of Sanskrit in South India. Sanskrit as the court language or the language of epigraphs appears to have been at first introduced in the Northwestern quarter of India by foreigners in the early centuries of the Christian era. From there it gradually encroached upon the field of Prakrit in other parts of India and ultimately conquered South India about the middle of the 4th century A.D. The mixed Prakrit-Sanskrit language used in some inscriptions shows an intermediate stage in the popularity of Sanskrit and the decline of Prakrit. Note that the language is nearer Sanskrit than in earlier Prakrit inscriptions (Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 166). In earlier Prakrit records doubling of a consonant is practically absent and conjuncts are rare.

2 Some scholars believe that the record belongs to Vindhyasakti (2nd half of the 3rd century A.D.), founder of the Vākātika dynasty. Their mistake is due to the facts that they have failed to note the *sāpeksha samāsas* in प्रवरसेनपौत्र० (1.3) and सर्वसेनपुत्र० (1.4) which is indicated by the epithet महाराजस्य used thrice with reference to the three kings mentioned. For such *samāsas*, see Bk. II, Nos. 68-70, 72, etc.

3 From the photo-prints published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1939*.

4 In the left margin in the level of line 1.

सिद्धम् [॥*]¹

- 1 ²वत्सगुल्माद्धर्ममहाराजस्य[॥]मिश्रोम[॥]सौर्याम-वाजपेय-ज्यो[ति]-
- 2 [श्रे]म-वृहस्पतिसव-सायस्क-चतुरश्वमेध-याजिनस्सम्राजः(*) वृ-
- 3 ष्णिवृद्ध-सगोत्रस्य³ हारिती-पुत्रस्य⁴ श्री[॥]-प्रवरसेन-पौत्रस्य⁵
- 4 धर्ममहार(॥*)जस्य⁶ श्री-सर्वसेन-पुत्रस्य धर्ममह[॥]राजस्य
- 5 वाकाटकाना[॥] श्री-विन्ध्यशक्तेर्वचनात्⁷ नान्दीकडस उत्तर-म[ग्ने]⁸

Second Plate : First Side

[२]⁹

- 6 भाकालखोप्पकाब्भासे आकाशपद्मे¹⁰ अ[म्ह]-सन्तका साव्वा(द्वक्ख-
नि*)योग-नि-

1 In the left margin in the level of line 3.

2 Vatsagulma in modern Basim which was the capital of this colateral branch of the Vākāṭaka family. For the sacrifices, see *infra*, p. 419, n. 2.

3 Other Vākāṭaka records read विष्णुवृद्ध.

4 Or हारीती. हारीतीपुत्र is found to be used by the Chuṭu family of kings and following them by the Kadambas. Note that there हारीतीपुत्र is a family-metronymic and not a personal one.

5 Properly प्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य ; similarly सर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य in l. 4. These are undoubtedly cases of the *sāpeksha samāsa*. See p. 406, n. 2.

6 The title is found in the records of the Pallavas, Kadambas and Western Gaṅgas. It apparently refers to the kings' boast to have purified the Brahmanical faith from the influence of heretical doctrines like Buddhism ; cf. कलियुग-दोषावसन्नधर्मोद्धरण-नित्यसंनद्ध (*infra*, No. 67, l. 13).

7 Read श्री. From here the rest of the record is in Prakrit.

8 उ has been engraved on the *akshara* दा which was originally engraved. Nāndikaṭa is supposed to be the same as Nander in the Nizam's dominions. Here possibly a district is intended. It is not known whether Nāndikaṭa is the same as Nāndivardhana (No. 60, l. 1). The latter may have been the chief city of Nāndikaṭa.

9 In the margin a little above the level of line 8.

10 *Abyāsa* may be a territorial term like *pārśva* of *supra*, No. 42. See p. 410, n. *Padra*, village, is traced to the mod. *pādar*, "common land, land adjacent to a village left uncultivated."

- 7 युत्ता आणत्ति-भडा सेसाय-साञ्चरन्त-रलपुत्ता¹ भाणितव्वा [।*] आम्हेहि
 8 दाणि आपुणो विजय-वेजयिके आयु-वल-वद्धणिके [ख]स्ति-
 9 शान्ति-वाचने² इहामुत्तिके³ धाम्मत्थाणो एत्थङ्गामे आधिन्वणिक-चर-
 10 णस्स आद्धक।⁴ भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि⁵ [सि]तुज्जेसि कापिञ्जल-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 सगोत्तेसि । रुद्धज्जेसि । श्राविष्टायण-सगोत्तेसि³ । भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि
 12 कोसि[क]-सगोत्तेसि⁶ । देसुज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि । वेणुहुज्जेसि ।
 13 कोसीक-सगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैत्पलादि-सगोत्तेसि पितु-
 14 जेसि भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि जेठ्ठजे-
 15 सि । पडेहि दोहि भालन्दायण-सगोत्तेसि बुद्धजेसि कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि

Third Plate : First Side

३⁷

- 16 भादिलज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कोसिक-सगोत्तेसि
 17 हरिणज्जेसि एताण वाम्हणाण भागा ति[गिण] ३ कोसिक-सगोत्ते[सि]
 18 रेवतिजेसि । भागो । चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिच्च-कालको अपुव्व-द-
 19 त्तिय दत्तो ।[।*] पुव्व-रायाणुमते यसे चातुव्वेज्ज-ग्गाम-मज्जात[।]-परिहारे वित-
 20 राम [।*] तजथा अरुद्ध-संविण्येयिक । अ-लवण-[क्के]रण-खातक । अ-हिरण-
 धा[रण]-

1 Read कुलपुत्ता ; cf. आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्ता: of other Vākāṭaka records. ता looks like न्ता on the plate. कुलपुत्त=born of a noble family ; nobility. Prakrit सञ्चरन्तक=spy ; or, travelling (epithet of कुलपुत्त). सेसाय=Pāli सेसक=the remaining ones ; others. It is said to be used in the sense of "commanded" in an Apabhramśa work. सन्तक Pāli (from अस्+शतृ+क)=belonging to.

2 न्ति looks like त्ति on the plate.

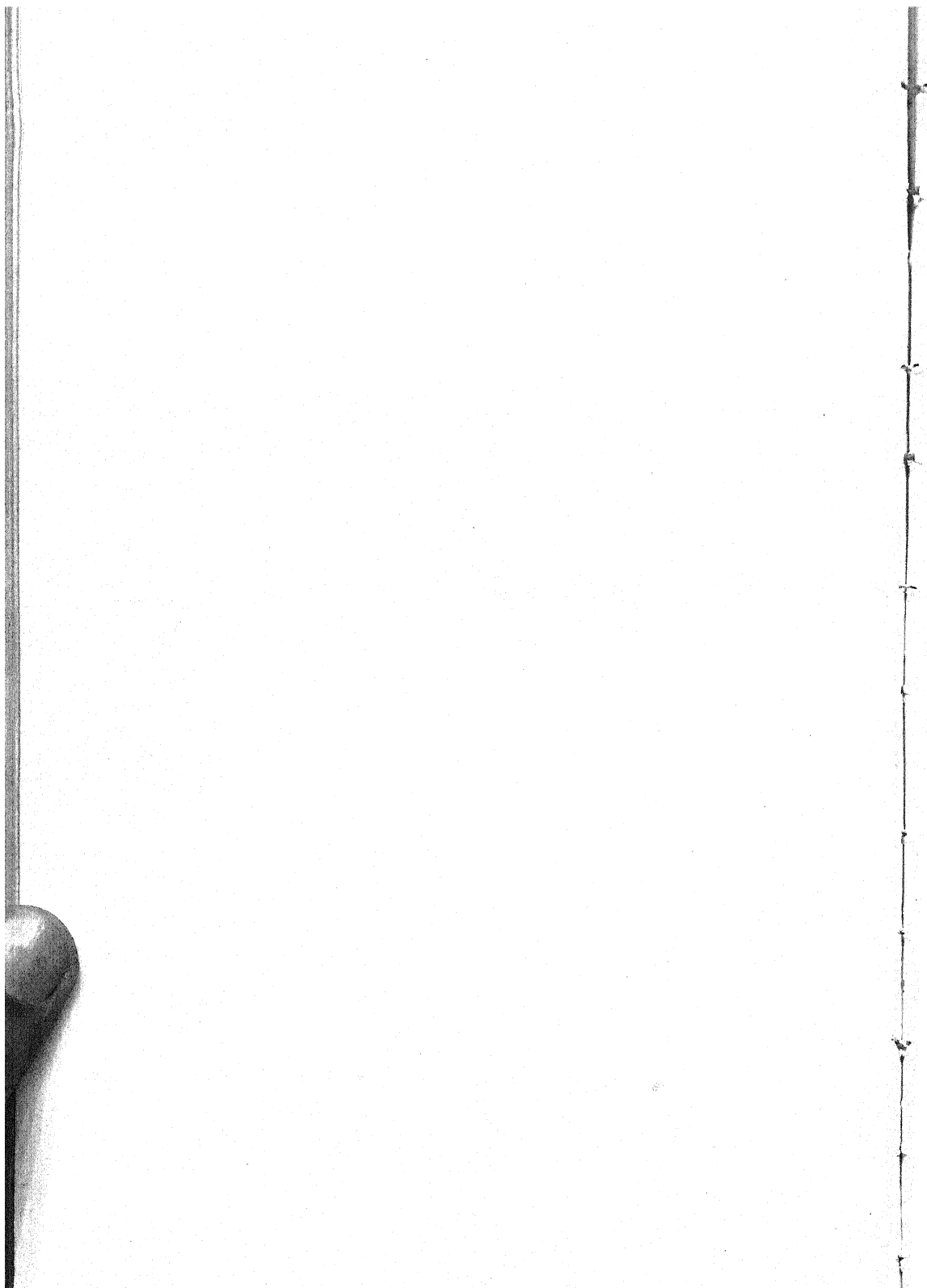
3 त्ति looks like न्ति on the plate. त्ते looks like न्ते in l. 11.

4 These half-stops are sometimes superfluous. They look more or less like crescents generally put just below the level of the line.

5 Locative terminations appear to have been used in these cases for dative.

6 Traces of an erased i sign are noticed above स.

7 In the left margin in the level of line 18.



Third Plate: Second Side

- 21 प्पणय-प्पदेय । अ-पुप्फ-क्खीर-ग्गहणि¹ । अ-पारम्पर-गो-वलिवर्द्ध
 22 अ-वार-सिद्धि । अ-चम्मङ्गालक । अ-भड-प्पावेस । अ-खट्टा-चोल्लक-वेणो-
 23 सिक । अ-करद । अ-वह । स-निधि । सोपनिधि । स-कुतुप्पान्त ।
 24 स-मञ्च-महाकरण । साव्वजाति-परिहार-परिहितञ्च [।*] जतो उपरि-लि-
 25 खित । शासण-वादम्पमाण करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेधय परिहरध

Fourth Plate

४^२

- 26 परिहरापेधय [।*] जो बु^३ [आ]बाधं करेज्ज कतव्व [अ]नुव(म?)ण्ण[ति]
 27 तिस्स [ए]तेहि । उपरिलिखितेहि । बाम्हणेहि । परिजपिते स-[द]ण्ड-
 28 निग्रह करेज्जामेत्ति [।*] साव्वच्छरं ३०(+*)७ हेमन्त-पक्खं पढम
 29 [दि]व[स] ५ [।*] स-मुद्धारणत्थि^४ [।*] लीखितमिमं शासनं सेणपतिणा
 30 वग्गुण^५ इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ [A four-petalled Lotus Symbol]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (=परोक्षितम् इदं शासनं राजपुरुषैः) ॥

सिद्धं (=सिद्धिरस्तु) ॥

वत्सगुल्मात् धर्ममहाराजस्य अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्याम-वाजपेय-ज्योतिष्टोम-बृहस्पतिसव-सायस्क-
 चतुर्ध्वमेध-याजिनः (=एतेषां यज्ञानां अनुष्ठातुः) सम्राजः (=राजाधिराजस्य) विष्णुवृद्ध-सगोतस्य
 हारीतीपुत्रस्य (=हारीत-गोत्रायाः जनन्याः पुत्रस्य) श्री-प्रवरसेन[स्य] पौत्रस्य धर्म-महाराजस्य
 श्रीसर्वसेन[स्य] पुत्रस्य धर्ममहाराजस्य वाकटकानां (=तद्वंशीयस्य राज्ञः) श्री-विन्ध्यशक्तेः वचनात्
 (=आज्ञया) नान्दीकटस्य उत्तरमार्गे भाकालक्षोप्रकाभ्यासे आकाशपद्मे^६ अस्मत्सत्काः
 (=मत्संश्लिष्टाः=राज०) सर्वाध्यक्ष-नियोग-नियुक्ताः (=सर्वे आधिकरणिकाः) आज्ञप्ति-भटाः

1 Possibly णं was intended. Note however that at p. 242, *arogi* and *arogiya* for Sanskrit *ārogya* are both used in the same record.

2 In the left margin a little below the level of l. 28.

3 Possibly वा or तु was intended.

4 The reading is not beyond doubt; for Sanskrit स्वमुखाज्ञप्त, cf. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 100, n. 3; *supra*, p. 377, n. 1; *infra*, No. 67, l. 32.

5 Read वेग्गुण० as in line 12.

6 I.e., in the village-group called Ākāśapadra in the neighbourhood of Bhākā, Lakshā and Uprakā situated in the northern part of the district called Nāndikāṭa. "Situated on the northern road running to Nāndikāṭa" does not appear to be quite satisfactory. Cf. गोवधनाहारे दखिणमगे and गोवधनाहारे पुवमगे in *supra*, Bk. II, No. 87.

शेषक-सञ्चरत्क-कुलपुत्राः भणितव्याः (=वक्तव्याः)।—“अस्माभिः इदानीम् आत्मनः विजय-
वैजयिकं (=विजयलाभाय) आयुर्वल-वार्द्धनिकं (=०वृद्धये) स्वस्ति-शान्ति-वाचनं (=आशी-
मङ्गलार्थम्) ऐहामुलिकम् (=ऐहिक-पारलिकमङ्गलाय) धर्मस्थाने अत्र ग्रामे आथर्वणिक-
चरणस्य आर्द्धकम् (=आथर्वण-ब्राह्मणोभ्यः प्रतिपादितं आकाशपदकग्रामस्य अर्द्धभागः)
भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय सीत्वार्याय, कापिञ्जल-सगोत्राय रुद्रार्याय, श्राविप्रायन-सगोत्राय
भर्तृदेवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय देशार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय विष्णवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय
विध्यार्याय, पैप्पलादि-सगोत्राय पित्तार्याय, भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय चन्द्रार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय
ज्येष्ठार्याय पटैः द्विभिः (=एकैकस्मै पटद्वयम् इति क्रमेण); भालन्दायन-सगोत्राय बुद्धार्याय,
कौशिक-सगोत्राय भद्रिलार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय शिवार्याय, कौशिक-सगोत्राय हिरण्यार्याय
[च एकैकस्मै पटमात्रम् इति क्रमेण]; एतेभ्यः ब्राह्मणोभ्यः भागाः त्रयः ३ (=ग्रामार्द्धस्य विभागं
दत्तं); कौशिक-सगोत्राय रेवत्यार्याय भागः चतुर्थः [ग्रामार्द्धस्य]; इति आचन्द्रादित्यकालकम्
अपूर्वदत्त्या (=अपूर्वदत्तस्य दानविधिना) दत्तम् । पूर्वराजानुमतम् अस्य चातुर्वेद्यग्राम-मर्यादा-
परिहारं (=चतुर्वेदि-ब्राह्मणाधिष्ठित-ग्रामोचित-परिहारं) वितरामः । तद्यथा अ-राष्ट्रसां-
विनयिकम्, अ-लवण-क्लृण-खातकम्, अ-हिरण्य-ध्यान्य-प्रणय-प्रदेयम्, अ-पुष्पक्षीर-ग्रहणम्,
अ-परम्परा-गोबलीवर्द्धम्, अ-वार-सिद्धिकम्, अ-चर्मार्जारकम्, अ-भटप्रवेशम् अ-खट्वा-चोत्तक-
वैनाशिकम्, अ-करदम्, अवहम्, सनिधि, सोपनिधि, स-कुतपान्तं (?), स-मञ्च-
महाकरणं सर्वजाति-परिहार-परिहृतं च ।¹ यतः उपरिलिखित-शासन-वार्दं (=लेखं)

1 “We grant for this land exemptions which are in accordance with customs followed in granting villages to Brāhmaṇas versed in the four Vedas, and which have been approved of by former kings. They are : not to be controlled as other parts of the kingdom (p. 193, n. 1 ; usually rendered as “no interference by the district police”); no boring of trees like the palmyra for salt and moist substances (liquor, sugar) ; no benevolence in the shape of money or corn to be paid to the royal treasury; no flower and milk to be taken on behalf of the king ; no cow for milk and bullock for cart in succession are to be supplied to the royal officers on tour ; no obligation to them regarding the completion of duty in turn ; no obligation to them regarding the supply of hide-seat and charcoal ; no entry for soldiers ; no obligation regarding supply of cots, cooking pots and fuel(?) to touring officers ; no rent to be paid to the king; no obligation regarding carrying loads free of charge; with the right of enjoying hidden treasures and deposits; together with fields on the borders with *kuśa* grass(?) and with big fields having elevated shades; the grant is exempted by all kinds of exemptions.” For a discussion on the *parihāras*, see Sircar, *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 186ff; 192ff; *infra*, p. 413, n. 6 ; Mirashi, *Nag. Un. Journ.*, Dec., 1937, p. 22ff.

प्रमाणं कृत्वा (=मत्वा) [एतद्दानं] रक्ष, रक्षय ; परिहर, परिहारय । यः तु आबाधां कुर्यात्,
[आबाधा-करणं] कर्त्तव्यं [वा] अनुमन्यते, तस्य एतैः उपरिलिखितैः ब्राह्मणैः परिज्ञापिते
[सति] स-दण्ड-निग्रहं (=दण्डेन शासनं) [वयं] कुर्यामः” इति । संवत्सरः सप्तविंशः ३७,
हेमन्त-पक्षः प्रथमः, दिवसः [पञ्चमः] ५ (=मार्गशीर्षकृष्णपक्षस्य पञ्चमदिवसे) । स्वमुखाज्ञप्तिः ।
लिखितम् इदं शासनं सेनापतिना¹ विष्णुना ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥

No. 60—Poonā Copper-plate Inscription of Prabhāvatī Guptā—Regnal Year 13²

POONĀ,³ Poonā Dist., Bombay Pres.

K. B. PATHAK and K. N. DIKSHIT, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 41ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Nail-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class (but with some Northern peculiarities) of the fifth century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक)

TEXT⁴

Seal

a वाकाटक-लतामस्य

b [क्र]म-प्राप्त-नृपश्रियः(*) [।*]

1 Some of the Vākāṭaka *senāpatīs* (generals) possibly acted as provincial governors.

2 This year apparently refers to the regency (cf. ins. on the seal) of Prabhāvatī Guptā after the death of her husband and during the minority of her eldest son Divākarasena who was more than 13 years of age about this time. He possibly died early. It is not known if the author called Yuvarāja Divākara, mentioned in the *Saḍuktikarṇāmrīta*, is the same as this prince.

3 The plates were found with a copper-smith of Poonā, who originally belonged to Ahmednagar. They appear to have been preserved in his family for several generations.

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV.

c जनन्या युवराजस्य

d शासनं रिपु-शास[न](**) [॥*] 1

First Plate

दृष्टम् [॥*]¹

1 सिद्धम् [॥*] जितं भगवता² [॥*] स्वस्ति नान्दिवर्द्धनादासीद्गुप्तादि-रा[जो]³
[म]ह[ाराज]-

2 श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो-

3 (S*)नेकाश्वमेध-याजी⁴ लिच्छवि-दोहितौ⁵ महादेव्यां कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो

4 महाराजाधिराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तत्पुत्रस्तत्पाद-परिगृहीतः⁶

5 पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्सर्व-राजोच्छेता⁷ चतुरदधि-सलिखादित-

6 यशा नेक⁸-गो-हिरण्य-कोटी-सहस्र-प्रद-परम-भागवतो महारा-

1 In the left margin on the level between ll. 3-4. Cf. दिठं in the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman (*infra*, Nos. 64-65).

2 This Vaishnavite expression is found at the beginning of many records of this age. Cf. also the verse: जितं भगवता तेन विष्णुना यस्य वक्षसि । श्रीस्वयं भाति देवश्च नाभिपद्मे पितामहः ॥ at the beginning of an early Kadamba grant. The Vākāṭakas were Śaivas; Rudrasena II accepted Vaishnavism after his matrimonial alliance with the devout Vaishṇava Chandra Gupta II. The popularity of Vaishṇavism in India about the 5th century A. D. seems to have been largely due to this Gupta king.

3 This passage has been translated as "Ghaṭotkacha who had Gupta as the first king." The translation is wrong in view of the corresponding passage गुप्तानामादिराजः in the Riddhapur grant of the same queen. Better नन्दिवर्द्धनात् ॥ आसीत्. Nāṇdivardhana has been identified with modern Nāgārdhan in Nāgpur Dist., C. P. Nāgārdhan however may be an old Nāgavardhana.

4 It is hardly credible that Samudra Gupta performed many Aśvamedhas. Note that the usual epithets of Samudra Gupta have been wrongly applied to the name of his son. This shows that the Gupta genealogy in the Vākāṭaka records is carelessly drawn.

5 Read दौहितो.

6 Read ०स्तत्सत्पुत्रो०.

7 Read राजोच्छेता.

8 Read नैक or अनेक.

- 7 जाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता¹ धारण-सगोत्रा² नाग-कुल-सम्भू-
 8 ताया(*) श्री-महादेव्या(*) कुवेरनागायामुत्पन्नोभय-कुलालङ्कार-भूतात्यन्त-भगवद्भक्ता
 9 वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीसूत्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी युवराज-
 10 श्रीदिवाकरसेन-जननी श्री-प्रभावतिगुप्ता सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे

Second Plate

- 11 विलवणकस्य पूर्व-पार्श्वे शीर्षग्रामस्य दक्षिण-पार्श्वे कदापिञ्जनस्यापर-पार्श्वे
 12 सिदिविवरकस्योत्तर-पार्श्वे उज्जुणग्रामे³ ब्राह्मणाद्यान्ग्राम-कुटुम्बिनकुशल-
 13 मुक्ता समाज्ञापयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथेष ग्रामो(S*)स्माभि⁴ स्व-पुरया-
 प्यायना[र्त्य]
 14 कार्तिक-शुक्ल-द्वादश्या(*) भगवत्पाद-मूले निवेद्य भगवद्भक्ताचार्य-चनालस्वामिने-
 (S*)पूर्व-

1 This record proves beyond doubt that the queen's father Deva Gupta, mentioned in other grants, should be identified with Chandra Gupta II and not with Deva Gupta of the Later Gupta dynasty as suggested by earlier scholars.

2 It is interesting that the queen refers to her paternal *Gotra* instead of the *Gotra* of her husband's family. Injunctions contained in late Bengal works like the *महानिर्वाणतन्त्र* (XII, 75: विवाहानन्तरं नारी पतिगोत्रेण गोत्रिणी) therefore were not binding in the early period at least in all parts of India. Cf. Raghunandana's *Udvāhatattva* quoting *Laghuhārīta*, स्वगोत्राद् भ्रश्यते नारी विवाहात् सप्तमे पदे । पति-गोत्रेण कर्तव्या तस्याः पिरडोदकक्रिया ॥ *Sūlapāṇi's Śrāddhahiveka* quoting *Bṛihaspati*(?) पाणिग्रहणिका मन्त्राः पितृगोत्रापहारकाः । भर्तृगोत्रेण नारीणां देयं पिरडोदकं ततः ॥ But *Kātyāyana* संस्थितायान्तु भार्यायां सपिरडीकरणान्तकम् । पैतृकं भजते गोत्रमूर्द्धन्तु पतिपैतृकम् ॥ Again *Garuḍa P.* (Uttara, 21. 22) ब्राह्मयादिषु विवाहेषु या वधूरिह संस्कृता । भर्तृगोत्रेण कर्तव्या तस्या पिरडोदकक्रियाः ॥ आसुरादिविवाहेषु या व्यूढा कन्यका भवेत् । तस्यास्तु पितृगोत्रेण कुर्यात् पिरडोपकक्रियाम् ॥ *Bhavadeva Bhaṭṭa* and others quoting *Manu* (?) विवाहे चैव निवृत्ते चतुर्थेऽहनि रात्रिषु । एकत्वं सा गता भर्तुः पिरडे गोत्रे च सूतके ॥ चतुर्थीहोममन्त्रेण तद्भांसहृदयैन्द्रियैः । भर्ता संयुज्यते पत्नी तद्गोत्रा तेन सा भवेत् ॥ *Prabhāvatī* also uses the cognomen of her father's family. She was possibly an elder sister of *Kumāra Gupta I* (414-55 A.D.).

3 Pathak and Dikshit : दङ्गुण ग्रामे.

4 The correction *स्माभिः is unnecessary, as the *visarga* is elided according to the *vārttika* खर्परं शरि वा विसर्गलोपो वक्तव्यः (*Pān.*, VIII, 3, 36).

- 15 दत्त्या¹ उदक-पूर्वमतिष्ठो² यतो भवाद्विरुचितमर्ग्यादया³ सर्वाज्ञा⁴ कर्तव्या(:*) [1*]
पूर्व-
- 16 राजानुमता[']श्चात्⁴ चातुर्विद्याग्रहार-परीहारान्वितरामस्तद्यथाभट-छत्र-प्रावेश्यः⁵
- 17 अ-चारासन-चर्मज्जार-क्लिरव-केरि-खानक[:]⁶ अ-पा(र*)म्पर(:*) अ-[पशु]मेध्यः
⁷अ-पुष्प-क्षीरसन्दोहः
- 18 स-निधिस्सोपनिधिस्स-कृतोपकृतः⁸ [1*] नदेष भविष्यद्राजिभिस्सरक्षितव्य(:*)⁹
परिवर्द्ध-

1 दत्ति=gift ; अपूर्वदत्त्या=according to the custom relating to gift of things that were not previously granted.

2 Better read सुष्टः । यतो.

3 Read भव०.

4 Read राजा०.

5 Read ०रामः । तद्यथाभटच्छा०. Possibly no soldier and no umbrella-bearer (or attendant) of officers was allowed entrance into the village. छात्र=policeman (by *lakshañā*), according to Mirashi.

6 Better ०चर्मज्जारः अ-लवणक्लिरव०. क्लिरव-केरि=moist commodity. केरि=purchase ; here, a marketable object. This refers to the custom of boring certain trees for *audbhijja* salt, liquor and sugar. चारासन=pasturage (Fleet) ; but. चार= moving about (cf. पार of some records=free ferrying), and आसन=encamping. This may refer to the king's travelling agents. According to Mirashi, चार=grass for the horses of touring officers ; आसनचर्मन्=hides for their seats ; अज्जार=charcoal for their cooking. Possibly we have to suggest अपरंपरावलीवर्द्ध-ग्रहण.

7 पशुमेध्य in an instance of the *mayūravyaṃsakādi samāsa*. This refers to the custom of taking on the king's part animals like goats, from the village granted, for sacrificial purposes.

8 Read ०कृतोपकृतः । तदेष. कृत is possibly a fixed tax (one of the 7 sources of income according to the *Arthasāstra*). It may also be the sale tax, कृत्तिक meaning "purchased". According to Mirashi this is the same as सोदङ्गःसोपरिकरः, "with major and minor taxes." *Nidhi* means "wealth, the owner of which is not known". See *Vishṇusamhitā*, III, 36-39. As in the record निधि and उपनिधि are mentioned separately, the former would mean the more valuable of the unclaimed wealth. For the other terms, see p. 410 and *infra*.

9 Read ०द्राजभि०.

- 19 यितव्यश्च [१*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानस्खल्पामप्यत्रावाधा(*) कुर्या-
त्कारयित¹ वा
- 20 तस्य ब्राह्मणरावेदितस्य² स-दण्ड-निग्रहं कुर्याम [१*] व्यास-गितश्चात्र³ श्लोको
भवति [१*]
- 21 ख-दत्ताम्पर-दत्ता(*) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [१*]
गवा(*) शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतम् [॥*] 2
- 22 संवत्सरे च त्रयोदशमे⁴ लिखितमिद(*) शासनम् [१*] चक्रदासेनोत्कटितम् [॥*]

**No. 61—Rithpur Copper-plate Inscription [of
Prabhavāṭī Guptā] of the time of
Pravarasena II—Regnal Year 19⁵**

RITHPUR (Riddhapura), Amraoti Dist., Berar.

Y. R. GUPTA, *J. P. A. S. B.*, N. S., XX, 58ff.

Language : Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class
of the fifth century A. D.

Metre : Verse 1 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

*TEXT**

First Plate

1 [१^०] जित(*) भगवता ॥ रामगिरिस्वामिन—पादमूलाद्भूतान(१*)मादि-⁷

2 राजो महाराज-श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य पुत्रो महाराज-श्रीचन्द्र-

1 Read ०रयेत.

2 Read ब्राह्मणौ०.

3 Read गीत०.

4 Read त्रयोदशे and शासनम्. उत्कटित=engraved.

5 Note that this record is later in date than *infra*. No. 62.

6 From the facsimile in *J.P.A.S.B.*, N.S., XX.

7 Rāmagirisvāmin may have been the same [as the god at modern Rāmtok
near Nāgpur.

- 3 गुप्त¹ तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पाद-परिगृहीत²-लिच्छवि-दौहित्रो³
 4 महादेव्या(१*) कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराज-श्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तस्य⁴ पुत्र-
 5 स्तत्पादानुद्धयाता न्यायागतानेकगो-हिरण्यकोटिसहस्र-प्रदस्सर्व-राजो-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 च्छेत्ता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथ-परमभागवतो महादेव्या(१*) दत्तदेव्यामु-
 7 त्पन्नो⁵ महाराजाधिराज-श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता धारण-सगोत्रा
 8 नागकुलोत्पन्नाया(१*) कुबेरानागदेव्यामुत्पन्ना⁶ उभय-कुलाल-
 9 ङ्कारभुता⁷ वाकाटकाना(१*) महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी
 10 वाकाटकानाम्महाराज-श्री-दामोदरसेन-प्रवरसेन-जननी⁸ भगव-
 11 त्पादानुद्धयाता साम्र-वर्ष-शत(१*) दिव-पुत्र-पौत्रा⁸ श्र(१*)-महादेवी प्रभ(१*)वती-

1 Read ०गुप्तस्तस्य.

2 Better ०गृहीतो लि०.

3 Gupte: दौहित्रो.

4 Read ०मुत्पन्नो.

4 Note that Samudra Gupta is called a Mahārāja against the evidence of genuine Gupta records. See p. 412, n. 3.

5 Read कुबेर०. उभयकुल refers to the families of the father and the husband.

6 It may be suggested that Dāmodarasena was another name of Pravara-sena II; but it is better to take them as different and as brothers. Dāmodarasena may have died earlier and may have been succeeded by his younger brother Pravarasena. But since Divākarasena is not mentioned the claim of the queen-mother seems to be pointless, if both of them were not living at this time. It is not impossible that the brothers were ruling over different parts of the kingdom at the same time, but as the land granted fell in the kingdom of Pravarasena his regnal year was recorded. Reference to some territorial divisions of the Vākāṭaka kingdom as *rājya*, the fact that there was at least a colateral line ruling from Vatsagulma and the Purāṇic reference to the (simultaneous?) rule of the four sons of Pravira (=Pravarasena I) possibly suggest that the Vākāṭaka kingdom was sometimes partitioned. Note that even when mentioned side by side, the Gupta kings are called महाराजाधिराज, but the Vākāṭaka kings merely महाराज. This shows that the alliance of the Vākāṭakas with the Guptas was a subservient one. Expansion of Gupta influence in the south is evidenced by the existence of the line of Guttas (=Guptas) of Guttala in Dharwar Dist., the story of the connection of a daughter of Chandra Gupta II with Śrīśaila and the Satara hoard of more than thousand coins of Kūmāra Gupta I.

7 Read भूता.

8 Possibly जीव-पुत्र-पौत्रा. But what about Divākarasena? Gupte reads दिव० and पौत्रा. Note that at the time of the record Prabhāvatī's age was more than 100 years.

Second Plate : Second Side

- 12 गुप्ता कौशिकमार्ग¹ अश्वत्थनगरे सवहन-पुरेग-ग्र(।*)म-महत्तरा(।*)श्च²
 13 कुशलमुक्ता सम(।*)ज्ञापय(।*)त [।*] ऐहिकामुत्तिकमस्मिन्नगरे स्वपुण्याप्यायनात्थ³
 14 पराशर-सगोत्राणा(।*) तैत्तिरीय-ब्राह्मणानामप्य(त्त*)⁴ पुत्रापुत्राणा[']⁵
 15 अभ्यन्तर-पुर-निवेशने(न*) सह कर्षक-निवेशनानि च चत्वार⁶
 16 भुक्ताकाभोग-क्षेत्रमुदकपूर्व(।*) शासनेनो सतिबद्धं⁷ [।*] उचितांश्चास्य
 17 पूर्वराजानुमतांश्चातुर्वेद्य-ग्राम-मर्यादा(परिहारा*)नितरामस्तद्यथा

Third Plate : First Side

- 18 अ-करदायी अ-भट-च्छ(।*)त-प्रावेश्य(।*) अ-पुष्प-क्षोर-सन्दोह(।*)⁸ अ-चारा-
 19 सन-चर्मार्ङ्गार(।*) अ-लवण-क्लिन्व⁹-क्रेणि-ख(।*)नक[.] सर्व्व-विस्त्रि-परिहारा-¹⁰
 20 परिहृत(।*) सनिधानं सोपनिधानं¹¹ स-कृतोपकृतमाचन्द्रा-
 21 दिल्य-कालीय(।*) पुत्र-पैत्रानुगामी¹² [।*] भुजता(।*) न केनचिद्व्याघात-
 22 xकर्त्तव्य[.] सर्व्व-क्रियाभिस्सरक्षितव्यपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [।*] यश्चस्मा-¹³
 23 च्छासनमगणयमान खल्लपामपि परिवाधा(।*) कुर्यात्कारयेत वा तस्य

Third Plate : Second Side

- 24 ब्राह्मणैरावेदितस्य स-दण्ड-निग्रहं करिष्यामः [।*] अस्मि(।*)श्च धर्म्मदर-
 25 करणे अनीतानेक-राज-दत्ता-सन्धि(।*)तन-परिपालनं¹⁴ पुन्यानुकीर्त्तन-
 26 परिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयाम[.] [।*] सङ्कल्पाधियोग-पराक्रमोपजि-
 27 तान्वर्त्तमानामाज्ञापयामः¹⁵ [।*] व्यास-गीतश्चात्र श्लोकप्रमाणं [।*]

1 Gupte: कौशिक. Read मार्गे. Aśvatthanagara (identified with Asatpur in Ellichpur Dist., Berar) was situated in the region called Kauśika, possibly named after a river. मार्ग here possibly does not mean a road (p. 409, n. 6).

2 Read ब्राह्मण-पुरोग. वृ was originally engraved. 3 Read ०यनार्थ.

4 Gupte: तैत्तिरीय०. अभ्यन्तरपुर=अन्तःपुर. ०निवेशन=a house complete with an inner apartment. Read चत्वारि. 5 Read सपुत्र-पौत्राणाम्.

6 Read भुक्ताकाभोगक्षेत्र० (field that they already enjoy; cf. भुक्त-भोग) (No. 71, ll. 19-20).

7 Read शासनेन प्रतिबद्धम्. 8 Gupte: सन्दोह. 9 Read क्लिन्न.

10 Read विष्टि-परिहार. 11 The same as सनिधि: सोपनिधि:. Read ०पक्व०.

12 Read ०पौत्रा०. 13 Read यश्चास्मच्छा०. See p. 384, n. 7.

14 Read अतोता०, दत्त and पुण्या०. 15 Read ०तानवर्त्तमानाना (No. 71, ll. 19-20).

- 28 खदत्ता(*) परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [1*]
गवां शत-सहस्रस्य
29 हन्तुं पिबति दुष्कृतमिति¹ ॥ 1
वाकाटकाना(*) महाराज-श्रीप्रवर-

Fourth Plate

- 30 सेनस्य राज्य-प्रशासत² सव्वत्सरे एकोनविंशतिमे कार्तिक-मा-
31 स-शुक्रपक्ष-द्वादश्या(*) [1*] दुतक देवनन्दस्वामी³ [1*] लीखिता
32 प्रभुसिद्धेन⁴ [॥*]

No. 62—Chammak⁵ Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasena II—Regnal year 18

CHAMMAK, Ellichpur (Ilichpur) Dist., Berar.

BÜHLER, *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, p. 116ff. ; *Ind. Anth.*, XII, p. 239ff; FLEET, *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III, p. 236ff.

Language : Sanskrit slightly influenced by Prakrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 5th century A. D.

Metre : Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

*TEXT*⁶

Seal

- a वाकाटक-ललामस्य
b वक्रम-प्राप्त-नृप-प्रियः [1*]
c राज्ञः प्रवरसेनस्य
d शासनं रिपु-शासनं [॥*] 1

1 Better दुष्कृतम् ॥ इति ॥

2 Read राज्यं प्रशासतः (or राज्य-प्रशासन०) संवत्सरे (or सव्वत्-सरे) एकोन-विंशतितमे. The form विंशतिम (as also similar forms found in the Prakrit records) can be supported if we suggest विंशतिः मा (=मानं) यस्य सः=विंशतिमः.

3 Gupte: वेवन्दस्वामी. Read दूतको.

4 Read लिखिता and ०सिद्धेन. Gupte: लिखितं.

5 Bühler edited this record under the name of Ilichpur (Ellichpur) grant.

6 From the facsimile in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, III.

First Plate

- 1 दृष्टं¹ [॥*] खल्लि [॥*] प्रवरपुरादग्निष्टोमातोर्ग्यामोक्थ्य-षोडश्यातिरात्र-²
 2 वाजपेय-बृहस्पतिसव-सायस्क-चतुरश्वमेधयाजिन-
 3 विष्णुवृद्ध-सगोत्रस्य सम्राट्-वाकाटकानां³ महाराज-श्च-प्रवरसेनस्य⁴
 4 सूनोः सूनोः⁵ अत्यन्त-[स्वा]मिमहाभैरव-भक्तस्य अत्र(*)स-भार-सन्तिवेशि-⁶
 5 त-शिवलिङ्गोद्वहन-शिव-सुपरितुष्ट-समुत्पादि[त]-राजव(*)शा-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 नाम्पराक्रमाधिगत-भागीरथ्यामल-जल-मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानन्दशा-⁷

1 Fleet suggested that the word is a contraction of दृष्टं भगवता. The occurrence of the word in the grants of Pallava Sivaskandavarman, Vākātaka Vindhyaśakti, etc., however shows beyond doubt that it signifies, "seen" i.e. "sanctioned" or "examined".

2 The usual form of the name of this sacrifice is अतिरात्र. The *agnishṭoma* (lit. "praise of Agni") was a protracted sacrifice extending over 5 days in spring and forming a part of the *Jyotisṭoma* which was the principal sacrifice connected with the Soma plant and juice. Other parts of the *Jyotisṭoma* were the *āptoryāma*, *ukthya*, *śoḍaśin*, *atirātra* and *vājapeya* ceremonies. *Atyagnishṭoma*, the seventh or last part of the *Jyotisṭoma*, is not mentioned in the text. The *Bṛihaspatisava* sacrifice in honour of the preceptor of gods lasted for one day. *Sādyaskra* seems to be the same as *Sadyaskriyā*, an one-day soma sacrifice, mentioned in *Āś. śr. sūt.*, IX, 6.

3 Read ०याजिनो विष्णु० and सम्राट्वाकाटकानां. Note that Pravarasena I was a *samrāt*. The passage seems to mean "belonging to the family of the Vākātakas who had been emperors."

4 Read श्री.

5 सूनोः सूनोः=पौत्रस्य. Bhandarkar suggests that Gautamīputra and not Rudrasena I was the grandson of Pravarasena I (as also of Bhavanāga). Note however that the Vākātaka genealogy is drawn on the pattern of the Gupta genealogy as found in the Gupta records. The position of Rudrasena I in this draft is exactly the same as that of Samudra Gupta in the Gupta draft, the only difference being that while the Gupta records observe the rules of *sandhi* and *saṃāsa*, these have usually ignored them. Bhandarkar's theory does not explain why the son of Pravarasena I is not mentioned. The mother of Gautamīputra again appears to have belonged to a Brāhmaṇa family of the Gautama-gotra and not to that of the Bhāraśiva Nāgas. Note that Gautamīputra is not called वाकाटकानां महाराज.०

6 Read सन्नि०. शिवसुपरितुष्ट=शिवसुपरितोष. 7 Read ०रथ्यमल and मूर्द्धा०.

- 7 श्वमेधावभृथ-ज्ञातानां¹भारशिवानां¹ महाराज-श्रीभवनाग-दौ-
 8 हितस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानां¹ महाराज श्रीरुद्रसे-
 9 नस्य सूनोरत्यन्त-माहेश्वरस्य² सत्यार्ज्जव-कारुण्य-शौर्य-विक्रम-न-
 10 य-विनय-माहात्म्याधिमत्त्व³-पात्रागत⁴-भक्तीत्व⁵-धर्मवीजयौत्व-⁶

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 मनोनैर्मम्यादि-[गुणै]स्समुपेतस्य⁷ वर्ष-शतमभिवर्द्धमान-कोश-
 12 दण्ड-साधन-सन्तान⁸-पुत्र-पौत्रिणः युधिष्ठिर-वृत्तेर्वाकाटका-⁹
 13 नां महाराज-श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य सूनोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणे-प्रसा-
 14 दोपार्जित-श्री-समुदयस्य¹⁰ वाकाटकानां महाराज-श्रीरुद्रसेन-¹¹
 15 सूनोर्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीदेवगुप्त-सुतायां प्रभाव-

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 तिगुप्तायामुत्पन्तस्य¹² शम्भो-प्रसाद-धृति-कार्तियुगस्य

1 Fleet reads ज्ञाना०. The *avabhṛtha* bath was taken after the completion of the sacrifice. The Bhāraśivas were possibly Nāgas (cf. the name Bhavanāga). Their kingdom seems to have bordered on the Bhāgirathī (=Ganges). Jayaswal's suggestion that their ten Aśvamedhas are responsible for the name of the Daśāśvamedha-ghāṭ at Benares, is problematical. All his other suggestions regarding the importance of the Vākātaka imperial power in North Indian politics (see his *History of India*, 150-350) are unconvincing.

2 Read ०रत्यन्त. Properly गौतमीपुत्र-पुत्रस्य. 3 Read ०धिकत्व.

4 The engraver originally made हि which was then made पा by cancelling the i-sign and the right curve of ह.

5 Read भक्तीत्व.

6 Read विजयित्व.

7 Read नैर्मम्या०.

8 Read सन्तान. Possibly Prithivishena lived for more than 100 years.

9 Read वृत्ते०.

10 The engraver first formed जि which was corrected to जिर्ज.

11 Properly रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो०. Note that the epithets immediately before this name belong to Rudrasena II and not to his son, as the *samāsa* would suggest.

12 Read ०पन्नस्य. धृति=धारण ; कार्तियुग=सत्ययुगीयवत्.

- 17 वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वर-महाराज-श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना(द*)
 18 भोजकट-राज्ये¹ मधुनदि-तटे² चम्माङ्क-नाम ग्र(।*)मः³ राजमानिक-भूमी-⁴
 19 सहस्रैरष्टाभिः ८०००⁵ शत्रुघ्नराज-पुत्र-कोण्डराजविज्ञापय्या⁶ नाना-गो-
 20 त-चरणेभ्यो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः सहस्राय दत्तः [॥*]

Third Plate : Second Side

- 21 यतो(S*)स्मत्सन्तका(ः*) सर्वाद्धयक्षाधियोग-नियुक्ता आज्ञा-सञ्च(।*)रि-कुलपुत्राधिकृता
 22 भटारच्छात्राश्च⁷ विभ्रुत-पूर्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तु वो यथे-
 23 हास्माकम्मनो⁸-धर्मायुर्बल-विजयैश्चर्य-विवृद्धये⁹ इहामुत्र-हिता-
 24 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजैके¹⁰ धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्या¹¹ उदकपूर्व-

1 Apparently the district round Chammak ; roughly speaking the mod. Ellichpur Dist. Note the word राज्य. This suggests that some of the territorial divisions in the Vākāṭaka kingdom were called राज्य, either because they were still being ruled by local rulers under Vākāṭaka patronage; or, because they retained their old name indicating a particular kingdom even after the Vākāṭaka occupation. If Bhojakatarāja was under the local ruler Śatrughnarāja or Koṇḍarāja, the Senāpati Chitravarman was some thing like a High Commissioner.

2 Read नदी.

3 ङ्का was originally engraved, but the ā-sign was afterwards cancelled.

4 Read भूमि. The word seems to indicate either a plot of land or the standard land-measure (*Nivarttana*?).

5 Supply परिमितः or some such word.

6 Read शतस्र०. सहस्राय=वर्षसहस्राय (No. 65, l. 51). The number of the Brāhmaṇas may also have been thousand.

7 Read भटारच्छा०. Properly, ०स्मत्सन्तकाः. Better ०ज्ञापयितव्याः । विदित०.

8 Fleet corrected the passage into यथैष आत्मनो. It is however alright with मनः meaning "faculty of judgment."

9 Read ०युर्बल.

10 Read वैजयिके.

11 Read दत्त्या.

- 25 मत्तिसृष्टः [1*] अथास्योचितां पूर्व-राजानुमतां चातुर्वेद्य-ग्राम-म-
 26 र्यादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा¹ अकरदायी² अ-भट-च्छात्र-प्रावेश्य(ः*)²

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 27 अ-पारम्पर-गो-बलिवर्द्ध(ः*)³ अ-पुष्प-क्षीर-सत्दोह⁴ अ-च(1*)रा-
 28 सन-चर्ममङ्गार(ः*)⁵ अ-लवण-क्षिन्न-वक्त्रेण-खनक(ः*) सर्व्व-वेष्टि-परि-⁶
 29 हार- परीर्हृतः⁷ स-निधिस्तोपनिधिः स-क्षिप्तोपक्षिप्तः⁸
 30 आ-चन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः पुत्र-पौत्र(1*)नुगमकः [1*] भु[]जतां न के-
 31 नचि(द्*) व्याघातं⁹ कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्व-क्रियाभिस्स(ः*) रक्षितव्यपरवर्द्धयि-
 32 तवश्च¹⁰ [1*] यश्चायं¹¹ शासनमगणयमानो¹² स्वल्प(1*)मपि (प*)रिबाधा[]¹³

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 33 [कु]र्यात्कारयिता¹⁴ वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य स-वरण-निग्रहं¹⁵ कुर्या-
 34 मः [1*] अस्मि(ः*)श्च धर्म्मावर-करणे¹⁶ अतितानेक-राज-दत्त-सञ्चिन्तन-¹⁷

1 Read मर्यादां वितराम०.

2 Originally यै was engraved, but was afterwards corrected into यी.

3 Read बली०. See p. 413, n. 6.

4 See p. 410, n.

5 Read सन्दोहः.

6 Read विष्टि (=forced labour).

7 Read परिहृतः.

8 Read सक्त्तोपक्त्तः. See p. 413, n. 9.

9 Read व्याघातः.

10 Read परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च.

11 Read यश्चेदं.

12 Read ०मानः or ०मान०.

13 After this, कु (of the word कुर्या०) was first engraved and then cancelled.

14 Read कुर्यात्कारयेत.

15 Read दण्ड and कुर्याम.

16 Some records read धर्मादरकरणे which is better. Fleet translates: "and in this document which has at least the merit of religion", taking करण in the sense of document (cf. करणिक, scribe). The Siwani grant has धर्माधिकरणे=in this subject matter of religion (Fleet). The king however means to say that he would not refer to the merits of considering and protecting the grants of the past kings as he has himself done that and that he would not thus dilate upon his own merits indirectly.

17 Read अतीता० and दत्त-सञ्चिन्तन.

35 परिपालनं कृत-पुण्यानुकीर्तन-परीहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयामः [॥*]

36 व्यास-गीतौ चान्न श्लोकौ¹ प्रमानिकर्त्तव्यौ² [॥*]

स्व-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां³

37 व्वा⁴ यो हरेत वसुन्धरां [॥*]

गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हत्तु-⁵

Fifth Plate : First Side

38 हर्षति दुष्कृतं [॥*] 2

षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्रानि⁶ स्वर्गो मोदति भू-

39 मिदः [॥*]

आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च⁷ तान्येव नरके वसेदिति⁸ [॥*] 3

40 शशासन-स्थितिश्चेयं⁹ ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरैश्चानुपालनीया तद्यथा राज्ञां स-

41 साक्षे राज्ये¹⁰ अद्गोह-प्रवृत्तानां¹¹ ब्रह्मन्-चौर-पारदारिक-राजा-¹²

42 पथ्यकारि-प्रभृतिनां¹³ सङ्ग[I]म(*) कुर्वतां¹⁴ अन्य-ग्रामेष्वन- ॥¹⁵

1 श्लोकौ looks like श्लोकौ on the plate.

2 Read प्रमाणी०. The engraver first formed > प्र.

3 Read दत्ताम्परदत्तां.

4 Read वा. The duplication of व is due to the rule वा पदान्तस्य

5 Read हन्तु०. 6 Read सहस्राणि.

7 Originally च or च्छ was engraved.

8 Better वसेत् ॥ इति ॥

9 Read शासन.

10 Cf. स्वाम्यमात्य-सुहृत्कोशो राष्ट-दुर्ग-बलानि च which are the 7 *angas* or constituents of a State according to Amara.

11 Read प्रवृत्तानां.

12 चौरा was at first engraved. Fleet is inclined to supply अ before ब्रह्मन् and संग्राम-कु०.

13 Read प्रभृतीनां (=प्रभृतिभिः).

14 Read कुर्वतामन्य.

15 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

Fifth Plate : Second Side

- 43 पर(।*)द्धानां आचन्द्रादित्य-कालीयः [।*] अतो(ऽ*)न्यथा कुर्वतामनुमोदतां वा¹
 44 राज्ञः भूमिच्छेदं कुर्वन्तः अ-स्तेयमिति² [।।*] प्रातिग्राहिणश्चात्र³
 45 वार-नियुक्ताः⁴ [।*] शाठ्यायनः⁵ गणार्यः वात्स्य-देवार्यः भारद्वाज-
 46 कुमारशर्मार्यः(*) पाराशर्य-गुहशर्मा काश्यप-देव(।*)र्यः महेश्वरार्यः(*)⁶
 47 मात्तार्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-रुद्रार्यः(*)⁷ सोमार्यः(*) हरिशर्मार्यः(*)

Sixth Plate : First Side

- 48 भारद्वाज-कुमारशर्मा[र्]र्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-मातृशर्मा⁸ वरशर्मा(।*)
 49 गौण्डशर्मा नागशर्मा भारद्वा(ज*)-शान्तिशर्मा रुद्रशर्मा वात्स्यः⁹
 50 भोजक[र्]दिवार्यः(*) मघशर्मा देवशर्मा भारद्वाज-मोक्षशर्मा[र्]
 51 [ना*]गशर्मा रेवतिशर्मा धर्मार्यः(*) भारद्वाज-शर्मार्यः(*)
 52 नन्दनार्यः(*) मूलशर्मा । ईश्वरशर्मा । वरशर्मा

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 53 चानस्य-स्कन्दार्यः(*)¹⁰ भारद्वाज-वप्पार्यः(*) धर्मार्य आलेय-स्कन्दार्यः(*)
 54 गौतम-सोमशर्मार्यः(*) भतृशर्मा¹¹ रुद्रश(र्मा*)र्यः(*) मघार्यः(*) मातृ-

1 The engraver first formed व्वा.

2 Read कुर्वन्तः. "And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmaṇas and by (future) lords; namely (that the enjoyment of this grant is to belong to the Brāhmaṇas) for the same time with the moon and the sun, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom, consisting of 7 constituent parts, of (successive) kings; that they are always on hostile terms with slayers of Brāhmaṇas, thieves, adulterers, poisoners of kings, etc.; and that they do no wrong to other villages. But if they act otherwise, or assent (to such acts), the king will commit no theft in taking the land away."

3 Read प्रतिग्रा०. ग्वा was originally formed and was then corrected into ग्रा.

4 Read नियुक्ताः; cf. p. 362, n. 4.

5 Better ०यन-गणा०.

6 र्ये stands below the line only a little above the next line.

7 Read कौण्डिन्य.

8 Read कौण्डिन्य-मातृ०.

9 Better वात्स्य०.

10 Read वात्स्य.

11 Read भतृ०.

- 55 शर्म्मार्ग्यः(*) ईश्वरशर्म्मार्ग्यः(*) गौतमसगोत्र-मातृशर्म्मा-
 56 र्ग्यः(*) कौण्डिन्य-देवशर्म्मार्ग्यः(*)¹ वरशर्म्मार्ग्यः(*) रोहार्ग्यः(*)

Seventh Plate

- 57 गौतमसगोत्र-स्वामिदे(वा*)र्ग्यः(*) रेवतिशर्म्मार्ग्यः(*)
 58 ज्येष्ठशर्म्मार्ग्यः(*) शाण्डिल्य-कुमारशर्म्मार्ग्यः(*) स्वातिशर्म्मा-²
 59 र्ग्यः(*) श(†*)व्यायण-काण्ड(†*)र्ग्य-प्रभृतयः [॥*] सेनापती
 60 चित्रवर्म्मणि संवत्सरे(S*)ष्टादश³ १०(†*)८ ज्येष्ठ-मास-शुक्ल-
 61 पक्ष-तयोदश्या['] शासनं लिखितमितिः⁴ [॥*]

No. 63—Ajanta Cave Inscription of the time of Harishena

AJANTA, (written *Ajanthā*, and pronounced *Ajinthā* by the local Marāṭhīs), Aurangābād Dist., Hydarābād State.

BHAGAWANLAL INDRAJI, *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of India*, p. 69; Burgess and Bühler, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, IV, p. 124ff; V. V. Mirashi, *Nagpur University Journal*, Dec., 1940, No. 6, p. 41 ff; A. C. BISWAS, *Ind. Cult.*, VII, p. 372 ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class of c. the 6th century A.D.

Metre : Vv. 1-2 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 3 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 4 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 5 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; Vv. 6-9, a species of मातासमक according to Kielhorn,

1 Read कौण्डिन्य.

2 Read स्वाति० and शाव्यायन.

3 Read संवत्सरेऽष्टादशे or सर्व्वत्सरे० (see p. 345, n. 4.) For the position of the *Senāpati*, cf. *supra*, p. 421, n. 1.

4 Read ०मिति.

but the गीतिका variety of मिश्रगण metres according to Venkatasubbia¹; V. 10 उपजाति or उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 11 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; v. 12 इन्द्रवज्रा ; v. 13 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; Vv. 14-15, उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 16 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 17 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्द-सिक) ; V. 18 वंशस्थ ; V. 19 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्द-सिक) ; V. 20 इन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 21 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्द-सिक) ; V. 22 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 23 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक) ; V. 24 वंशस्थ ; V. 25 उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा) ; V. 26 प्रहर्षिणी ; Vv. 27-28 अर्द्धसम-मालभारिणी (औपच्छन्दसिक) ; V. 29 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 30 उपेन्द्रवज्रा ; V. 31 शार्ङ्गलविक्रीडित ; V. 32 मालिनी ।

TEXT²

- 1 उदीर्या-लोकलय-दोषवह्नि-
निर्वापणो³ — — — — [1*]
— — — [बुद्धम?] मिप्रणम्य
पूर्वां प्रवक्ष्ये क्षितिपानुपूर्वीं[म्] [11*] 1
- 2 महाविमर्देष्वभिवृद्ध-शक्तिः
क्रुद्धस्सुरैरप्यनिवार्य-[शक्तिः ?] [1*]
[अनन्यसाधा?]रण-दान-शक्तिः⁴
द्विजप्रकाशो भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः [11*] 2

1 For this metre, see *infra*, p. 450, n. 2; *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, 26f. The restorations suggested are in many places doubtful.

2 From the facsimile in *Arch. Surv. W. Ind.*, IV, Plate LVII, and *Nagpur University Journal*, Dec., 1940. Many passages of the record cannot be read owing to the unsatisfactory state of its preservation. Bühler believed that it speaks of Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son (?) Rudrasena (?); his son Prithivishena; his son (?) Pravasena II (of No. 62), his son (name lost), his son Devasena, his son Harishena. After the discovery of *supra*, No. 59, it appears to be very probable that the record belongs to the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka family. We have here Vindhyaśakti, his son Pravarasena I, his son Sarvasena, his son Prithivishena (?), his son Pravarasena, his son * *, his son Devasena, his son Harishena.

3 यो looks like यि in the plate.

4 Read ०शक्तिर्द्विज०.

- 3 पुरन्दरोपेन्द्र-सम-प्रभावः
 स्वबाहुवीर्या[जि]त-[सर्वलोकः*] [1*]
 — — — — — [यशो]शुकानां
 वभूव वाकाटक-वड्ड-केतुः*¹ [11*] 3
- 4 रणे [स्व]हृद्युत्थित-रेणु-जाल-
 सञ्छादितार्क — — — — — [1*]
 [प्रनष्टसारानखिला?]नराती-
 न्कृत्वाभिवाद-प्रवणा[']श्वकार [11*] 4
- 5 [विनि][जि]तारि[स्सुर]राजकार्य-
 श्वकार पुरयेषु परं प्रय[त्नम्*] [1*]
 — — — — —
 — — — — — [11*] 5
 [अरि*]-नरेन्द्र-भौलि-विन्यस्त-मणि-किरणलीढ-[क्रमाम्बुजः*] [1*]
- 6 प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रो(S*)भूद्विकसनवेन्दीवरेक्षणः [11*] 6
 रविमयूख-द * * * * * [1*]
 [सर्वसेनः]² प्रवरसेनस्य जित-सर्वसेनस्सुतो(S*)भवत् [11*] 7
- 7 [तस्य] पुत्रः पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रश[शा]स धर्मेण मेदिनी[म्*] [1*]
 कुन्तलेन्द्र[']³ नि[र्जित्य-श्री?]-[पृ]थिवी[षेणो]⁴ [नयवास्तदा?] [11*] 8

1 Read वंश.

2 Earlier scholars suggested रुद्रसेनः in place of सर्वसेनः.

3 Kuntala was in the heart of the Kanarese country, practically the same as the district round Banavāsi. A Kadamba king of Mayūrasarman's line is apparently indicated.

4 Earlier scholars like Bühler were inclined to read विजित्य...पृथिवीषेण०. Mirashi reads विन्ध्यसेन whom he identifies with Vindhyaśakti II of *supra*, No. 59. Biswas suggests भुवि विन्ध्यशक्तिः. The reading of Bühler however seems to be correct and to suggest that Vindhyaśakti II had a brother named Prithivishēṇa.

प्रवरसे[नस्त]स्य¹ पुत्रो(S*)भू-

त्प्रवरोर्जितोदार-शासन-²

प्रवर-

8

... ..

... .. [11*] 9

[तस्यात्मजXकामत ?] — — —

— — — — — [1*]

— — — — — [म]वाप्य राज्य-

मष्टाब्दको यX प्रशशास सम्य[क*] [11*] 10³

9 [त*]स्या[त्मजो](S*)भून्नरदेव- [कल्पो ?]

[गुणैरतुल्यो ?] भुवि देवसेनः⁴ [1*]

यस्योपभोगैर्हस्तितैर्वि[चित्तै?]-⁵

[वृ?]—देवराजस्य — — — भूः [11*] 11

पुरयानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य [तस्य ?]

10 — — — — — [1*]

— — — — — [न्या?]य-गुणाधिवासो

[प्रवृद्ध?]—कोशो भुवि हस्तिभोजः [11*] 12

1 Indrajī : ०सेनस्य. This Pravarasena (son or brother's son of Vindhyaśakti II) is different from Pravarasena II (son of Rudrasena II) of *supra*, No. 62.

2 Read ०शासनः । प्रवर०.

3 The father of Devasena whose name is lost became king at his 8th year.

4 For a copper-plate inscription of this king issued from Vatsagulma (=Basim in Akola Dist.), see *New Ind. Ant.*, 1937. His minister was Hastibhoja.

5 Indrajī : ०र्विपावनै०. The passage भुवि देवसेनः however suggests a metre of the Trishṭubh type (and not of the Jagatī type) which would go against the t reading. Of course a combination of Indravajrā and Vamśāsthā is known from literature (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XV, p. 646).

प्र— — — — — पृथुपीनवक्षा-
स्सरोरुहाक्ष—क्षपि-

11 [तारिपक्षः*] [1*]

— — — — — ब[ाहु]-

दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव [॥*] 13

हितो विनीतः प्रणय-[प्रसिद्धो ?]

[म]नोनुकूलो(S*)नुविधानव[र्त्ता] [1*]

[नि]रल्य

12 — — — — —

— — — — — कश्च [॥*] 14

त[थै]व लोक¹ सुहिताशयत्वा-

त्सुखेन सम्य[वप]रिपालनेन [1*]

[पितेव*] मातेव सखेव नित्यं

प्रियो(S*)भिगम्यश्च बभूव

13 [गोप्ता ?] [॥*] 15

— — — — —

— — — — — [तुल्यम् ?] [1*]

स्वस्थस्समावेश्य स तत्र राजा

[सस]न्न भोगेषु यथेष्ट-चेष्टः [॥*] 16

अथ तस्य सुतो बभू-

14 [व राजा ?]

— — — — — [नीतिः ?] [1*]

हरि-राम-हर-स्मरे[न्दु?]-कान्ति-²

हेरिषेणो हरि-विवक्रम-प्रतापः [॥*] 17

स कुन्तलावन्ति-कलिङ्ग-कोसल-

त्रिकूट-लाटान्ध-

1 Read लोके.

2 स्मरेन्द्र is the reading of some scholars.

- 15 — — — — —
 — — — — — नैर्धृता-
 नपि खनिर्देश — — — — — [॥*] 18
 प्रथितो भुवि हस्तिभोज-सूनु-
 स्सचिवस्तस्य महीपतेर्बभूव [॥*]
 सकल-क्षिति
- 16 — — — — —
 — — — — — [॥*] 19
 — — — जेष्ठ¹ स्थिर-धीर-चेता-
 स्स्याग-क्षमौदार्य-गुणैरुपेत(:*) [॥*]
 धर्मेण धर्मप्रवणशशास
 देशं यशःपुरयगुणांशु-
- 17 [दीप्तम् ?] [॥*] 20
 — — — — —
 प्रति पुरयोपचयं परं चकार [॥*]
 यत ऊर्ध्वमद[स्सहायधर्मा]
 [परितो लोकगुरौ] चकार कारा[न?] ² [॥*] 21
 श्रायुर्व्वयो-वित्त-सखाणि³
- 18 — — — — —
 — — — — — लानि [॥*]
 उ[द्दिश्य*] मातापितराबुदारं
 न्यवोविशद्वेरम यतीन्द्र-[सेव्यम्] [॥*] 22
 सजलाम्बुद [वृन्द-संस्थि?]ताम्रे
 भुजगेन्द्राद्धयुषिते महीधरेन्द्रे [॥*]
- 19 — — — — —
 — — — श्रीपतिना शरा निकुञ्जे [॥*] 23

1 प्रचेष्ट ? For the omission of *visarga*, see p. 384, n. 7.

2 लोकगुरु=बुद्ध ; कार=पूजा.

3 सुखानि ?

गवाक्ष-निग्यूह-सुवोधि-वेदिका-

[सु]रेन्द्र-कन्या-प्रतिमाद्यलङ्कृतम् [१*]

मनोहरस्तम्भविभक्त-

20

[मेदुरं*]

— — — — — र¹-चैत्यमन्दिर['] [॥*] 24

म — — — — तल-सन्निविष्ट-

वि[तान?]- — — — मनो[भि]रामं [१*]

— — — — — श्चाम्बु-महानिधान[']

नागेन्द्र-वेश्मादिभिर-

21

— — — [॥*] 25

[कल्पाहं तु ?] सम(मी?)रणा — — — —

— — — — — [१*]

ग्रीष्माह्नस्य च किरणोपता[ष*]-त[स*]

सर्व्वर्त्तु-प्रथित-सुखोपभोगयोग[म*] [॥*] 26

22

— — — — [सु]रेन्द्रमन्दिराणा[']

रुचिम[न्म]न्दर-कन्द — — — [१*]

— — — — —

— — — — — [सुखं ?] यथेप्सित[श्च?] [॥*] 27

असम[व्यति?]रोचने गिरेर्वि-

क-

23

— — — — — [काननानि ?] [१*]²

1 नमोश्चितं स्याद्दर० ? Some scholars suggest उद्दुर०.

2 Avanti=district round Ujjain. Kalinga (in the narrow sense)=Puri-Ganjam region of Orissa. Kosala=South Kosala=Raipur-Sambalpur-Bilaspur region. Aparānta=the Northern Konkan. Lāṭa=Nausāri-Broach region. Andhra=districts near the mouths of the Krishnā and the Godāvari. It is a vague claim which may indicate some sort of hostile relation of the Vākātaka king with those countries. It is impossible to believe that these countries were completely subjugated by Harishena. Harishena is possibly mentioned in another Ajanṭā inscription (Bhandarkar, List. No. 1713).

3 There is possibly यतिभङ्गदोष in this half of the verse.

- वह — — — — —
 — — — — — [॥*] 28
 — — — — — यस्य जनेन नाम
 प्रीति-प्रसाद-विकच-प्रणयेन चक्रे [॥*]
 [एतच्च ?]
- 24 — — — — — लयनं सुरेन्द्र-
 मौलि[प्रभोपचित ?] — — — — — हाय [॥*] 29
 निवेद्य सङ्गाय — — — [भोग्यं ?]
 सबन्धुवर्गस्तस्य वराहदेवः¹ [॥*]
 नृदेवसौख्यान्यनुभूय
- 25 — — — — —
 [शरण्य?]—शास्ता सुगत(ः*) प्रशस्तः [॥*] 30
 सान्द्राम्भोद-भुजङ्गभोग — — — — —
 — — — — — न-मनश्शिलाल-कपिलैर्यावत्करैर्भास्व(स्क?)रः [॥*]
 तावच्छे
- 26 — — — — — स्सेव्यता-
 मन्तर्मण्डप(ल?)—रत्न[मे]तदमलं रत्नत्र[योद्धा]वित[']* [॥*] 31
 विविध-लयन-सानुस्सेव्यमावो महद्भि-
 गिरेरय-
- 27 — — — — — द्वयः [॥*]
 जगदपि च समस्तव्यस्त-दोष-प्रहाणा-
 [द्वि*]शतु पदमशोकं निज्वरं शान्तमार्य['] [॥*] 32

1 Varāhadeva, minister of Harishena, was probably a son of Hastibhoja.

B—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE PALLAVAS

No. 64—Mayidavolu Copper-plate Inscription of
Sivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 10¹

MAYIDAVOLU, Narasarāvupeta tāluka, Guṇṭūr Dist, Madras Pres.
HULTZSCH, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 86ff.

Language : Prakrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the beginning of the 4th century A. D.²

TEXT³

First Plate : First Side

दिटं [॥*]

First Plate : Second Side

1 [सिद्धं* ॥]⁴ [कां*]चीपुरातो युवमहाराजो⁵

2 भारदाय-सगोत्तो⁶ पलवान⁷

1 The year apparently refers to the rule of the father of Sivaskandavarman as he was only a Yuvamahārāja. The word युवमहाराज is coined from युवराज on the analogy of राजन् and महाराज. Kāñchīpura is modern Conjeeveram about 55 miles to the west of Madras. Some scholars think that the name is Skandavarman (identical with the king of No. 66) and śiva is an honorific like vijaya of No. 66, l. 1 and p. 445, n. 5. The name Sivaskandavarman is however often found in other sources. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 166f.

2 This record (cf. also the Kondamudi grant of Jayavarman, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 315) is very interesting from the palaeographic point of view. See notes below.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VI. The seal bears the figure of a couchant bull in relief and below it the legend शिवस्क[न्द-वर्मणः].

4 Traces of the letters still remain.

5 स has a peculiar form in this inscription. It consists of an upper curve and of a loop that starts from its upper right corner and reaches below the line.

6 स also has a peculiar form consisting of two equal curves, one below the other, but not connected with it.

7 न or ण in this inscription does not differ from ड or द.

*Second Plate : First Side*२^१

- 3 सिवख[]द्वम्मो धञ्जकडे
4 वापतं आनपयति [१*]

Second Plate : Second Side

- 5 अम्हेहि दानि अम्ह-वेजयिके^२
6 [ध]मायु-वल-वधनिके य^३

*Third Plate : First Side*३^४

- 7 बम्हनानं अग्निवेस-सगोत्तस
8 पुवकोटुजस अग्निवेस-सगोत्तस

Third Plate : Second Side

- 9 गोनंदिजस अंधापतीय-गामो^५
10 [विरिप]रं अम्हेहि उदकादि^६

*Fourth Plate : First Side*४^७

- 11 संपदतो [१*] एतस गामस
12 विरिपरस सव-बम्हदेय-

1 In the left margin a little above the level of l. 4.

2 ज has generally a peculiar form in this inscription consisting of an angle and a circle.

3 Better read च.

4 In the left margin on the level between lines 7 and 8.

5 Read अंधापथीय. Andhrāpatha is a geographical term like Dakṣiṇāpatha. Originally it may have indicated "way to the Andhra country", but later the Andhra country itself. Its capital Dhānyakaṭa is very probably to be identified with Amarāvati in the Sattenapalle tāluka of Guṇṭūr Dist. An Amarāvati inscription (No. 529 of 1937-38) of Virapurushadatta refers to the installation of two dharmachakras at the great monastery at Dhānyakaṭa.

6 Omit अम्हेहि. Cf. द्रव्यस्य नाम गृहीयाद् ददानोति तथा वदेत् । तोयं दद्यात् ततो हस्ते दाने विधिरयं स्मृतः ॥ quoted above, p. 353, n. 4.

7 In the left margin a little above the level of l. 12.

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 13 प[रिहा]रो वितराम [१*] अ-लोन-[ख]ादकं
 14 अ-रठ-सं[वि]नायिकं अ-परंपरा-वलीव[दं*]¹

*Fifth Plate : First Side*५²

- 15 अ-भड-पपेसं अ-कूर-चोल्क-
 16 विनासि-खट(१*)-संवासं [१*] एतेहि

Fifth Plate : Second Side

- 17 अनेहि च सव-वम्ह-
 18 देय-मजादाय

*Sixth Plate : First Side*६³

- 19 सव-परिहारेहि परिहारितो [१*]
 20 परिहरथ परिहरापेथ च [१*]

Sixth Plate : Second Side

- 21 जो अम्ह-सासनं अतिछि-
 22 तून पीला वाधा करेजा⁴ [वा]⁵

1 Hultzsch: बलिवदं. Some of these exemptions refer to the obligations of the villagers to the touring officers of the king, while some refer to their obligation to the king on occasions (e. g., a marriage in the king's family). For a detailed discussion on them, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 186f; also *supra*, p. 410, n. 1 लोन possibly indicates the *audbhijja* salt prepared from plantain and cocoanut trees in some parts of Bengal even to day.

2 In the left margin a little above the level of l. 16.

3 In the left margin a little above the level of l. 20.

4 जा is read by Hultzsch and Bühler; but it looks exactly like the ordinary form of जो. See p. 440, n. 2.

5 The scribe at first left out कारापेजा and engraved वा त (of वा तस), but eventually the two *aksharas* were struck out.

Seventh Plate : First Side

७¹23 [त]² कारापेज्जा वा तस अम्हो

24 सारीर['] सासनं करेजामो [।*]

Seventh Plate : Second Side

25 स[']वछरं दसमं १० गिम्हा-

26 पखो छठो ६ दिवसं पंचमि ५ [।*]

Eighth Plate

८³

27 आनती सयत्ति दत्ता

28 पट्टिका [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टं (=राजपुरुषैः परीक्षितम्) ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरतः युवमहाराजः (=युवराजः) भारद्वाज-सगोलः पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्द-
वर्मा धान्यकटे व्यापृतं (=धान्यकटनगरस्थं कर्मसचिवम्) आज्ञापयति ।—‘अस्माभिः इदानीम्
अस्मद्-वैजयिकं (=अस्माकं विजयाय) धर्मायुर्वलवार्द्धनिकं (=०वर्द्धनाय) च ब्राह्मणाभ्याम् अग्नि-
वेश-सगोत्राय पूर्वकोट्यार्याय अग्निवेश-सगोत्राय गोनन्धार्याय [च] अन्त्रापथीयः ग्रामः
विरिपरः उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तः । एतस्य ग्रामस्य विरिपरस्य सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-परिहारं वितरामः—
अ-लवण-खातकम्, अ-राष्ट्र-सांविनयिकम्, अ-परम्पराबलीवर्द्धम् (=०बलीवर्द्धग्रहणम्), अ-भट्ट-
प्रवेशम्, अ-कूर-चुल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्वा-संवासं (=भक्तस्थालीन्थनखट्वावासादीनां परि-
हारम्) । एतैः अन्यैः च सर्व-ब्रह्मदेय-मर्त्यादया (=०नियमानुसारेण) सर्वपरिहारैः परि-
हारितः । परिहरेत परिहारयेत च [त्वम्] । यः अस्मच्छासनम् अतिच्छिद्य पीडां बाधां कुर्मुः
कारयेयुः वा तस्य वयं शरीरं शासनं (=दण्डं) कुर्याम ।’ संवत्सरः दशमः १० ग्रीष्म-पक्षः
षष्ठः ६ दिवसः पञ्चमः ५ (=ज्यैष्ठ-शुक्ल-पक्ष-पञ्चम-दिवसे)⁴ । आज्ञाप्तिः स्वयम् इति दत्ता
पट्टिका ॥

1 In the left margin between lines 23 and 24.

2 See p. 435, n. 5.

3 In the left margin between lines 27 and 28.

4 It must however be remembered that the Andhra-Drāviḍa-karṇāṭa region very probably reckoned the *amānta* month (starting from the *Sukla pratipad* and ending with the *amāvāsya*).

No. 65 – Hīrahadagalli Copper-plate Inscription of Sivaskandavarman—Regnal Year 4

HIRAHADAGALLI, Bellary Dist., Madras Presidency.

BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 5ff. ; 9 ff. ; 479; II, p. 485f. ; LEUMANN, *ib.*, II, p. 483-85; LÜDERS, List, No. 1209 (for other references).

Language : Prakrit and Sanskrit.¹

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the beginning of the 4th century A.D.

*TEXT*²

Seal

शिवस्कन्द[वर्मणः]

First Plate : First Side

दिठं [॥*]

First Plate : Second Side

सिद्धम् ॥³

- 1 कांचिपुरा⁴ अग्निद्रोम⁵-वाजपेयस्समेधयाजी धम्ममहा-
- 2 राजाधिराजो भारद्वाजो पल्लवाण सिवखंदवमो⁶
- 3 अम्हं विसये सवत्थ राजकुमार-सेनापति-

Second Plate : First Side

- 4 रट्टक⁷-माडवि[क]⁸-देसाधिकतादीके गामागामभोजके

1 Note that this record shows more cases of the doubling of consonants and of conjuncts than does No. 64. See *supra*, p. 406, n. 1.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, I. This record found almost within the borders of ancient Kuntala suggests that the Early Kadambas were feudatories of the Early Pallavas. For other grounds, see *Suc. sāt.*, p. 184.

3 This word is in the left margin, on the level of l. 2.

4 Bühler : कांची. कौ was originally engraved.

5 Bühler : अग्निद्रोम ; but the superscript is certainly ट.

6 धम्ममहाराजाधिराज has been coined on the analogy of धर्ममहाराज which again is derived from धर्मराज. The title indicates North Indian influence and late date.

7 Read रट्टिक which is the reading of Bühler.

8 The letter looks like नु which is Bühler's reading.

- 5 वल्लवे गोवल्लवे अमच्चे अरखाधिकते¹ गुमिके तूथिके
 6 नेयिके अन्नो वि च अम्ह-पेस[ण]-प्पयुत्ते संचरंतक-
 7 भडमनुसाण [कड सो]² [।*] परिहारं³ वितराम एत्थ दाणि

Second Plate : Second Side

- 8 [आ]पिट्ठि-वत्थवाण चिल्लरेककोडुंक-भोजक-बम्हणाणं अप्प-
 9 ण कुल-गोत्तस धमायु-वल-यसो-वधनिके विजय-वेजयीके
 10 च कातूणं अप्पतिहत्त-सासनस्स अनेक-हिरोगोकोडी-⁴
 11 गोहलसतसहस्स-प्पदायिनो महाराज-बप्पसामीहि⁵

Third Plate : First Side

३⁶

- 12 वाडक चिल्लरेककोडुंके पुव्वदत्तं [।*] गोलसमजस पत्तीभागो⁷ १
 13 आत्तेय-सगोतस अगिसमजस्स पत्तीभागा ४
 14 माढरम पत्तीभागा वे २ जामातुकस अगिल्लस पत्ती-
 15 भागो १ हारित-सगोतस कालसमस पत्तीभागा ३

Third Plate : Second Side

- 16 भारदाय-सगोत्तस कुमारसमस पत्तिभागा ३⁸ कोसिक-
 17 सगोतस कुमारनंदि-कुमारसम-कोट्टसम-सत्तिस्स च
 18 चतुण्हं भातुकाण चत्तारि पत्तिभागा ४ कस्सव-सगोत्त-
 19 स भटिस पत्तीभागो १ भारदायस खंदकोडिस

1 Bühler reads आरण०.

2 This reading seems to be suggested by the plate. The reading intended however is possibly भड-मनुसे आणवेत्ति.

3 हिरोगो is possibly a mistake for हिरण. For हल, see, p. 201, n. 4.

4 Read स्वामिनो. Some scholars take Bappa (lit. father) as the name of the father of Sivaskandavarman, which is unlikely. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 183f. Cf. परम-भट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-श्रीवप्पपादानुध्यात ; परमदैवतवप्पभट्टारकमहाराजश्रीपादानुध्यात, etc., in Fleet, *C.I.L.*, III, p. 186, n. वप्प from Sanskrit वप्ता=बीजवप्ता ?

6 In the left margin, a little above the level of l. 14.

7 Bühler reads पत्ति०.

8 Bühler reads २. कोसिका was originally engraved.

*Fourth Plate : First Side*४^१

- 20 पतीभागा वे २ खंदडस पतीभागो १ वप्पस
 21 [प]तीभागो^२ १ दत्तजस पतीभागा वे २ नंदिजस
 22 पतीभागा ३ वत्स-सगोतस रुदसमस पती-
 23 भागो १ दामजस पतीभागो १ सालसमजस पति-
 24 भागो १^३

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 25 परिमितस पतीभागो १ नागनंदिस पतीभागो १ गोलिस
 26 पतिभागो १ खंदसमस पतिभागो १ सामिजस पतिभागो १ [1*]
 27 एतेसि वम्हणाणं अगिसमज-पमुखाणं साताहनि-रु^४
 28 गामे चिल्लरेककोडुं के दखिण-सीमं पुट्टवदत्तं [1*]

*Fifth Plate : First Side*५^५

- 29 अम्हेहि वि आ-चन्द-तार-कालीक^६ कातुणं उदकादिं संप-
 30 दत्तो एतं वम्हणाणं चिल्लरेककोडुं-क-वाडकं [1*]
 31 अ-कूर-चोल्लक^७-विनेसि-खट्टा-वासं अ-दूध-दधि-गहणं
 32 अ-रट्टसंविनयिकं अ-लोण-[यु]ल-च्छोभं अ-कर-वेट्टी-

Fifth Plate : Second Side

- 33 को[]जल्लं अ-पारंपर-वलिबद्-गहणं अ-तण-कट्ट-गह-
 34 णं अ-हरितक-साक-पुफ-गहणं एवमादीकेहि अट्टा-

1 In the left margin, a little below the level of l. 22.

2 Bühler reads पती०.

3 These *aksharas* are engraved below सालसम of the previous line.

4 *I. e.*, mod. Bellary Dist. See *supra*, p. 205.

5 In the left margin, on the level of l. 31.

6 Bühler reads कालिक.

7 Hultzsch suggests अ-कूर-चोल्लक which is possibly the reading of the original. For a detailed discussion on these exemptions, see *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 192 f; *supra*, p. 410, n. 1

- 35 रस-जाति-परिहारेहि विसयवासीहि अपि-
 36 द्वी-वासीहि चिल्ले रेककोडुंक-वासीहि च परिहरितवं

Sixth Plate: First Side

६¹

- 37 हरिहापेतव्व च त्ति [१*] अपि च आपिद्वीयं अगिसमज
 38 पमुखाणं वम्हणाणं खलस निवतणं घरस्स निवत-
 39 णं अद्विका चात्तारि ४ कोलिका वे त्ति २ [१*] एव नातूणं
 40 अथ कोचि वल्लभ मदेन पित्ता वाधा करेय्य कारवेज्जा²

Sixth Plate: Second Side

- 41 वा तस खु अम्हे निगहं-वारण³ करेय्याम त्ति [१*] भूयो च
 42 वरिस-सत-सहस्सातिरेक-समकाले अम्हं पल्लव-
 43 कुल-महंत्ते भविस्स-भडे अन्ने च नो

Seventh Plate: First Side

७⁴

- 44 वसुधाधिपतये⁵ अभत्थेमि जो सक्क-काले उपरि-
 45 लिखित-मेजाताये अणुवद्वावेति तस
 46 वो सम्मो त्ति [१*] यो चसि विग्घे वट्टेज

Seventh Plate: Second Side

- 50 स च खु पञ्च-महापातक-संजुत्तो नराधमो
 51 होज त्ति [१*] दत्ता पट्टिका वास-सतसहस्साय
 52 सव ८ वास ६ दिव ५ [१*] सयमाण्तं [१*]

1 In the left margin, above the level of l. 39.

2 ज्ञा looks like जो. See p. 435, n. 4.

3 Better read निगहवारणं.

4 In the left margin, above the level of l. 46.

5 Bühler reads वसुधाधिपे भये ; but his भ is certainly त्.

Eighth Plate.

८

- 53 कोलिवाल-भोजकस रहसाधिकत-भट्टिस-
 54 म्मस सहत्थ-लिखितेण पट्टिका कड² ति [।*]
 55 खस्ति गो-त्र[।]द्वाण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्य इति [।*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

दृष्टम् ॥

सिद्धम् ॥ काञ्चीपुरात् अग्निष्टोम-वाजपेयाश्वमेध-याजी धर्ममहाराजाधिराजः भारद्वाजः पल्लवानां शिवस्कन्दवर्मा अस्माकं विषये (=आत्मनः राष्ट्रे) सर्वत्र राजकुमार-सेनापति-राष्ट्रिक-मारुडपिक-देशाधि-कृतादिकं [विभिन्न]-ग्राम-भोजकं वल्लवं (=वल्लभान्=अश्वरत्नान्) गोवल्लवं (=गोरक्षिणः) अमात्यम् आरत्ताधिकृतं (=रत्तापुरुषान्) गौल्मिकं तैथिकं नैयोगिकम्³ अन्यम् अपि च अस्मत्(=राज०)-प्रेषण-प्रयुक्तं सञ्चरत्क-भट्टमनुष्यम् [आज्ञापयति] ।—‘परिहारं (=ब्रह्मदेयं)⁴ वितरामः [वयम्] अत्र इदानीम् आपिट्टि-वास्तव्येभ्यः चिल्लरेककोडुंक-भोजक-ब्राह्मणेभ्यः आत्मनः कुलगोत्रस्य धर्मार्युर्वलयशोवार्द्धनिकं विजयवैजयिकं च कृत्वा अप्रतिहत-शासनेन अनेक-हिरण्यकोटि-गोहलशतसहस्र-प्रदायिना महाराज-वप्पस्वामिना (=महाराजेन पितृदेवेन) वाटकं (=आरामं) चिल्लरेक-कोडुंके पूर्वदत्तम् ।—गोलशर्मार्ग्याय प्रतिभागः⁵ १, आलेयसगोत्राय अग्निशर्मार्ग्याय प्रतिभागाः ४, माठराय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, [तस्य माठरस्य] जामातृकाय अग्निलाय प्रतिभागः १, हारीतसगोत्राय कालशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, भारद्वाज-सगोत्राय कुमारशर्मणे प्रतिभागाः ३, कौशिकसगोत्रेभ्यः कुमारनन्दि-कुमारशर्म-कोटिशर्म-शक्तिभ्यः च चतुर्भ्यः भ्रातृभ्यः चत्वारः प्रतिभागाः ४, काश्यपसगोत्राय भर्त्ते प्रतिभागः १, भारद्वाजाय स्कन्दकोटये प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, स्कन्दाब्बाय प्रतिभागः १, वप्पाय प्रतिभागः १, दत्ताय्याय प्रतिभागौ द्वौ २, नन्दार्याय प्रतिभागाः ३, वत्स-सगोत्राय रुद्रशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, दामार्याय प्रतिभागः १, शालशर्मार्ग्याय प्रतिभागः १, परिमिताय प्रतिभागः १, नागनन्दिने प्रतिभागः १, गोलिने प्रतिभागः १, स्कन्दशर्मणे प्रतिभागः १, स्वाम्यार्याय प्रतिभागः १ । एतेभ्यः

1 On the margin, a little below the level of l. 54.

2 Bühler read कड्.

3 See *Suc. Sāt*, p. 191.

4 For this परिहार, see Manu, VII, 201.

5 प्रतिभागः=निवर्तनात्मकः अंशः.

ब्राह्मणेभ्यः अग्निशर्मार्ग्य-प्रमुखेभ्यः सातवाहनीय-राष्ट्रे ग्रामे चिल्लरेककोडुंके दक्षिण-सीमा
 (=०सीमा-लग्नभूमिः) पूर्वदत्ता । अस्माभिः अपि आचन्द्रतारकालिकं कृत्वा उदकादि सम्प्रदत्तम्
 एतत् ब्राह्मणेभ्यः चिल्लरेककोडुंके-वाटकम् । अ-कूर-चुल्लकी-विनाशि-खट्वावासम् (=अभक्त-
 स्थालीन्धन०), अ-दुग्धदधि-ग्रहणम्, अ-राष्ट्र-सांविनयिकम्, अ-लवणगुड-क्षोभम्, अ-करविष्टि-
 कौञ्जल्यम्¹, अ-परम्परावलीवर्द्ध-ग्रहणम्, अ-तृणकाष्ठ-ग्रहणम् ; अ-हरितकशाकपुष्प-ग्रहणम्—
 एवमादिकैः अष्टादशजातिपरिहारैः विषयवासिभिः आपिट्टिवासिभिः चिल्लरेक-कोडुंके-वासिभिः
 च परिहर्तव्यं परिहारयितव्यं च इति । अपि च आपिट्टिग्राम् अग्निशर्मार्ग्यप्रमुखेभ्यः ब्राह्मणेभ्यः
 खलाय निवर्त्तनं, गृहाय निवर्त्तनम्, आदिकाः (=शस्यार्द्धभागिनः क्षेत्तकपर्षकाः) चत्वारः ४,
 कोलिकौ (=क्षेत्रजकार्पासेन वसनादिवयनार्थम् आवश्यकौ तन्तुवायौ) द्वौ इति २ । एवं ज्ञात्वा
 अथ कश्चित् वल्लभ-मदेन (=राजवल्लभः अहम् इति दर्पेण) पीडां बाधां [वा] कुर्यात्
 कारयेत् वा तस्य खलु वयं निग्रहवारणं (=दण्डेन वारणं) कुर्याम इति । भूयः
 च—वर्षशतसहस्रातिरेक-समकाले अस्माकं पल्लवकुलमहतः भविष्य-भटम् अन्यान् च नः
 (=अस्माकं) वसुधाधिपतीन् अभ्यर्थये, यः स्वक-काले उपरिलिखितमर्यादया अनुवर्त्तयति, तस्य
 एव शर्म (=मङ्गलम्) इति ; यः च अस्मिन् विघ्ने वर्त्तते, स च खलु पञ्चमहापातक-
 संयुक्तः नराधमः भवेत् इति । दत्ता पट्टिका वर्ष-शतसहस्राय संवत्सरे अष्टमे] ८ वर्षा[पक्षे]
 षष्ठे ६ दिव[से पञ्चमे] ५ । स्वयम् आज्ञप्तम् । कोलिवालभोजकस्य (=कोलिवालाख्यस्थान-
 भोक्तुः), रहस्याधिकृत(=मन्त्रि०)-भर्तृशर्मणः स्वहस्तलिखितेन (=स्वाक्षरेण) पट्टिका कृता
 इति ॥ स्वस्ति गो-ब्राह्मण-लेखक-वाचक-श्रोतृभ्यः' इति ॥

1 The meaning of कौञ्जल्ल is unknown. May कुञ्जल (=काञ्जिका) be taken in the sense of a sort of wine ? In that case कौञ्जल्य may be a tax on such wine. हरितक=a kind of vegetables to be used as food.

No. 66—Gunapadeya Copper-Plate Inscription of the time of Skandavarman

GUNAPADEYA, Kondakūr Tāluka, Gunṭūr Dist., Madras Pres.;
now in the BRITISH MUSEUM, London.

FLEET, *Ind. Ant.*, IX, p. 100ff.; BÜHLER, *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 2,
n. 2; HULTZSCH, *ibid*, VIII, p. 143ff.

Language : Prakrit and Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 4th century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुभ (श्लोक)

TEXT¹

First Plate

सिद्ध(*) ॥²

1 सिरि-विजय-खन्दव[म्म]-महाराजस्स संव्वच्छ(द्ध ?)रा *³ [1*]

2 युवमहाराजस्स भारद्वाजस्स प[ल्लवा]-

3 एणं सिरि-विजय-बुद्धवम्मस्स देवी * *-⁴

4 कुर-जनवी [चारु]देवी का(?) * वीय *⁵

Second Plate : First Side

२⁶

5 राजतलाक-हे[ट्टे] पाणिय-[क*]-

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII and *Ind. Ant.*, IX. The record is usually referred to as the British Museum grant. For the suggested identification of Skandavarman with Sivaskandavarman, see p. 433, n. 1. Note that the language of this record is later. It shows more cases of the doubling of consonants and of conjuncts. See p. 406 n. 1. This Skandavarman may be indentified with Skandavarman I of the Oṃgoḍu grant, No. 1.

2 In the left margin of the plate.

3 The figure of the date is totally lost.

4 Hultzsch is inclined to read [बु]द्धि[यं]कुर-जनवी in ll. 3-4; he further corrects जनवी to जननी. It is however impossible to decipher the two (?) *aksharas* after देवी in l. 3. On the strength of Hultzsch's conjectural reading, Buddhavarman and Budhyānkūra are usually represented as Pallava kings. There is no evidence to show that they ascended the throne or that Buddhavarman was the son of Skandavarman.

5 The reading intended is possibly आणवीयति(=आज्ञापयति). Hultzsch is inclined to restore क[डके] वीय[पत्तं 1*]. But traces of an *anusvāra* above the letter which looks like क and of an ā-sign are possibly visible. May कांचिये वियापत्तं be suggested?

6 In the left margin of the plate.

6 पादुत्तरे पासे [आ]तुकस्स कसित[व्वं*]

7 छेतं दालूरे कूलिमहातरक-देवकुलस्स¹

Second Plate : Second Side

३²

8 भगवन्नारायणस्स अम्हं आयु-बल-वद्धनी-

9 यं कातून भूमी-निवत्तणा चत्तारि ४ अम्हेहिं

10 सम्पदत्ता [१*] तं नातूण गामेयिका आयुत्ता

11 सव्व-[प]रिहारेहि परिहरथ परिहरापेथ [१*]

Third Plate

12 बहुभिर्व्व[सु]धा दत्ता बहुभिश्च[नुपा]लिता [१*]

13 यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि³ तस्य [तस्य] तदा फलम् [॥*] 1

14 स्व-दत्ता[*] परदत्त[१] वा ये हरति⁴ वसून्धराम् [१*] 2

15 गवां शत-सहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम् [॥*] 2

16 आणत्ति रोहण[१]गुत्ता⁵ति ॥

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ श्रीविजय-स्कन्दवर्म-महाराजस्य संवत्सरः...। युवमहाराजस्य भारद्वाजस्य पल्लवानां श्रीविजय-बुद्धवर्मणः देवी ...कुर-जननी चारुदेवी [आज्ञापयति] ।—‘राजतरागा-धस्तात् पाणीयकूपात् उत्तरपार्वे आतुकस्य कष्टव्यं क्षेत्तं दालूरे कूलिमहातरक-देवकुलस्य (=कूलिनामकेन महत्तरेण प्रतिष्ठापितस्य मन्दिरस्य) भगवन्नारायणाय अस्माकम् आयुर्वल-वर्द्धनीयं (यद्वा, °वार्द्धनिकं) कृत्वा भूमिनिवर्त्तनानि चत्वारि ४ अस्माभिः सम्प्रदत्तानि । एतत् ज्ञात्वा ग्रामेयकाः आयुक्ताः (=ग्राम-स्थिताः आयुक्ताख्याः राजभृत्याः ; =ग्रामिकाः ?) [यूयं] सर्वपरिहारैः परिहरत परिहारयत [च] ।’

1 स्सा was possibly in the mind of the scribe.

2 In the left margin of the plate. Both sides of Plate II are numbered. Usually only one of the sides bears the number of the Plate.

3 Read भूमिस्तस्य.

4 Read यो हरति (or हरेत) वसु०.

5 The ३-sign of नी could not be properly executed owing to the interference of स in the preceding line. The reading गुत्ता is doubtful. ता looks like त्वा.

बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।
 यस्य यस्त यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥
 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरति वसुन्धराम् ।
 गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः पिबति दुष्कृतम् ॥

आज्ञप्तिः (=पट्टिका-सम्पादकः) रोहिणीगुप्तः इति ॥

No. 67—Narasarāopet¹ Copper-plate Inscription of Simhavarman—Regnal Year 4

NARASARĀOPET TĀLUKA, Guṇṭūr Dist., Madras Pres.

H. KRISHNA SASTRI, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 254f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern Class of the 6th-7th century A. D.²

Metre : Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक)

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 जि[त][*]⁴ भगवता[॥*] स्वस्ति-[॥*] श्रीविजय-स्कन्ध(1*)वारा[त्प]रामात्रह्मणय-⁵
- 2 स्य स्व-बाहु-बल[र]जितो[र्जि]त-[त्ता]त-त[पो]निधेर्विधिवि-⁶
- 3 हित-सर्व्व-मर्त्यादस्य स्थिति-स्थितस्य[र]मितात्मनो महा-⁷
- 4 राजस्य प्रिथिवित[लै]क-वीरस्य⁸ श्रीवीरवर्म्मणः प्रपौत्रो(S*)प्य

1 The grant is usually referred to as the Omgoḍu grant after the name of the village denoted. It was discovered in a village in the Narasarāopet tāluca.

2 According to Krishna Sastri the record "must have been a copy of a grant of the 5th-6th century A.D., put into writing in the 7th century."

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XV. For Simhavarman of this record, see *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 170ff ; 208ff ; 402.

4 त is written below the line. See p. 412, n. 2.

5 Read ०मत्रह्म०. Note that the name of the *skandhāvāra* (camp) is omitted owing to the inadvertence of the scribe. Another record discovered at the same place was issued from *vijaya-Tāmbrāpa-sthāna*.

6 Sastri: ०त्तात्.

7 Sastri: माह०.

8 Read पृथिवी०

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 [जि]त-शक्ति-सिद्धि-सम्पन्नस्य-प्रतोपोपन[त]-[रा]ज-मण्डलस्य¹ [भ]गव-
 6 त्भक्ति-सम्भाव-सम्भावित-सर्व-कल्याणस्य(।*)नेक-गो-
 7 हिरण्य-भूम्य[।]दि-प्रदानैः प्रवृ[ध]-धर्म-सञ्च-²
 8 यस्य प्रजापालन-दत्तस्य लोकपालाना[] पञ्च(म*)स्य लो-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 9 कपालस्य³ महात्मनो महाराज-श्रीस्कन्दवर्मणः पौ-
 10 लो देव-द्विज-गुरु-वृद्धोपसेविनो विवृद्ध-विनयस्य(।*)-
 11 नेक-संग्राम-स(।*)हसावमदोपलब्ध⁴-विजय-यशः(*)-प्रा-⁵
 12 काशस्य सत्यात्मनो युवमहाराज-श्रीविष्णुगोपस्या⁶ पुत्रः

Third Plate : First Side

- 13 कलियुग-दोषावस[न्न]-धर्मदूरण⁷-निल-श[न्न]दो⁸ राज-गु-
 14 ण-शर्व⁹-सन्दोह-विजिगिषु¹⁰ धर्म-विजिगिषु¹¹ भगवत्पादानुव्यातो¹²
 15 वप्प-भट्टारक-पाद-भक्तः(*) परमभागवतो भारद्वाज-स-
 16 गोत¹³ विक्रामाक्रान्तन्यनृपतिश्र-निलयानां¹⁴ यथावदाहृतानेकक्रतुनां¹⁵

1 Read प्रपौलोऽभ्युच्छित्, प्रतापो, and ०शक्ति-सद्भाव as in other grants.

2 Read प्रवृद्ध.

3 Note that the passage indicates only four divine Lokapālas. Their number was later raised to eight or ten.

4 Read ०मर्दोप.

5 Read प्रका.

6 Read ०गोपस्य

7 Read धर्मोद्वरण.

8 Read सन्नद्धो.

9 Read सर्व.

10 Read विजिगीषुधर्म.

11 Read ०गीषुर्भग.

12 Read ०नुव्यातो. 13 Read भारद्वाज-सगोत्रो. गोत्र is engraved above the line.

14 Read विक्रमाक्रान्तान्य-नृप-श्री.

15 Read क्रतूनां. Some records, e. g., the Pikira grant of Siphavarman, read यथावदाहृतानेकाश्वमेधानां. The Āśvamedha referred to is no doubt that performed by Kumāravishṇu, father of Viravarman. Cf. पञ्चवानामश्वमेधयाजिनः महाराजस्य श्री-कुमारविष्णोः in the Oṃgoḍu grant of Skandavarman (II), *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 251. It is interesting that only the descendants of this Kumāravishṇu refer to the Āśvamedha.

Third Plate: Second Side

- 17 शतक्रतुनां कल्पनां¹ वल्लभानां² पल्लवानां धर्म-महाराज-श्रीसि-
 18 हिवर्म्म[१] कर्म्म-३ गुटे³ ओगोडुग्रामः कोडिकिग्रामो⁴ पूर्वतः न०५५-
 19 ग्रा[मो] दक्षिणतः कडाकुदुरु-ग्रामो⁵ प[श्चि]मतः⁶ पेणुकप^७-
 20 ग्रामे⁷ उत्तरतः एवं चतुरव[धि]-मध्ये पूर्व-भोग-विवर्जितः

Fourth Plate: First Side

- 21 कुड्डूर्व[१*]स्तव्याया काश्यप-गोत्राय छन्दोविदिते⁸ सर्व्व-शास्त्र-कुश-
 22 लाय देवशर्म्मणे⁹ ग्रहाण-निमित्तं¹⁰ अस्मदायुर्व्वल-वि-
 23 जयाभिष्टुदये सम्प्र[१]दाम [१] तदिमं¹¹ सर्व्व-परिहा[रं](*)¹² प-
 24 रिहत्तव्य[म्]¹³ परिहारयितेव्यञ्च¹⁴ [१*] यश्चेदं अस्मच्छा-¹⁵

Fourth Plate: Second Side

- 25 शनमतिक्रामे(त*) स पापः शरीर-दण्डमर्हति [१*] आशीष्ठवा-

1 Read शतक्रतुकल्पानां

2 The fuller form of this title appears to be श्री-पृथिवी-वल्लभ found in the inscriptions of the Chalukyas and the Rāshtrakūṭas. It refers to the kings' claim to have been incarnations of Viṣṇu. For the interpretation, see *Suc. Sāt.* p 208 n; *Ind. Cult.*, II, p. 131 f.

3 Read सिंहवर्म्मानामनः वयं and राष्ट्रै. The letter here printed ३ (=r) is the *baṇḍira* or *śakaṭarepha* of the Telugu alphabet. Theoretically it is a cerebral r. Bengali ᱠ represents both this letter and the Telugu ᱠ (cerebral l).

4 Read ओगोडु-ग्रामं कोडिकि-ग्रामः.

5 Read ग्रामः.

6 Sastri: ०मातः.

7 Read ग्राम, and ०विवर्जितं (with the exception of lands previously granted).

8 Read वास्तव्याय and छन्दोविदे.

9 Read ०र्म्मणे.

10 Read ग्रहणनिमित्तम् (on the occasion of an eclipse).

11 Read तदिदं.

12 रै is engraved on an erasure.

13 Read ०हर्त्तव्यं.

14 Read ०तव्यञ्च.

15 Read ०दम् अस्मच्छासन०.

- 26 षा¹ श्लोका भवन्ति [॥*]
भूमिदान-समन्दानां नं भूतो² न भवि-³
27 विष्यति [॥*]
तस्यैव हरणात्पाप(**) न भूतो⁴ न भविष्यति [॥*] 1
28 ख-दत्त(॥*) परदत्तां ना⁵ यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [॥*]
गवां शत-

Fifth Plate

- 29 सहस्रस्य हन्तुपिबति किलिबषम् [॥*] 2
बहुभिर्वसुदा⁶ [द]त्ता बहु-
30 मिश्रानुपालितम्⁷ [॥*]
यस्य यस्य यथा भूम तस्य⁸ त-
31 स्य तदा फलम् [॥*] 3
स⁹-विजय-राज्य-स(**)वत्सरे चतुर्थे वैशाख-शुक्ल]-¹⁰
32 पञ्च-पञ्चम्यां दत्तं [॥*] भट्ट[॥रका[णां] ख-मुखाज्ञप्तया लिखित[मि]दं ॥[॥*]

-
- 1 Read अपि चातार्थाः.
2 Read ०न्दानं न भूतं.
3 Read भविष्यति.
4 Read भूतं.
5 Read वा.
6 Read ०सुधा. द of दत्ता is engraved below the line.
7 Read ०पालिता.
8 Read यदा भूमिस्तस्य.
9 Better read ख.
10 द was originally engraved for क.

C—INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KADAMBAS

No. 68—Chandravalli Stone Inscription
of Mayūrāsarman (c. 330-60 A.D.)

CHANDRAVALLI, Chitaldrug Dist., Mysore State.

M. H. KRISHNA, *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A. R., 1929, p. 50 ; K. P. JAYASWAL, *History of India, 150-350*, p. 220f.**Language :** Prakrit.**Script :** Brāhmī of the Southern class of the fourth century A.D.TEXT¹

- 1 कदंबाणं मयूरशम्मण विनिम्मिअं²
 2 तटाकं [कुट] ³तेकूड⁴-अभिर⁵-पल्लव-पुरि-
 3 योतिक⁶-सकस्थ[न⁷]-सयिन्थक⁸-पुण्ड⁹-मोकरि[ण] [॥*]

1 From the eye-copy and indistinct facsimile in *Mys. Arch. Surv.*, A.R., 1929. The reading is in many places doubtful. Jayaswal's reading and interpretation are in some parts impossible. He reads (ll. 2-3) तटी काञ्ची-लेकूटाभीर-पल्लव-पुरी-या-तिकेन सातहनीस्थ-सेन्द्रकपुरी-दमनकारिणा "who marched against Kāñchi and Trikūṭa—the Ābhira and Pallava capitals—and who subdued the Sendraka capital at Sātahani, built the embankment."

2 In the space between lines 1 and 2, there are two symbols possibly representing the sun (a circle with a centre mark) and the moon (a crescent).

3 The reading is not beyond doubt. Krishna: दुम.

4 Krishna: लेकूट, but in his eye-copy there is no trace of subscribed *r*. As regards ड, compare the form of this letter with टा (of तटाकं) in the eye-copy.

5 Krishna: अभीर.

6 Krishna reads पारियात्तिक; but his eye-copy has distinctly पुरियोतिक. If we however think that the subscribed *u* in पु and the *e*-sign (part of the *o*-sign) of यो are not actually the engraver's work, the word may be read प(॥*)रियातिक.

7 न is engraved above the line.

8 Krishna: सयिन्दक; but the subscript of the third *akshara* looks like थ in the eye-copy.

9 Krishna: पुनाट. See note 4 above.

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

कदंबाणां (=कदम्ब-वंशीयेन) मयूरशर्मणा विनिर्मितं तटाकं (=पुष्करिणी) कुट्ट (=कुट्टित
=निर्जित०)-लैकूटाभीरपल्लव-पारियात्रिक-शकस्थान-सेन्द्रक-पुरयाट-मौखरिणा ॥¹

No. 69—Tālagunda Stone-pillar Inscription of the time of Śāntivarman (c. 455-70 A.D.)

TĀLAGUNDA, Shimoga Dist., Mysore State.

BÜHLER, *Ind. Ant.*, XXV, p. 27f; RICE, *Ep. Carn.*, VII, p. 200ff;

KIELHORN, *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 31ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Box-headed variety of Brāhmī of the Southern class of the fifth century A.D.

Metre: Verses 1-24 मात्रासमक-विशेष or मिश्रगण-गीतिका²; Vv. 25-26 पुष्पिताग्रा; V. 27 वसन्ततिलका; V. 28 शार्दूलविक्रीडित; V. 29 मन्दाक्रान्ता; Vv. 30-31 वसन्ततिलका; V. 32 इन्द्रवज्रा; V. 33 दण्डक-प्रचित-चण्डवेग (or ०अर्णव)³; V. 34 वसन्ततिलका.

TEXT⁴

सिद्धम् [॥]⁵

1 The Traikūṭas or Traikūṭakas belonged to Aparānta or the Northern Konkan. The Ābhiras of this period also belonged to the same region. A place called Āhirwārā lies between Bhilsa and Jhansi. Mayūrasārman's struggles with the Pallavas are referred to in *infra*, No. 69. Pāriyātrakas lived about the Pāriyātra mountain (Western Vindhyas and the Aravelly range). Śakasthāna possibly indicates the kingdom of the Śakas of Western India. The Sendraka territory lay in Mysore. Puṇṇādu was in South Mysore. The Maukharis possibly lived in Rajputana. See *Suc. Sāt.*, pp. 241-46.

2 "A species of *mātrāsamaka*, the name of which as yet is unknown" (Kielhorn). Venkatasubbiah takes it to be the Gītikā variety of the *miśragana* metres (see *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 115). Mātrā: 15 + 15 + 15 + 15.

3 "A kind of Daṇḍaka, either called by the general name Prachita or specially Chaṇḍavega or Arṇava" (Kielhorn). The verse has 30 syllables in a *pāda*.

4 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, VIII.

5 This word stands in the left margin on the level between ll. 1 and 2.

- 1 नमश्शिवाय ॥
 जयति विश्वदे[व]-स[]घात-निचितैकमूत्तिस्सनातनः[1*]
 स्थानुरिन्दु¹-रश्मि-विच्छुरित-द्युतिमज्जटाभार-मण्डनः ॥ 1
 तमनु भूसुरा द्विज-प्रवरास्सामर्ग्यजुर्व्वेद-वादिनः [1*]
 यत्प्रसादस्त्रायते नित्यं भुवन-त्रयं पाप्मनो भयात् ॥ 2
 अरुपदं सुरेन्द्रतुल्य[व]पु[×]काकुस्थवर्मा² विशाल-धीः [1*]
 भूपति[×]कदम्ब-सेनानी-वृहदन्वय-[व्यो]म-चन्द्रमाः
 2 ॥ 3
 अथ बभूव द्विज-कुलं प्रांशु विचरद्गुणेन्द्रंशु-मण्डलम् [1*]
 त्र्यार्षवर्त्म-हारितीपुलभृषिसुहृद-मानव्य गोत्रजम् ॥ 4
 विविध-यज्ञावभृथ-पुरयाम्बु-नियताभिषेकार्द्र-मूर्द्धजम् [1*]
 प्रवचनावगाह-निष्णातं विधिवत्समिद्धाग्नि-सोमपम् ॥ 5
 प्रणवपूर्व्व-षड्भिधाद्धेय्य-नानर्द्यमानान्तरालयम् ॥³
 अक्रुश-चातुर्मास्य-होमेष्टि-पशु-पावर्षण-श्राद्ध-पौष्टिकम् [1*] 6
 3 अतिथि-नित्यसंश्रितावसथं सवनत्रयावन्ध्य-नैलकम् [1*]
 गृह-समीप-देश-संरुढ-विकसत्कदम्बैकपादपम् ॥ 7
 तदुपचारवत्तदास्य तरोस्सानाम्य-साधर्म्यमस्य तत् [1*]
 प्रवृत्ते सतीत्यर्थ-विप्राणां प्राचुर्यतस्तद्विशेषणम् ॥ 8⁴
 एवमागते कदम्ब-कुले श्रीमान्बभूव द्विजोत्तमः [1*]
 नामतो मयूरशर्मैति श्रुत शील-शौचाद्यलंकृतः [1] 9
 4 यः प्रयाय पल्लवेन्द्र-पुरीं गुरुणा समं वीरशर्मणा [1*]
 अधिजिगांसु[×]प्रवचनं त्रिखिलं⁵ घटिकां विवेशाशु तर्कुः ॥ 10

1 Read स्थाणु०.

2 The correct form is काकुत्स्थ ; but काकुस्थ is the form invariably found in the records of the Kadambas. "Great lineage of the Kadamba leaders of armies" may suggest that the Kadambas considered themselves as generals of the Pallavas as late as the time of Santivarman. See p. 452, n. 6; p. 455, n. 3.

3 Only one *danḍa* may be retained.

4 "Then as the family tended this tree, so there came about that sameness of name with it of these Brāhmaṇa fellow-students, currently accepted as distinguishing them."

5 Read निखिलं. घटिका (an establishment for holy and learned men devoted to religious and learned discourses; something like a college) is the same as ब्रह्मपुरी of some inscriptions. तर्कु=याचक ; here शिष्यार्थी ; पल्लवेन्द्र-पुरी=काशी.

- तत्र पल्लवाश्वसंस्थेन¹ कलहेन तीव्रेण रोषितः [1*]
 कलियुगे(S*)स्मिन्नहो वत² क्षतात्परिपेलवा विप्रता यतः [11*] 11
 गुरुकुलानि सम्यगाराद्धय शाखामधीत्यापि यन्नतः [1*]
 ब्रह्म-सिद्धिर्यदि नृपाधीना किमतः परं दुःखमित्यतः [11] 12
 5 कुश-समिद्धं षत्सु गाज्य-चरु-ग्रहणादि-दक्षेन पाणिना [1*]
 उद्वर्ह दीप्तिमच्छस्त्रं विजिगीषमाणो वसुन्धराम् ॥ 13
 यो(S*)न्तपालान्पल्लवेन्द्राणां³ सहसा विनिर्जित्य संयुगे [1*]
 अद्भुतवास दुर्गमामटवीं श्रीपर्वत-द्वार-संश्रिताम् ॥ 14
 आददे करान्वहद्वाण-प्रमुखाद्बहुव्राजमण्डलात् [1*]
 एवमेभिः पल्लवेन्द्राणां भृकुटी-समुत्पत्ति-कारणैः ॥ 15
 6 स्वप्रतिज्ञा-पारणोत्थान-लघुभिः कृतार्थैश्च चेष्टितैः [1*]
 भूषणैरिवावभौ बलवद्याला-समुत्थापनेन च ॥ 16
 अभियुक्तयागतेषु भृशं काञ्ची-नरेन्द्रेष्परातिषु [1*]
 विषम-[दि]श-प्रयाण⁴-संवेश⁵-रजनीष्ववस्कन्द-भूमिषु ॥ 17
 प्राप्य सेना-सागरं तेषां प्राहन्बली श्येनवत्तदा [1*]
 आपदन्तान्धारयामास⁶ भुज-खड्गमात्र-व्यपथयः ॥ 18
 7 पल्लवेन्द्रा यस्य शक्तिमिमां लब्ध्वा प्रतापान्वयावपि [1*]
 नास्य हानिश्रेयसीत्युक्त्वा यम्मिलमेवाशु वव्रिरे ॥⁷ 19

1 May पल्लवाश्वसंस्था refer to the Aśvamedha performed by Sivaskandavarman? In that case Mayūrasarman was Sivaskandavarman's contemporary. For the possible contemporaneity of Mayūrasarman and Sivaskandavarman, see *Suc. Sāt*, pp. 184, 247.

2 अन्तपाल=frontier-guard. श्रीपर्वत=Nallamalur Range. For the Bāṇas, see *Suc. Sāt*, p. Their kingdom comprised parts of Chittoor, North Arcot and Anantapur Dists.

3 The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 Mātrās. The metre possibly requires omission of वत.

4 वे was originally engraved; but the subscript व has been struck out. Kāñchi (mod. Conjeeveram) was the Pallava capital.

5 श of देश-प्र० may be considered a short syllable through poetic license.

6 न्तां seems to have been originally engraved.

7 Verses 19-20 suggest that Mayūrasarman became a General of the Pallava king. His feudatory position was analogous to that of a military governor of a province within the Pallava empire.

- संश्रितस्तदा महीपालानाराध्य युद्धेषु विक्मैः [१*]
 प्राप पट्ट-बन्ध-संपूजां कर-पञ्चवै \rightarrow पट्टवैर्दृताम् ॥ 20
 भङ्गुरोर्मि-वल्गितैर्तृल्यदपारणवाम्भ \times कृतावधिम् [१*]
 प्रेहरान्तामनन्य-संचरण-समय-स्थिता¹ भूमिमेव च ॥ 21²
 8 विबुध-संघ-मौलि-संमृष्ट-चरणारविन्द \rightarrow षडाननः [१*]
 यमभिषिक्तवाननु³ सेनापति मातृभिस्सह ॥ 22
 तस्य पुत्र \times कङ्गवर्मो⁴ग्र-समरो[दु]र-प्रा[]शु-चेष्टितः [१*]
 प्रणत-सर्व्व-मण्डलोत्किष्ट⁴ -सित-चामरो[दृ]त-शेखरः ॥ 23
 त[त्सु]त \times कदम्ब-भूमिवधू-रुचितैकनाथो भगीरथः [१*]
 सगर-मुख्य[स्त्व]यं कदम्बकुल-प्र[च्छन्न]-ज[न्मा] जनाधिपः [॥*] 24⁵
 9 अथ नृप-महितस्य तस्य पुत्रः
 प्रथित-यशा रघु-पार्थिवः पृथु-श्रीः [१*]
 पृथुरिव पृथिवीम्प्रसह्य यो(S*)रीन्⁶
 अकृत पराक्रमतस्त्वव[]श-भोज्याम् ॥ 25

1 Preharā and Muralā have been mentioned in the *Avantisundarī-kathā* as rivers in which the elephants of Aparānta sported (Raghavan, *An. Or. Res.*, Madras University, V, pt. 2). The rivers need not have been in Aparānta as suggested by Raghavan. Mallinātha (on *Raghu*, IV, 55) takes Muralā as a river in Kerala. The *Bhojanakutūhala* of Raghunātha (end of 17th cent.) speaks of the waters of मलप्रहरा-भीमरथी-घटप्रहराणां (Gode, *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, XXII, p. 263) This seems to suggest that Preharā was another name of the Malapraharā (Malaprabhā) or the Ghaṭapraharā (Ghaṭaprabhā) both tributaries of the Kṛishṇā. The metre possibly requires the reading प्रहरा०.

2 The third *pāda* has 16 *mātrās*. See n. 1 above.

3 Kielhorn understood from this passage that Ṣaḍānana installed Mayūraśarman after meditating on Senāpati(?) with the Mothers. This is wrong; here अनुध्याय means having favoured, and not "after meditating on". It is impossible to think of a Senāpati whom Ṣaḍānana meditated on. Ṣaḍānana is here said to have favoured Mayūraśarman and installed him as general (सेनापति).

4 Read मण्डलोत्किष्ट.

5 The third *pāda* has 16 or 17 *Mātrās*. लं of कुल may however be considered short by poetic license. We may suggest मुख० for मुख्य०. Kielhorn: कुले.

6 Read ०रीनकृत.

प्रतिभय-समरेष्वराति-शस्त्रो-

स्त्रिखित-मुखो(S*)भिमुख-द्विषां प्रहृत्ता [1*]

श्रुतिपथ-निपुण×कविः प्रदाता

विविध-कला-कुशल—प्रजा-प्रियश्च ॥ 26

10 भ्रातास्य चारु-वपुरब्द-गभीर-नादो

मोक्ष-तिवर्ग-पटुरन्वय-वत्सलश्च [1*]

भागीरथिर्नरपतिर्मुं गराज-लीलः

काकुस्थ¹ इत्यनि-मण्डल-घुष्ट-कीर्तिः ॥ 27

ज्यायोभिसह विग्रहो(S*)र्थिषु दया सम्यक्प्रजा-पालनम्²

दीनाभ्युद्धरणं प्रधान-वसुभिर्मुख्यद्विजाभ्यर्हणम् [1*]

11 यस्यैतत्कुल-भूषणस्य नृपतेः प्रज्ञोत्तरं भूषणम्³

तम्भूपा×खलु मेनिरे सुर-सखं काकुस्थमत्रागतम् ॥ 28

धर्माक्नान्ता इव मृगगणा वृत्तर(1*)जिं प्रविश्य

च्छाया-सेवा-मृडित-मनसो निर्वृतिं प्राप्नुवन्ति [1*]

तद्वज्ज्यायो-विहत-गतयो बान्धवास्सानुबन्धाः

प्रापुश्शर्माव्यथित-मनसो यस्य भू[मिं] प्रविश्य ॥ 29

12 नानाविध-द्रविण-सार-समुच्चयेषु

मत्त-द्विपेन्द्र-मद-वासित-गोपुरेषु [1*]

संगीत-वल्गु-निनदेषु गृहेषु यस्य

लक्ष्म्यङ्गना धृतिमती सुचिरं च रेमे ॥ 30

गुप्तादि-पार्थिव-कुलाम्बुरुह-स्थलानि

स्नेहादर-प्रणय-सम्भ्रम-केसराणि [1*]

श्रीमन्त्यनेक-नृपषट्पद-सेवितानि

यो(S*)बोधयद्बुद्धि-दीधितिभिर्नृपार्कः ॥ 31

1 See p. 451, n. 2.

2 Read पालनं, ज्यायस्=stronger.

3 Read भूषणं.

3 Kākusthavarman apparently gave his daughters in marriage to princes belonging to the Gupta and other families. His Halsi grant is dated in year 80 which is possibly to be referred to the era of his Gupta relatives. See *Suc. Sāt.* pp. 255-56.

- 13 यन्दैवसम्पन्नमदीनचेष्ट'
 शक्तित्रयोपेतमथासनस्थम् [1*]
 शेषैर्गुणैः पञ्चभिरप्यसादृधा-
 स्सामन्त-चूडामणयः प्रणोमुः ॥ 32
 सयिह भगवतो भवस्यादिदेवस्य सिद्धयालये सिद्ध-गान्धर्व्व-रक्षो-गणैस्सेविते¹
 विविध-नियम-होम-दीक्षा-परैर्ब्राह्मणैः(*) स्नातकैः² स्तूयमाने सदा मन्त्र-वादैश्शुभैः[1*]
- 14 सुकृतिभिरवणीश्वरैरात्म-निश्चयेयम् प्रेप्सुभिस्सातकर्ण्यादिभिश्चन्द्रयाभ्यर्चिते³
 इदमुरुसलिलोपयोगाश्रयं भूपति×कारयामास काकुस्थवर्मा तडाकम्म[इत्] [॥] 33
 तस्यौरसस्य तनय[स्य] विशाल-कीर्तः
 [प]ट्ट-त्रयार्पण-विरा[जित]-चारुमूर्तेः⁴ [1*]
 श्रीशान्तिवर्म-नृपतेर्व्वर-शासनस्थः
 कुब्जस्वकाव्यमिदमश्म-तले लिलेख⁵ ॥ 34
- 15 नमो भगवते स्थानकुन्दूर-वासिने महादेवाय [1*]
 नन्दतु सर्व्व-समन्तागतो(S*)यमधिवासः⁶ [1*]
 स्वस्ति प्रजाभ्य इति [॥]

1 Read गन्धर्व्व. सयिह=सः इह.

2 See p. 384, n. 7.

3 Read °चिर्चित°. This Sātākarni is apparently a king of the Chuṇṭu family of Kuntala. See *Suc. Sat.*, pp. 219-21.

4 This appears to suggest that like his ancestor Mayūraśarman, Sāntivarman also received the *paṭṭabandha* (i.e. the position of a feudatory) from the Pallavas. Possibly the Early Kadamba kings owed nominal allegiance to the Pallavas; Sāntivarman's younger brother Kṛṣṇavarman I became independent and performed the Aśvamedha, but he was defeated and killed by the Pallavas. See *ib.*, pp. 258; 280ff.; *supra*, p. 437, n. 2.

5 Kubja was thus both a poet and an artist. No other work of this poet is known.

6 अधिवास=the temple; or, the place called Sthānakundūra (mod. Tālagunda) सर्व्वसमन्तागतः=सर्वान् समन्तान् (=समन्तवासिनः, प्रत्यन्तवासिनः) प्राप्तः.

D—WESTERN GAṄGAS¹No. 70—Penukoṇḍa Copper-plate Inscription
of Mādhava

PENUKONDA (Penugonḍa), Anantapur Dist., Madras Pres.

FLEET, *J. R. A. S.*, 1915, July; L. RICE, *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 334f.**Language :** Sanskrit**Script :** Brāhmī of the Southern class of the second half of the 5th century A.D.²**Metre :** Verses 1-3 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).TEXT³

First Plate

१ स्वस्ति [॥*]⁴

- 1 जितम्भगवता गत-घन-गगनाभेन पद्मनाभेन [॥*] श्रीमज्जाह्वेय-कुलामल-
व्योम-भा-
- 2 सन-भास्करस्य स्व-भुज-जव-जय-जनित-सुजन-जनपदस्य दारुणारि-गण-विदारण-रणोप-⁵
- 3 लब्ध-व्रण-भूषणस्य काण्वायन-सगोत्रस्य श्रीमत्कोङ्कणिवर्म-धर्ममहाधिराजस्य पु-
- 4 त्स्य पितुरन्वागत-गुणस्य नाना-शास्त्रार्थ-सद्भावाधिगम-प्रणीत-[म]ति-विशेषस्य नीति-
शास्त्र-

1 Later Eastern Gaṅga records appear to suggest a connection between the Eastern and the Western Gaṅgas. The Vizagapatam grant (S. 1040) of Anantavarman Chodagaṅga and the Kendupatna grant (S. 1217 or 1218) of Narasiṃha II (Bhandarkar, List, Nos. 1103, 1116) refer to Kolāhala as an ancestor of the Eastern Gaṅgas, and the former also to the foundation by Kolāhala of a city called Kolāhalapura in Gaṅgavāḍi (the popular name of the Western Gaṅga country in South Mysore). It is however difficult to determine if there was actually any relation. The Eastern Gaṅga dynasty is not called Jāhnavyakula. The Kāṇvāyana gotra is also not claimed. But the presence of both the Gaṅgas and the Kadambas in the east coast shows that such relations are not impossible. Most of the early Western Gaṅga records are spurious and it is difficult to settle Early Western Gaṅga genealogy in the present state of our knowledge.

2 Fleet ascribed the record to c. 475 A.D. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 176.

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV. On the seal is found the representation of an elephant to right.

4 १=symbol for सिद्धं. १ स्वस्ति is written in the left margin, १ on the level of 1, 1 and स्वस्ति on that of 1. 2.

5. Rice: विदारणोप०

- 5 स्य वक्त्र-प्रयोक्तृ-कुशलस्य सम्यक्प्रजापालनमात्राधिगत-राज्य-प्रयोजनस्य श्रीमत्मा-¹

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 धव-महाधिराजस्य तस्य पुत्रस्य अनेक-युद्धोपलब्ध-व्रण-विभूषित-शरीरस्य नाना-
7 शास्त्रेतिहास-पुराण-तत्त्वज्ञस्य² श्री-पल्लव-कुलेन्द्रेण सिंहवर्म-महाराजेन यथार्हम-
8 भिषिक्तस्य गङ्ग-राजस्य आध्यवर्त्मणः पुत्रेण पितृ-पैतामहा-गुण-संयुक्तेन³ देव-
9 द्विजाति-गुरु-पूजन-तत्परेण धर्म्मभ्यास-कृत-मतिना स्व-बाहु-वीर्यार्जित-राज्य-विभवेन
10 गाङ्गेय-वंश-ध्वजेन स्व-वंश-क्रमागत-राज्य-प्रणीतेन पल्लवानां श्रीस्कन्दवर्म-महा-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 राजेन यथार्हमभिषिक्तेन गङ्गानाम्माधव-महाधिराजेन श्री-सिंहवर्मणा⁴ ब्राह्म-
12 णाय वत्स-सगोत्राय तैत्तिरिय-चरणाय⁵ कुमारशर्मणे यम-नियम-तपः(:*)-
13 स्वाद्ध्याय-यजन-याजनाद्ध्यायनाद्ध्यापन-शापानुग्रह-सामर्थ्याय अ(1*)दान-प्रतिग्रहा-
14 य चैत्र-मास्याम्⁶ तिथौ पौर्णमास्याम् परुवि-विषये⁶ परुवि-महातटाकाधस्तात्
कर्मटुव-क्षे-

- 15 त्वे पञ्चषष्टि-केदाराः समविंशत्खण्डुक-वापाः⁷ ब्रह्मदेय-क्रमेणाद्भिः प्रदत्ताः [1*]

Third Plate

- 16 यो(S*)स्य हर्त्ता स पञ्चमहापातक-संयुक्तो भवति ॥ अपि चात्र मनु-गीताः श्लोकाः [1*]
17 बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [1*]
यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् [11*] 1
18 खन्दातुं सुमहच्छ्रयन्दुःखमन्यार्थ-पालनम् [1*]
दानं वा पालनं वेति दानाच्छ्रेयो(S*)नुपालनम् [11*] 2
19 ख-दत्ताम्पर-दत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [1*]
यष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि घोरे तमसि वर्त्तते [11*] 3
20 इति सुवर्णकारार्थ्य-पुत्रेण अपापेन लिखितेयन्ताम्र-पट्टिका [1*]

[A Symbol for *Siddham* ?]

1 Read श्रीमन्मा०

2 Usually तत्त्व०

3 Read आर्य० and ०मह

4 His second name was apparently given after his father's overlord. This Pallava king Simphavarman is identified with the *Kānchīśa* Simphavarman whose 22nd regnal year corresponds to Śaka year 380 (A. D. 458) according to the Jain work *Lokavibhāga*. See *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 176.

5 Read तैत्तिरीय.

6 Read ०मासि. Paruvi is modern Parigi, 7 miles to the north of Hindupur in Anantapur Dist., still noted for its tank. In early records Parivi is mentioned as the capital of the Bānas, and at the time of Chōla Rājārāja I it was the head quarters of the Parivai *nāḍu* in the Nūlambapāḍi or Nūlambavāḍi district.

7 Read ०विंशति-ख०. The actual measurements of *Kedāra* and *Khaṇḍukavāpa* are not known. Cf. Keyār, a land measure in Sylhet. Dist. where 12 K. = 1 Hāl (*Hala*).

E—EASTERN GĀNGAS

No. 71—Jirjīngi Copper-plate Inscription of Indravarman—Gāṅga year 39 (= c. A.D. 535)¹

JIRJINGI, near Tekkali, Ganjam Dist., Orissa.

R. Subba Rao, *J. A. H. R. S.*, III, p. 47ff; D. C. Sircar, *ibid.*, VII, p. 229ff; R. K. Ghoshal, *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 286f.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Northern class.

Metre : Verses 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT²

First Plate

1 १^३ खस्ति [॥*] अमरपुरप्रतिस्पर्द्धि-श्रीमद्वन्तपुराङ्गवतसकल-भु-

1 Some scholars refer to the reckoning as the Gāṅga-Kadamba era which is a misnomer. The Kadambas of Kalinga used the era as feudatory of the Gāṅgas. The commencement of the Gāṅga era is still a disputed problem; but there can be no doubt that it started from about A.D. 496, either from that year or from some date in the next two years. A definite clue is given by the Santa Bommali grant (dated in the Gāṅga year 520 in the reign of Devendravarman, son of Anantavarman; *J. A. H. R. S.*, III, p. 171f.) and the Mandasa grant (dated in शकाब्द-नवशतक-सप्तश-मित in the reign of Anantavarman; *ibid.*, V, p. 272f) belonging to the Kadamba feudatory Dharmakheḍi, son of Bhimakheḍi or Bhāma³. Scholars have rightly taken Anantavarman of both the grants to be the same person; but the Śaka date has been interpreted differently, as 900 + सप्त+रस = 900 + 7 + 6 = 913 by some and as 900 + 76 or 900 + 67 by others. The influence of Prakrit on the early Gāṅga records however seems to prove that सप्तशमित is a mistake for Sanskrit सप्तदश-मित. As Anantavarman of the two records is apparently identical, Śaka 917 = A.D. 995 is a few years earlier than Gāṅga year 520. The Gāṅga era thus started some years later than 995—520 = A.D. 475. Bhandarkar's list, No. 1474 refers to a lunar eclipse on the Mārgaśīrsha-purnamāsi in Gāṅga year 128, i.e. A.D. 475 + 128 + x = 603 + x A.D. Now, lunar eclipse on Mārgaśīrsha pūrṇimā after this date occurred in A.D. 606 and 607, 624, 625 and 626 and 643 etc. There are also references to solar eclipses in Gāṅga years 154, 304, 351, etc. (*ibid.*, Nos. 1477, 1482, 1484). Now, if the date Mārgaśīrsha-pūrṇimā, Gāṅga year 128, be equated with 30th November, 524 A.D., all the other dates are fairly satisfactorily explained. We therefore arrive at 496-97 A.D. as the initial year of the Gāṅga era. See *Ind. Ant.*, LXV, p. 237f; *Ind. Cult.*, IV, p. 508f. It is possible that the Gāṅga era started from the first regnal year of king Indravarman of the Jirjīngi grant.

2 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXV. 3 सिद्धम् expressed by a symbol.

- 2 वन-तलोत्पत्ति-स्थिति-प्रलय-हेतोः¹ परमेश्वरस्य सतत-प्रणा-
- 3 मावाप्तः² पुण्यसञ्चय-प्रभाव-निरस्ताशेषदुरितो गाङ्गामल-कुल-
- 4 गगनतल-सहस्ररश्मिः अनेक-चातुर्दन्त-समर-विजय-³
- 5 विमल-विकोश-निखिङ्ग⁴-धारा-समाक्रान्त-सकल-सामन्त-
- 6 नृपति-मण्डलाधिपतिः⁵ मकुट-निहित-रुचिर-पद्मराग-
- 7 प्रभा-प्रसेक-परिष्वङ्ग-पिङ्गाङ्गीकृत-चरणयुगलः

Second Plate: First Side

- 8 अतुल-बल⁶-समुदयावाप्त-विपुलविभव-सम्पन्नता-
- 9 मण्डप-च्छाया-विश्रान्त । सुहृत्साधु-बान्धवार्थि-जनः⁷
- 10 माता-पितृ-पादानुद्ध्यातस्त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति⁸-श्रीमहा-

1 Dantapura is an old city, the early form of the name possibly being Dantakūra. Some scholars identify it with Ptolemy's Paloura, from Dravidian *pal* (tooth)+*ūr* (city). It is usually located at the site of modern Dantavaktra near Chicacole, Ganjam Dist.

2 Read ०सावाप्त-पुण्य०. Parameśvara is Siva.

3 Chaturdanta is the name of Indra's Airāvata. As Indra is the guardian of the east, the reference may be to Indravarman's struggles with some eastern or north-eastern power.

4 Read निखिङ्ग.

5 Read ०पति-मकुट०

6 Read बल. In this record the sign for व has been usually employed for ब which has been used only twice.

7 Read विश्रान्त-सु० and बान्ध०. The punctuation mark after विश्रान्त is unnecessary.

8 The title त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति was later used by the Gāṅga king Vajrahasta III and a few of his successors. It was also used by the Somavaṃśī kings of South Kōśala and the Kalachuris of the Chedi country. The unique instance of its use in a Chandella record is apparently due to the fact that the record belongs to the Kauravas of Karkareḍi who were at first feudatories of the Kalachuris and afterwards of the Chandellas. The epithets of their previous Kalachuri overlords were tacitly applied in that record to the name of their new Chandella suzerain. It is possible that त्रिकलिङ्ग originally indicated a particular territory between

- 11 राजेन्द्रवर्मा ।¹ वोद्धूरभोग-सम्बद्ध-जिज्जिकग्रामे ।¹
 12 सर्व्वसमवेतान्कुटुम्बिनः(*) समाज्ञापयत्यस्त्ययं ग्रामो-
 13 (S*)स्माभिर्व्विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्राय तैत्तिरीय सत्रद्व्यचारिणे²

Second Plate : Second Side

- 14 रुद्रस्वामि-सूनवे अग्निस्वामिने तत्तनुजाय च रुद्रस्वामिने
 15 संविभज्यार्द्धेनासमुद्राद्रि-शशि-तारकावर्क-प्रतिष्ठमग्रहारं कृत्वा
 16 स्वपुरयायूर्यशो-वल-वर्द्धनार्थं(*)³ माता-पित्रोश्च पुरयावाप्त-
 17 ये ।⁴ सर्व्व-कर-परिहारैः(*) ।⁴ परिहृत्य चायं ग्रामः
 18 प्रतः [।*] तदेवं भवद्भिः पूर्व्वोचित-मर्यादयोपस्थेयम्⁵ [।*]
 19 भविष्यतश्च राज्ञो विज्ञापयामि । धर्म-क्रम-विक्रमा-

Third Plate

- 20 रामन्यतम-योगादवाप्त-भूमण्डलाधिराज्यैरपि (इ*)मा(*)
 21 महीमनुशासद्भिः क्रमागतं दानमीत्यनुपालनोयम्⁶ ॥

Kalinga and South Kōśala which may have been conquered by Indravarman who thus called himself त्रिकलिङ्गाधिपति. The original home of the Somavamsīs seems to have been in this country. The adoption of the title by the Kalachuris and the Later Gaṅgas is possibly due to their success against the Somavamsīs or their encroachment into Somavamsī territory. Trikalīṅga may also indicate the eastern, central and western parts of Kalinga ; or Kalinga, Utkala and Kosala ; or may be a technical name of Kalinga, Kōṅgoda, Utkala and Kosala (Bhandarkar, List, No. 1556) ; but in that case it is difficult to explain why other equally powerful Gaṅga kings do not use the title. As the Kākatiyas of the Telugu country do not use it, त्रिकलिङ्ग seems to be quite different from त्रिलिङ्ग (Telengana). Trilīṅga appears also to have been originally a district (in the southern part of the present Andhra country according to some authorities ; see *Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 40), the geographical connotation of which afterwards expanded so as to include the whole of the Telugu speaking area.

1 Read संबद्ध. The mark of punctuation is unnecessary. Jijjika is modern Jirjingi.

2 Read तैत्ति० and सत्रद्व्य०

3 Read पुरयायु० and वल.

4 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

5 उपस्थेय=उपसेव्य, पूज्य (to be honoured).

6 Read दानमित्य०.

- 22 अपि च श्लोकौ भवतः ॥
 स्व-दत्तां पर-दत्तां म्वा ।¹ यत्नाद्रक्ष
- 23 युधिष्ठिर [।*]
 महो(*) महिमतां श्रेष्ठ ।² दानाच्छ्रेयो(S*)नुपालनं [॥*] 1
- 24 षष्टि वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः(*) ।
 आच्छेत्ता चानुम-
- 25 न्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥*] 2
 प्रवर्द्धमान-सं ३० (+*) ९³ वैशाख-दि २० (+*) १ ॥
- 26 लिखितमिदं महाराज्ञो⁴ सान्धिविग्रहीक-देवसिद्धदेवेनेति ॥⁵

1 Read °त्तां वा. The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

2 The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

3 This date was originally read as year 389 by Subba Rao.

4 Properly महाराजस्य. See *supra*, p. 96, n. 5.

5 Read °ग्रहीक-देवसिंह°. See p. 364, n. 7.

CHAPTER IV

INSCRIPTIONS OF COUNTRIES OUTSIDE INDIA

A—Burma

No. 72—Maunggun Gold-plate Inscriptions

MAUNGGUN, Prome Dist.,¹ Burma.

MAUNG TUN NYEIN, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 101.

Language: Pāli.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the sixth century A.D.²

Metre: Verse 1 आर्या.

TEXT³

No. 1

1 १^ॐ (?) [1*]⁴

ये धम्मा हेतु-पमवा तेस(*) हेतु तथागतो आह [1*]

तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवं-वादि महासमनो ति [11*] 1⁵

1 The ancient name of Prome was Sirikhettara = Śrikshetra.

2 Maung Tun Nyein believed that the characters used in these plates were in vogue during the first century A.D. This is certainly wrong. Elsewhere however he says, "The alphabet corresponds to a large extent with that used in the inscriptions at Pagan of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. and several of the letters also resemble those of the South Indian class of alphabets."

3 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, V.

4 The decipherment of the first sign in No. 1 and the first two or three signs in No. 2 are not quite beyond doubt. Maung Tun Nyein only gives two *danḍas* at the beginning of the inscriptions. His Nos. 1 and 2 are here represented as Nos. 2 and 1 respectively.

5 Read हेतुं and एवादी to suit the metre. This is the most popular Buddhistic formula. Sometimes in Sanskrit we have ह्यवदत् in place of आह. महासमणो = बुद्ध. एवंवादी = holding this doctrine. हेतुपमवा धम्मा = conditions originated from a cause. The formula refers to the fundamental tenets of the doctrine of Buddha; for its interpretation, see *infra*, No. 73, v. 2; for the four noble truths which are related to the formula, see *infra*, p. 464, n. 1.

इति पि सो भगवा अरहं

- 2 सम्मा-संबुद्धो विज्ञाचरणसम्पन्नो¹ सुगतो लोकविद् अनुत्तरो पुरिस-दम्म-सारथि सत्था देवमनुस्सानं बुद्धो भगवा ति [॥*]
- 3 स्वाख्यातो भगवता धम्मो सन्दिट्ठिको अकालिको एहिपस्सिको ओपणायिको² पच्चतं वेदितव्वो विञ्जूहीति [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।

तेषां च यः निरोधः [तस्य हेतुम् अपि ।] एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

इति अपि (=एवमपि=एतस्मात् कारणात्) सः भगवान्—अर्हन्, सम्यक्संबुद्धः, विद्या-चरणसम्पन्नः, सुगतः, लोकविद्, अनुत्तरः, पुरुष-दम्य-सारथिः (=नररूपाणां वृषाणां नियन्ता), शास्ता देवमनुष्याणां, बुद्धः भगवान् इति [विश्रुतः] । स्वाख्यातः (=सुष्ठु व्याख्यातः) भगवता धर्म्मः—सान्दृष्टिकः (=दृष्टिगोचरः), अकालिकः (=सार्वकालिकः), ⁺एहिपस्सिकः (=असङ्कुचितः), औपनयिकः (=निर्वाण-सम्पादकः), प्रत्युक्तं (=सौदम्येण) वेदितव्यः विज्ञैः इति ॥

No. 2

- 1 [१^० स्वस्ति ?] [॥*]

ये धर्म्मा हेतु-प्रभवा तेसं हेतु तथागतो आह [॥*]

तेसञ्च यो निरोधो एवं-वादि महसमनो ति [॥*] 1

चत्तारो इद्धिपादा

- 2 चत्तारो सम्मपधाना चत्तारो सति-पट्ठाना चत्तारि अरिय-सच्चानि चतु-वैसरज्जानि पञ्चिन्द्रियाणि पञ्च चक्खूनि छ
- 3 असद्धारणानि³ सत्त बोज्झङ्गा अरियो अट्ठिङ्गिको⁴ मग्गो नव लोकुत्तरा धम्मा दस बलानि चुद्दस बुद्ध-कोनि⁵ अट्ठारस बुद्ध-धम्मनि [॥*]

TEXT SANSKRITIZED

सिद्धम् ॥ स्वस्ति ॥ ये धर्म्माः हेतुप्रभवाः तेषां हेतुं तथागतः आह ।

तेषां च यः निरोधः एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥ इति ॥

1 Better read संपन्नो.

2 Read औपनयिको.

3 It has been corrected to असद्धारणानि [ज्ञानानि]. If this suggestion is accepted, they would no doubt refer to the six *abhiññās* (supernatural knowledge of an Arhat) which are (1) the different magical powers, (2) the divine ear, (3) knowledge of the thoughts of others and (4) of former existences, (5) the divine eye, and (6) the knowledge that causes the destruction of human passion.

4 Read अट्ठिङ्गिको.

5 Read ०योनि.

[तेन च महाश्रमणेन व्याख्यातानि]—चत्वारि ऋद्धिपदानि, चत्वारि सम्यक्प्रधानानि, चत्वारि स्मृत्युपस्थानानि, चत्वारि आर्य्य-सत्यानि, चत्वारि वैशारद्यानि, पञ्च इन्द्रियाणि, पञ्च चक्षूषि, षट् असाधारणानि [ज्ञानानि], सप्त बोध्यज्ञानि, आर्य्यः आष्टाङ्गिकः मार्गः, नव लोकोत्तराः धर्म्माः, दश वल्लानि, चतुर्दश बुद्ध्योनयः, अष्टादश बुद्ध-धर्म्माः [॥*]¹

1 The 4 *iddhipādas*, by which *iddhi* is attained, are *chhando* (determination), *viriyam* (exertion), *chittam* (preparation of the heart) and *vīmaṃsā* (investigation). The 4 *sammā-padhānas* are exertion (1) to prevent sinful conditions arising, (2) to put away sinful states already existing, (3) to produce meritorious states not yet in existence, and (4) to retain meritorious conditions already existing. The 4 *satipaṭṭhānas* are meditation (1) on the impurity of the body, (2) on the evils of sensations, (3) on the evanescence of thought, and (4) on the condition of existence. The 4 sublime truths are (1) *dukkham* (suffering), (2) *dukkha-samulayam* (cause of suffering), (3) *dukkha-nirodham* (cessation of suffering), and (4) *dukkhanirodha-gāmini paṭipadā* (the path leading to the cessation of suffering). For a Buddha's 4 *vesārajjas* (subjects of confidence or fearlessness), see p. 399, n. 2. The five *indriyas* (qualities) are *saddhindriyam* (faith), *viriyi°* (energy), *satin°* (recollection), *samādhin°* (contemplation) and *paññi°* (wisdom). The 5 *chakkkhus* (kinds of vision) are *maṃsa-chakkkhu* (human eye), *dibba°* (divine eye), *paññā°* (eye of wisdom), *samanta°* (eye of universal knowledge), and *buddha°* (the eye of a Buddha). Six *asādhāraṇas* are noticed above, p. 463, n. 3. The 7 requisites for attaining the supreme knowledge of a Buddha are recollection, investigation, energy, joy, calm, contemplation and equanimity. For the sublime eight fold path, see *supra*, p. 224, n. 3. The *lokuttara-dhammas* (transcendent conditions) are the 4 *maggas* (noble paths), the 4 *phalas* (fruits of the paths) and *Nirvāṇa*. The ten *balas* or forces belonging to a Buddha consist of his comprehension in ten fields of knowledge ; sometimes they are given as consisting in the knowledge of the *paṭichhasamuppāda*. The 14 *buddha-yonis* (requisites for the attainment of Buddhahood?) are however not enumerated in the lexicons ; but a Buddha's *ñāna* is sometimes referred to as 14 in number. The 18 *buddhadhammas* (conditions or attributes of a Buddha) are the same as the *āveṇika-dhammas* (p. 399, n. 4) which are (1) seeing all things, past, (2) present and (3) future ; (4) propriety of actions of the body, (5) speech, and (6) thought ; (7) firmness of intention, (8) memory, (9) *samādhī*, (10) energy (11) contemplation, (12) and wisdom ; (13) freedom from fickleness, (14) noisiness, (15) confusedness, (16) hastiness, (17) heedlessness, and (18) inconsiderateness.

B—MALAY PENINSULA

No. 73—Fragmentary Stone Inscription
of Buddhagupta

NORTHERN Dist., Wellesley Province, Malay Peninsula.

R. L. MITRA, *J. A. S. B.*, XVII, ii, p. 71; J. W. LAIDLAY, *ib.*, XVIII, p. 247, Pl. X; H. KERN, *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, p. 255 ff; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II (Greater India Society Bulletin, No. 5), p. 7; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, I, p. 14ff.

Language : Sanskrit**Script :** Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the 5th century A. D.**Metre :** Verse 1 आर्या ; V. 2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).TEXT¹ये धर्म्मा हेतु-प्रभवा तेषां(*) हेतु(*) तथागतो² [1*]

तेषां(*) च यो निरोध एव(*)वादी महाश्रमणः(*) [11*] 1

अज्ञानाच्चीयते कर्म जन्मनः कर्म कारणम् [1*]

ज्ञानान्न कि(ची?)यते कर्म कर्माभावान्न जायते [11*] 2

महानाविक[स्य] बुद्धगुप्तस्य रक्तमृत्तिका³-वास⁴.....

1 From the partial facsimile in *J. R. A. S. B. L.*, I, and transcripts. The inscribed stone seems to have been the upper part of a column. Kern assigned the inscription to *circa* 400 A. D. on palaeographic grounds. It is written in characters of the South Indian (Pallava) style.

2 Read ०भवास्तेषां ; and तथागतो ह्यवदत् to suit the metre. The formula is also found in the Keda inscription (*India and Java*, *op. cit.*).

3 Scholars have rejected Kern's identification of this place with Chih-tu (meaning "red earth" in Chinese), which is usually located in Siam. It is now generally believed that रक्तमृत्तिका is to be identified with the *Vihāra* called Lo-to-mo-chie (=Pali *Ratta mattikā*=Sanskrit *Raktamṛttikā*) which Yuan Chwang found near Karnaśuvāra, the capital of Saśāṅka king of Gauḍa. Yuan Chwang's Lo-to-mo-chie has been identified with a place called Rāṅgāmāṭi (literally, "red earth") 12 miles to the south of Murshidābād, Bengal. See R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, p. 82f.

4 The reading intended is possibly ०वास्तव्यस्य दानम्. महानाविक=captain of a महानौ or ship.

C—BORNEO

Nos. 74-75—Kutei Yūpa Inscriptions of Mūlavarman

Muara Kaman (on the Mahakam river), KUTEI State, East Borneo.

KERN, *V. G.*, VII, pp. 62, 64; VOGEL, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, uitgegeven door het koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-, Land-, en Volken-kunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, LXXIV, pp. 167-232; LXXVI, p. 431; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 18; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J. R. A. S. L.*, I, p. 38ff.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the 5th century A. D.

Metre: Verses 1-3; 1-2 अनुष्टुप् (श्लोक).

TEXT¹

No. I

- 1 श्रीमतः श्रीनरेन्द्रस्य
- 2 कृष्णदुङ्गस्य महात्मनः [1*]
- 3 पुत्रो(S*)श्ववर्म्मो² विख्यातः
- 4 वङ्ग-कर्त्ता यथाहुमान्³ [11*] 1
- 5 तस्य पुत्रा महात्मानः
- 6 तयस्त्रय इवामयः [1*]
- 7 तेषान्त्रयाणाम्प्रवरः

1 From the eye-copies in *V. G.*, VII. Out of the 4 *yūpa* inscriptions we give the text of two only. For the text of another of the four, see p. 467. n. 1. Kern proposed 400 A.D. as the approximate date of the Kutei inscriptions. The un-Sanskritic name of Mūlavarman's grandfather suggests that these were indigenous princes of the Malay race who adopted Indian culture and religion. The equation Kūṇḍuṅga=Kaundinya is unsatisfactory.

2 Read ०वर्म्मो विख्यातो. Note also that the record does not observe the rules of *sandhi* at the end of the first and third *pādas* in l. 5 (०त्मानस्त्रय०), l. 7 (०वरस्तपो०) and l. 11 यूपोयं द्वि०. The metre is defective in the fifth syllable (V. 1, *pāda* 1) which is required to be short.

3 Read वंश and यथांशु०.

- 8 तपो-बल-दमान्वितः [॥*] 2
 9 श्री-मूलवर्मा राजेन्द्रो
 10 यष्ट्वा बहुसुवर्णकम्¹ [॥*]
 11 तस्य यज्ञस्य यूपो(S*)यम्
 12 द्विजेन्द्रैस्सम्प्रकल्पितः [॥*] 3

No. 2

- 1 श्रीमतो नृप-मुख्यस्य
 2 राज्ञः(*) श्री-मूलवर्मणः [॥*]
 3 दानं² पुरयतमे चेत्ये
 4 यद्वत्तम्बप्रवेश्वरे³ [॥*] 1
 5 द्विजातिभ्यो(S*)प्रकल्पेभ्यः⁴
 6 विष्णुतिष्ठोसहस्रिकम् [॥*]
 7 तस्य पुरयस्य यूपो(S*)यम्
 8 कृतो विप्रैरिहागतैः(*) [॥*] 2

1 बहुसुवर्ण has been taken to mean a सोम sacrifice. One would expect to have in it a महादान like कल्पवृक्ष and गोसाहस्रिक of the other two Yūpa inscriptions of Mūlavarman. But it is not found in the general list of the 16 mahā-dānas. The inscription (V. G., VII, p. 60) referring to the Kalpavriksha reads श्रीमद्विराजकीर्तैः राज्ञः(*) श्रीमूलवर्मणः पुरम् । श्रवन्तु विप्रमुख्य(१*): ये चान्ये साधवः पुरुष(१*): ॥ बहुदानजीवदानम् सकल्पवृक्षं सभूमि-दानम् । तेषाम्पुरयगणानाम् यूपोयं स्थापितो विप्रैः ॥ (Metre: आर्या).

2 Kern read जा(?)त.

3 Read दत्तं वप्र°. Vaprakeśvara was apparently the name of a god (Śiva?) which possibly gave its name to the locality where its temple was situated.

4 Read °कल्पेभ्यो विंशति-गोसा° and यूपोऽयं. गोसा° however does not suit the metre. Kern: °कल्पस्य विष्णुतिष्ठोः°.

D—JAVA

No. 76—Jambu Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman

JAMBU Rock, West Java.

KERN, *V.G.* VII, p. 6; VOGEL, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, Publicaties van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië, Deel I, 1925, pp. 15-25; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, p. 25.

Language: Sanskrit.

Script: Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 5th-6th century A.D.

Metre: Verse 1 स्रग्धरा.

TEXT¹

- 1 श्रीमान्दाता² कृतज्ञो नरपतिरसमो यः पुरा [ता]रुमाया(*)³
नाम्ना श्री-पूरुणवर्मर्मा प्रचुर-रिपु-शराभेद्य-विख्यात वर्म्मर्मा [।*]⁴

1 From the eye-copy in *V. G.*, VII. The characters are box-headed and are almost identical with and only a little more developed than those used in the records of Mūlavarman. There is a close affinity between the script of these records with the alphabet (called *grantha* by Bühler) used by the Pallava kings in their records. If Mūlavarman's records are to be assigned to c. 400 A. D., the records of Pūrṇavarman may be assigned roughly to the second half of the 5th century A.D. Kern suggests the date 450 A.D. It is not known whether Pūrṇavarman was an Indian, or an indigenous prince of the Malay race who adopted Indian culture and religion as well as a Sanskrit name.

2 Kern: न्याता.

3 Read ०मायाँ. Tārumā (also called Tāruma) was apparently the capital of Pūrṇavarman. Some scholars believe that the Ci-tarum river has preserved the name of Tārumā.

4 There is a pair of foot-prints engraved near the inscription. Cf. the Ci-arutōn Rock inscription (*V. G.*, VII, p. 5) engraved near the representation of foot-prints. It runs:

विवक्रान्तस्यावनिपतेः श्रीमतः पूरणवर्मर्माः ।

तारुम-नगरेन्द्रस्य विष्णोरिव पद-द्वयम् ॥

The king was apparently deified and his foot-prints were worshipped by the people, as those of the Buddha and Vishṇu were worshipped in India.

२ तस्येदम्पादविम्बद्वयमरिनगरोत्सादने नित्यदत्तम्¹

सक्कानां यन्दिपानाम्भवति² सुखकर(*) शल्य-भूतम्³ रिपूणाम् [॥*] 1

No. 77—Tugu Rock Inscription of Pūrṇavarman—Regnal Year 22

TUGU Rock, to the east of Tanjong Priok (the port of Batavia), West Java; now in the Batavia Museum.

KERN, V. G., VII, p. 131f.; VOGEL, *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java*, p. 32; N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, *India and Java*, Part II, p. 26

Language : Sanskrit

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the fifth century A.D.

Metre : Verses 1-5 श्लोक (अनुष्टुभ्).

TEXT⁴

1 पुरा राजाधिराजेन गुरुणा⁵ पीन-बाहुना [॥*]

According to Vogel (*op. cit.*, pp. 16-21), the foot-prints marked certain places hallowed by the presence of Pūrṇavarman. He suggests that the Ci-arutōn rock marks the spot of the king's cremation, and that the foot-prints of the dead king were credited with a magical power to protect his followers and to hurt his enemies. Stutterheim (*B.K. N. I.*, LXXXIX, p. 288f) believes that the foot-prints are a symbol of the king's supremacy over the land. It is also interesting to note that the Kebon Kopi rock has the representation of two elephant's foot-prints and the following verse inscribed near them :

* * जय-विशालस्य तारुमे[न्द्र]स्य ह[स्ति]नः [॥*]

* * [ऐरा*]वताभस्य विभातीदम्पद-द्वयम् [॥*]

All the three records lie close to one another in the hilly country called Buitenzog, which was up till the recent Japanese occupation of Java the residence of the Governor General of Dutch East India. The lost letters of the verse may be conjecturally restored as भुवि and राज्ञः.

1 Read दत्तं.

2 Read यन्तृपा०.

3 Read भूतं.

4 From the partial eye-copy in V. G, VII and transcripts.

5 गुरु has been taken in the sense of father. चन्द्रभागा, name of the canal

[खा]ता ख्यातां पुरी(*) प्राप्य

2

चन्द्रभागार्णव(*) ययौ ॥ I

प्रवर्द्धमान-द्वाविडुद्रत्सर¹ श्री-गुणौजसा [1*]

नरेन्द्र-ध्वज-भुतेन

3

श्रीमता पूर्णवर्मणा ॥ 2

प्रारभ्य फाल्गुन-मासि² खाता कृष्णाष्टमी-तिथौ [1*]

चैत्र-शुक्ल-त्रयोदश्याम्³ दिनैस्सिद्धैकविडुकैः[*]⁴ [11*] 3⁵

4 आयता षट्सहस्रेण धनुषा['] स-शतेन च [1*]

द्वाविडुने⁶ नदी रम्या गोमती निर्मलोदका ॥ 4

पितामहस्य राजर्षेर्विदार्य्य शिविरावनि[म्] [1*]

5 ब्राह्मणैर्गोसहस्रेण⁷ प्रयाति कृतदक्षिणः⁸ ॥ 5

excavated by the king's father, and गोमती, that of the other excavated by the king himself, possibly point to a North Indian factor in the Indian influence on the old culture of Java. The first was named after the Chandrabhāgā=mod Chenāb (in the Panjab) whose older name was Asikni. गोमती (l. 4) was named after either the river Gomatī=mod. Gumāl the western tributary of the Indus or Gomatī=mod. Gumatī which joins the Ganges on the left bank below Benares.

1 Read ०विशे वत्सरे. The metre is defective as the 5th syllable is required to be short.

2 Read फाल्गुने.

3 Read ०दश्यां.

4 Read ०विंश०

5 This verse shows that the मास recognised was अमान्त ^{as} in South India, and not पूर्णिमान्त as in the North.

6 Read ०विशे०. 1 dhanus=4 hastas or cubits; 6122 dhanuses=24488 cubits=12244 yard=a little less than 7 miles. Note that the canal of this length was excavated in 21 days.

7 गोसहस्र is the name of a महादान.

8 Read दक्षिणैः. The meaning seems to be that the canal passed by some establishments of Brāhmaṇas. Cf. ख्यातीं पुरीं प्राप्य in l. 1 where however the passage may also indicate that the canal started from the capital city.

E—CHAMPĀ¹ (South Annam)

No. 78—Vo-canĥ Rock Inscription

VO-CANH (pronounced *Vo-kanĥ*), Khánh-Hoà district, Annam, French Indo-China.

A. BERGAINE, *Inscriptions Sanscrites de Campa et du Cambodge*, No. XX, pp. 16-18 [196-98]; FINOT., *B.E.F.E.O.*, XV, No. 2, p. 3; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, p. 1f. B. CH. CHHABRA, *J.R.A.S.L.*, I, p. 45f; D. C. SIRCAR, *J. G. I. S.*, VI, p. 57f.; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XVII p. 107f.; G. COEDÈS, *Ibid.*, p. XVI, p. 484ff.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of the 2nd-3rd century A.D. (but actually a little later).²

Metre : Verses 1-2, can not be determined, but may be some metre like शिखरिणी ; Vv. 3-4 वसन्ततिलका ; V. 5 शार्दूल-विक्रीडित.

TEXT³

| | | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----|---------------|-----|-----------|
| 1-5 | ... | ... | ... | ... | ... |
| 6 | ... | ... | प्रजानाङ्कुरण | ... | ... |
| 7 | प्रथम-विजय | ... | ... | ... | [11*] 1-2 |

1 The ancient kingdom of Champā roughly corresponded to the southern portion of the mod. province of Annam in the eastern part of the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The name may have been an Indianised form of the original name of the indigenous people who are now called Cham, the Indianization having been influenced by the name of the Indian city of Champā, capital of the Aṅga *janapada* (mod. Monghyr-Bhāgalpur region). In India the name of the capital is often applied to the country.

2 Scholars have assigned the record to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. on grounds of palaeography. In my opinion, the theory is untenable. In the 2nd century A.D. not Sanskrit but Prakrit was generally used in Indian inscriptions. Classical metres like वसन्ततिलका were popular in India from the Gupta period and were rarely used in Indian inscriptions before the fourth century A.D. The draft of ll 14-15 of the record appears to be an imitation of inscriptions of the Gupta period. I am therefore inclined to think that this inscription is not earlier than the first half of the 4th century. As regards the early script, cf. *supra*, No. 9, p. 269 and n. 3. As to the conservativeness of Indo-Chinese scribes, Blagden has rightly pointed out (*Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 131) that the anchor-shaped subscript *y* is found in the Pyu inscriptions (c. 12th century, but their palaeography may be a few centuries earlier) of Myazedi (Burma), though the form had become obsolete in India after the 4th century A.D.

3 From transcripts. The inscribed rock is called Nha Trang.

- — — — —
— — — — —
- 8 [पौ*]र्याम(।*)स्याम् (पूर्वाम् अस्याम् ?) ।
आज्ञापितं सदसि राज-वरेण [लोकाः ?]
[सामन्त ?]-राज-गण-
- 9 वागमृतं पिबन्तु ॥ 3
श्री-मार-राज-कुल-व[ंश-¹ विभूषणे*]न
श्री-मार-लो[क*]-[नृ]
- 10 [पतेः*]² कुल-नन्दनेन ।
आज्ञापितं स्वजन-स[ज्जन-सङ्घ?] -मध्ये
वाक्यं प्रजा-हि-
- 11 तकरं करिणो(मि?)र्वरेण ॥ 4
लोकस्यास्य गतागति(ती?) वि-
- — न(विविचिता ?) सिंहासना(ने ?)द्वयासने
- 12 पुत्रे भ्रातरि नान्य(न्नय?)के स्व-समीकरणच्छन्देनप्लेषु (०समके
राजच्छदावासिषु?) [।*]
- यत्किञ्चिद्रजतं सु-
- 13 वर्यामपि वा स-स्थावरजङ्गमं
कोप्रागारक[तो ध?]नं प्रियहिते सर्व्वं विसृ-
- 14 ४ मया ॥ 5
तदेवं मयाजुज्ञातं भविष्यैरपि राजभिरनुमन्तव्यं [।*]
- 15 विदितमस्तु च मे श्रुत्यस्य वीरस्य

1 The passage may indicate the family of king Srimāra or the family of the illustrious king Māra. The name of the king responsible for the record is lost. He appears to have been a descendant of a king named Māra. Māra has been identified by some scholars with Kiu Lien who began to rule from 192 A.D. Coedès identifies him with Fan-She-man of the Chinese annals who was king of Fou-nan (an ancient kingdom comprising Cambodia and the adjoining regions) about the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. The identifications are doubtful; but even if any of them be accepted, the present record should be placed considerably later, as it belongs to a descendant of Māra and not to Māra himself.

2 The restorations in the 1st half of v. 4 are not ours. One may also suggest कुलवर्हिषडाननेन. The emendations and restorations suggested by us are conjectural.

No. 79—Cho Dinh Rock Inscription (No. 2) of Bhadravarman

Nhan-thap,¹ near CHO DINH, Phu-yen district, to the north of Cape Varella, Annam, French Indo-China.

BARGAIGNE, *Inscriptions Sanscrites*, No. XXI, p. 26 [236]; FINOT, *B.E.F.E.O.*, II, p. 186; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, p. 3f; B. CH. CHHABRA, *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, I, p. 48.

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the 5th century A.D.

TEXT²

- 1 नमो देवाय [1*] भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-पाद-प्रसादात् अग्नये त्वा जुष्टं करिष्यामि³ [1*]
- 2 धर्ममहाराज-श्रीभद्रवर्मणो⁴ यावच्चन्द्रादित्यौ तावत्पुत्र-पौत्रम्भोक्ष्यति [11*]
- 3 पृथिवि⁵-प्रसादात्कर्म-सिद्धिरस्तु⁶ ।

1 Cho-Dinh is the name of a market place in the neighbourhood of the village.

2 From the facsimile in *J.R.A.S.B.L.*, I. Scholars have referred these inscriptions to circa 400 A.D. on palaeographic grounds. The actual date may be a little later, but certainly not earlier. Some scholars identify Bhadravarman with Fan-Hou-ta (380-413 A.D.) known from Chinese sources.

3 I. e., I shall make thee agreeable to fire, i.e. I shall sacrifice thee (referring to some unknown object).

4 धर्ममहाराज etc. are peculiar titles used (in the 4th and 5th centuries A.D.) in South Indian inscriptions, especially those belonging to the Vākāṭakas, Early Pallavas, Early Gangas and Early Kadambas. This fact, and that Prakrit was ousted by Sanskrit from South Indian epigraphy about the middle of the 4th century A.D. indicate that our record cannot be placed earlier than the beginning of the 5th century. पुत्र-पौत्रं भोक्ष्यति=(Agni) will save the sons and grandsons.

5 Read पृथिवी°. This reference to the Earth as a goddess is interesting.

6 Read कर्म°. कर्मसिद्धि refers to the successful completion of the sacrifice or to the attainment of the result due to the sacrifice.

No. 80—My-son Stelae Inscription of Bhadravarman

MY-SON, Quang Nam district, Annam, French Indo-China.

FINOT, *B. E. F. E. O.*, II, p. 187; R. C. MAJUMDAR, *Champā*, Book III, p. 4

Language : Sanskrit.

Script : Brāhmī of the Southern class of about the 5th-6th century A.D.

Metre : Verse 1 आर्या(?) ; V. 2 उपगोति.

TEXT¹

First Side

- 1 [मि]द्रं [॥*] नमो महेश्वर[म्*] उमाञ्च प्र[ति?]
- 2 ब्रह्माणं विष्णुमेव च नमो² [॥*]
पृथिवी(*) वायुरा(मा?)काशमप[?]?
- 3 ज्योतिश्च³ पञ्चमं [॥*] I
नमस्कृत्वाहमिच्छामि⁴ सर्वे(*) विशेषैरनुध्यातं⁵ [॥*]
दुस्कृ-⁵
- 4 र्म्म व्यपोह[न्तु] सुकृतो नयुतन्तुदा⁶[॥*] 2
भद्रेश्वरस्वामि-प(॥*)दानुध्या[ते*]न चास्माक[?] महारा[जेन*]
- 5 भद्रवर्मणा मानुष्यमध्वानं ज्ञा[त्वा*] भद्रेश्वराय⁷ अक्षयी(या?) नीवी दत्ता [॥*]
यथा [पूर्वेण*]
- 6 सुलह-पर्वतो दक्षिणेन महापर्वतः पश्चिमेन कुचक-पर्वत⁸ उत्तरेण म[हानदी*]

1 From the transcript in *Champā*. Bhadravarman of this record is usually identified with the king of No. 79.

2 Read नमः ॥

3 Read ०श्चेति.

4 Read ०मिच्छे.

5 Read ०ध्यातुं and दुष्कर्म०.

6 Read व्यपोहितुं सुकृतं नयच्च तनितुं तथा.

7 Bhadrēśvara is the same as Bhadrēśvarasvāmin, apparently a Śiva linga founded by and named after Bhadravarman. मानुष्य अन्धन्=मानवी गति (=परिणाम)
=man's way leading to death.

8 Finot suggests कुचोक which is an indigenous word meaning "august,"

- 7 परिमाणाभ्यन्तरा स-कुटुम्बि-जना भूमि¹ दत्ता [।*] जनपद-मथ्यादा षड्भागो(S*)पि²
[अस्माकं ?]
- 8 स्वामिना दशभागेनानुगृहीता देवस्य देय[।*] इ[।*]त [।*] तदेव(*) यथाभिलिखित-
मकुर्व्वे[तो*]³
- 9 देवस्य जन्म(नः*) प्रभृति⁴ धर्म-प्रसवो यः तत्फलं भद्रधर्मणः [।*] यदि
कश्चिद्[।*]कम्य हर[ति*]
- 10 विनाशयति वा मुक्तदोषा[ः*] कुटुम्बिनः तस्योपरि अधर्म[ः*] स्यात् [।*] चातुर्व्वैद्यं
राजा[नं*]
- 11 राजमात्रं वा⁵ सह कुटुम्बिभिः विज्ञापयामि समानुकम्पार्थ⁶ यन्मया दत्तं मा
विनाशय[त*] ॥

Second Side

- 1 यदि विनाशयथ जन्मनि जन्मनि वो यत्सुकृतं तन्मम स्यात् [।*]
- 2 यच्च मम दुष्कृतं तद्युष्म[।*]कं स्यात् [।*] अथ सम्यक्परिपालयथ तद्युष्माकमेव
- 3 धर्म[ः*] स्यादिति भूयो विज्ञापयामि [।*] य इह प्रभवति
देव-बलि-कारकाः [ते*]-

1 Read भूमिर्दत्ता. Better supply इति before परिमाणा.

2 Read षड्भागोऽपि, i.e. even the sixth part of the produce received by the State according to custom prevailing in the kingdom (was reduced by the king to the tenth part and was made payable to the god).

3 Possibly we have to suggest मकुर्व्वेतोऽपि.

4 I. e., from the creation of the god, i.e. so long as Bhadrēśvarasvāmin has been established.

5 Better read च.

6 चातुर्व्वेद्य=Brāhmaṇa versed in the four Vedas, who may receive the district as an honorific grant. राजमात्र=king's officer who may be appointed a governor of the district; cf. महामात्र. समानुकम्पार्थ=out of compassion for me.

- 4 [षा*]ङ्गम्म न कारयितव्यं स्यादोर रत्नरतं वा राजकुलकार्यमनुष्ठेयं
- 5 [अ*]थ गु(?)रोऽ(?)स्माकं राजा[नो].....यत्किञ्चित्.....फलाद्येषु पदेषु
पदितव्यमिति [।*]
- 6 ¹
- 7 कुशलायतनाः बहुल-रत्न-च²
- 8 ³अयन्न स्वरतो धर्म्मभव... ..
- 8 पालयति तस्यैष धर्म्म[ः*] [।*] यो न तु पाल(य*)ति अभिनाशयतु⁴
अथ विनाशयति
- 10तस्य भद्रेश्वरस्वामि⁵ जानाति ॥

1 About 27 *aksharas* are lost.

2 About 16 *aksharas* are lost.

3 About 18 *aksharas* are lost.

4 Read शयति.

5 Read स्वामी. Possibly we have to suggest परिणामं before तस्य.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

N. B.—Readers are requested to insert the additions and corrections in the body of the book.

P=page; T=transcript of the epigraphic text; TS=Sanskritized version of the Prakrit inscriptions; FN=foot-note; L=line.

- P. 5—TS. L. 4. Read—साखामनीष्यः. L. 7. Read—साखामनीष्याः. L. 9. Read—न (=अष्ट-संख्यकाः जनाः). L. 10. Read—त्ये (=ते=ये). L. 12. Read—असुरमेधसः. FN, 2. L. 3. Read—not very far.
- P. 6—L. 1. Read—असुरमेधाः [मद्यं] क्षत्रं (=राज्यं) + प्राभरत् (=प्रायच्छत्). L. 2. Read—प्रति एयुः. L. 11. Read—दस्यवः (=जनपदाः). L. 12. Read—Inscription [e].
- P. 7—TS. L. 2. Read—साखामनीष्यः. FN. L. 2. Read—*op. cit.*
- P. 8—L. 4. Omit FN mark on—India². L. 10. Read—⁺विशं.
- P. 14—FN, L. 1. Read—may be to.
- P. 16—L. 3. Read—Rock Edicts. L. 6. Add—Ibid, p. ix for other references. T, L. 5. Read—पि(प्रि)यदसि. FN, 1. L. 1. Read—Aśoka's Rock Edicts.
- P. 17—TS. L. 6. Read—राज्ञः ॥
- P. 18—T. L. 3. Read—अंतिय(ि*)को and अंतिय(ि*)कस. L. 4. Read—चिक्रीडु(ि*). FN, 2. Add—Almost all kings of ancient Kerala whose exploits have been described in the Sangam literature are known to have had the title *Chēramān* which is supposed to be a contraction of *chēramakan*, “son of Chēra”. Chēra was the Tamil form of the name written Kerala in Sanskrit. See K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 38-39. Cf. also Guhilaputra, Balikaputra (the Ballas of Saurāshṭra), etc. (Tod, *op. cit.*, I, p. 121).

As regards the name Pāṭaliputra (earlier Pāṭaligrāma), it may be suggested that the name originally indicated the Yaksha protector of the village Pāṭali; cf. Kikkatāputra in a Wala grant (645 A.D.) of Dharasena (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 66ff.).

- P. 19—L. 17. Read—Text⁵. T, L. 1. Read—र(र*)जा. FN, 3. Add—Some versions have उदुपानानि.
- P. 20—L. 2. Read—अजा-. L. 3. Read—सुसू(सू)सा. FN 2. Add—A Sanchi inscription of c. 2nd century B. C. and a Mysore record of about the end of the 3rd century A.D. refer to the Rajjuka (Lüders, *List*, Nos. 416, 1195).
- P. 21—T, L. 6. Read—दिध्वा(व्या)नि.
- P. 24—L. 4. Read—विजितसि. TS, L. 6. Note on सुप्रदार्य—According to Hultzsch, सुप्रदारकं. L. 8. Read—सर्वपार्षदेभु. L. 13. Read—अनुवद्धं.
- P. 26—TS. L. 2. Read—अर्थकर्म. L. 4. Read—पथि ; यद्वा, घोषे. Note—“The king is himself a large owner and breeder of cattle and personally superintends the condition of his flocks at certain times in the year. The whole care is taken of course by the cowboys whose ranches the king visits when, for example, the cattle are to be branded” (Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, XIII, p. 82). It may be pointed out however that Aśoka possibly refers to his daily duties and not to a periodical duty like that of visiting the cowpen. L. 8. Read—निध्यातिः (= युक्तिभिः निध्यायनं = केनचित् पारिषदेन अपरेषां बोधनाय स्वमतपक्षे युक्तिप्रदर्शनं).
- P. 27—L. 1. Read—Shāhbāzgarhī Version. T, L. 1. Read—प्रिय-(द्र*)शि. TS, L. 1. Read—सर्वपार्षदाः. L. 5. Read—धर्मासक्तिः.
- P. 28—T, L. 7. Read—धंमानु[स]ट्टी(स्टी). TS. L. 1. Read—विहारयातां निरयाषिभुः. L. 4. Note on सम्बोधि—Cf. महाबोधिनिवासिनां in the Bodhgayā temple inscription of Dharmapāla (*Gaudālekha*

mālā, p. 31). Sambodhi=Mahābodhi=mod. Bodhgayā.

L. 7. Note on तदुपगा—Or तदुपायात् (=तद्विहारयाज्ञातः आरभ्य) एषा.

P. 29—L. 2. Add—p. 78f. T, L. 6. Read—बु खो.

P. 30—TS. L. 11. Read—इति [विचिन्त्य] । L. 9. Better read—
प्रतिवेशकं.

P. 31—L. 5. Brāhmī. T, L. 3. Read—[1*]. FN. 3. Add—Cf. also
Amarakosha, II, v. 29.

P. 32—T, Ll. 2-3. Read—भट्टकषि. FN. 1. Read—आस्रव (=पाप). FN. 6.
Omit—As Hultzsich suggests.

P. 33—L. 8. Better read—स्वामिकेन. L. 12. Read—Shāhbāzgarhī
Version. FN 4. Read प्रषंड (=पार्षद).

P. 34—FN. 3. Read—गरन. FN. 10. Read—समवाय (=सामवाद),
'restrained speech.'

P. 35—L. 2. Read—सर्वपार्षदान्. L. 4. Read—सर्वपार्षदानाम्. L. 6.
Read—आत्मपार्षदं and परपार्षदं. L. 8. Read—परपार्षदाः and
आत्मपार्षदं. L. 9. Read—परपार्षदम्, आत्मपार्षदं and परपार्षदं. L. 10.
Read—आत्मपार्षदं and परपार्षदं. L. 11. Read—पार्षदभक्त्या and
आत्मपार्षदं. L. 12. Read—आत्मपार्षदम्. L. 13. Read—सर्वपार्षदाः.
L. 15. Read—[पार्षदे]. L. 16. Read—सर्वपार्षदानाम्. L. 19.
Read—पार्षदवृद्धिः. L. 20. Read—Shāhbāzgarhī Version.

P. 36—T, L. 5. Read—संस्तुत-सहय-. FN. 7. Read—अपग्रथो.

P. 37—T, L. 9. Omit hyphen mark after—नभितिन⁶. FN. 4. Read—
एषे. FN. 6. Read—नभितिनां. FN. 7. Note—Sans. पुलिन्द=
Pr. पलिन्द (cf. गुरु=गह); Sans. पौलिन्द=Pr. पालिन्द (=पारिन्द,
cf. गौरव=गारव; स्थूल=थोर).

P. 38—TS. L. 2. Read—द्वयर्हमात्रं; द्विकार्द्धमात्रं according to Hultzsich.
FN. 7. Read—to have extended.

P. 39—L. 1. Read—पार्षदाः. L. 8. Read—पार्षदे. L. 10. Read—क्षन्त-
व्यमतम् एव.

P. 42—FN. 7. Read—वर्गः.

- P. 43—L. 11. Read—[१*]. L. 17. Read—[एन*] [ज*] [न]स. Note on नगलवियोहालका—Jaugada has महामाता नगलक (= महामाताः नागरकाः).
- P. 44—L. 4 and L. 6. Note that the last word of both lines in the original is possibly अनुवासं. TS. L. 8. Read—प्राप्नुथ and [इति]। L. 9. Read—प्राप्नोति. L. 11. Read—प्राप्नोति. FN. 1. Read—सुमनुष्याणां. FN. 3. L. 2. Read—परिक्लेशं वा प्राप्नोति. L. 3. Read—कारायां मृत्युः. L. 6. Omit mark after—21. Add—In that case मध्य would indicate a less severe course of punishment.
- P. 45—L. 21. Read—निष्कामयिष्यति [अनुवर्षम् ?] ईदृशम्. L. 22. Omit—त्रिषु वर्षेषु. Read—यदा [अनुवर्ष ?] ते महामाताः. FN. 1. Read—द्वयाहरः.
- P. 46—T, L. 1. Note on महामता—Dhauḷi has तोसलियं कुमाले महामाता च. This shows that the Kumāra, governor of Kalinga, was stationed at Tosali. L. 8. Note on अविजितानं—The reference to the अविजित अंत may suggest that महामाता of line 1 refers to the अन्तमहामाता. There may have been still some unconquered tribes in or near Kalinga. L. 11. Read—(दु*)ख['].
- P. 47—Omit FN. 2.
- P. 48—TS. L. 7, L. 9, L. 13. Read—प्राप्नुयुः. L. 13. Read—इति^{2a}. FN 2a. Read—मृत्युवर्गेषु. FN. 3. Add—Some scholars take it to be आयुक्तः.
- P. 49—L. 2. Read—Rock Edict. FN. 4. Add—Suvarṇagiri, not yet satisfactorily identified, was the southernmost Maurya province. Isila was apparently in the present Chitaldrug region.
- P. 50—FN. 10. Read—आराधेतवे.
- P. 51—TS. L. 1. Note on अर्द्धलीणि—According to Hultzsch अर्द्ध. त्रिकानि. L. 11. Note on द्वयर्द्ध—According to Hultzsch द्विकार्द्ध.
- P. 54—TS. L. 1. Read—देवानांप्रियः.

- P. 57—The foot-notes are wrongly numbered 5—9 instead of 1—5.
TS. L. 2. Read—अल्पास्त्रवं (=अल्पास्त्रवं=अल्पं पादं).
- P. 58—TS. L. 3. Read—आस्त्रवं⁴. L. 4. Read आस्त्रवगामीनि⁵.
- P. 61—TS. L. 8. Note on रंघन्ते—According to Hultzs, Pr. लघंति is from Sans. अर्हन्ति through अलहंति, अलघंति.
- P. 63—TS. L. 10. Note on चातुर्मासीषु—See *infra*, p. 119, n. 2 and p. 134, n. 6. L. 14. Note—Cf. चतुर्दश्यष्टमी चैव अमावास्या च पूर्णिमा । पर्वान्येतानि राजेन्द्र रविसंक्रान्तिरेव च ॥ (Apte, *Dict.*, s. v. पञ्च).
- P. 64—TS. L. 3. Read—प्राप्नुयात्. L. 6. Read—सर्वपार्षदाः.
- P. 67—T, L. 21. Read—सतविसति-वसा०
- P. 68—L. 9. Read—छायया. L. 12. Read—प्रतिभोगाय. L. 16. Read—सर्वपार्षदेषु. L. 19. Read—नानापार्षदेषु. L. 21. Read—पार्षदेषु.
FN. 2. Add—For the omission of च, cf., e.g., *infra*, No. 35, 1. 8. FN. 3. Read—Niganṭha,
- P. 71—L. 4. Read—Nigāli Sāgar. FN. 5. Add—Of the five Buddhas of the present *Kalpa* called Bhadda-kappa, four (Kakusandho, Koṇagamano, Kassapo and Gotamo) have already appeared; the fifth (Metteyyo) is still to appear.
- P. 74—T. L. 8. Read—चिलथितीके.
- P. 76—TS. L. 11. Read—यूयं.
- P. 78—L. 3. Note on सुखविहारतां—Better स्पर्हविहारतां; cf. Childers, *Dist.*, s. v. *phāsu*. L. 21. Read—पियदसिना.
- P. 79—L. 14. Read—इयं गुहा. L. 17. Note on the name Daśaratha—The name apparently means “one who is equal to ten rathins”; cf. अतिरथ, अर्द्धरथ, etc.
- P. 80—FN. 1. Add—See *infra*, p. 223, n. 6.
- P. 82—L. 14. Read—स[*]वगि(गो?)य[r]नं [तल] [दिन] [स]⁶समं दिन ।
- P. 83—TS. L. 1. Read—सर्षपं(?). FN. 1. Ll. 1-2. Read—दुमं दिन समाते. L. 4. Read—conveyed.
- P. 85—L. 7. Add—S. N. Chakravarti, J.R.A.S.B.L., VII, No. 2,

1941. FN. 3. L. 4. Read—Madhūka (माधु=मधू). Read लच= लाज. L. 4. Read—cummin seed (अजुमोदा=अजमोदा). Read Āmba (आम).
- P. 86—L. 16. Read—[Coin] of Sophutes.
- P. 89—FN. 3. Add—The non-mention of the Śuṅga king's name may suggest that the Śuṅga power was already on the decline.
- P. 90—L. 16. Read—अयं. FN. 4. L. 5. Read—according.
- P. 91—TS. L. 1. Read गरुडध्वजः. FN. 4. नईराजे.
- P. 92—FN. 1. Add—The name may be Sarvatrāta. FN. 6. L. 8. Read—c. 376-414 A.D. Add—See p. 288, n. 4.
- P. 94—L. 8. Read—1921.
- P. 95—Ll. 8-9. Read—p. 552 ff. L. 17. Note on सवटनडे—Or ०नदे ? FN. L. 2. Omit—horizontal. L. 3. Read—and base of न. FN. 3. Add—For अचक्षु०=अलक्ष्य०, cf. मोगगल्लानो=मौद्गल्यायन, etc.
- P. 96—FN. 1. L. 1. Read—X. FN. 2. Add—Pushyamitra possibly never assumed any royal title, but posed as the last Maurya's (or, his nominal successor's?) General and Provincial Governor, even after his accession to imperial power.
- P. 97—FN. 3. Add—"The line is carried two stages further by the Morā inscription which describes the daughter of Bahasatimitra (Bṛihāsvātimitra) as the wife of the king (of Mathurā) and 'the mother of living sons' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 120)." See *C. H. I.*, I, p. 525.
- P. 99—FN. 2. L. 7. Read—conquests. Add—The wide extent of Demetrios's kingdom is suggested by the existence of a city named Demetriaspolis in Arakhosia and of another named Dattāmitrī (city of Dattamitra, i.e. Demetrios) in Sauvīra (eastern part of Lower Sind). He has been identified with Timita of a Besnagar seal. See Raychaudhuri, *Political History*, 4th ed., p. 319.
- P. 100—L. 10. Read—loose robe.

- P. 102—FN. 2. L. 3. Read—in the second it has. L. 5. Read—inscriptions.
- P. 103—L. 17. Read—पल्लुगमुद्राओ.
- P. 104—TS. L. 5. Read—शीर्यते. FN. 1. Add—He seems to have extended his power over some parts of western India. The author of the *Periplus* (c. 80 A.D.) refers to the coins of Appolodotos and Menander used in his time at Barugaza (Broach). Numismatists usually assign Menander to about the middle of the 2nd century B. C., but Gardner placed him about 110 B.C. (Smith, *E.H.I.*, 4th ed., p. 258).
- P. 105—L. 15. Read—ΘΕΟΤΡΟΠΟΥ
- P. 106—FN. 3. Read—Jupiter, the parallel.
- P. 107—L. 7. Read—ΕΡΜΑΙΟΥ
- P. 113—FN. 5. Ll. 3-4. Read—are doubtful. Add—मुकिहिरयसरप=
मृग्याधिराजस्यारमा ?
- P. 115—FN. 2. Add—Konow's reading 𑀘 here as well as in No. 33. l. 2 is justified by the form of the letter in the Central Asian documents. See *Khar. Ins.*, III, Pl. XIV, Nos. 35-37.
- P. 118—L. 1. Read—No. 25—Mathurā Votive Tablet Inscription. L. 6. Add—influenced by Sanskrit.
- P. 119—L. 3. Note on स्वामिनः—See *infra*, p. 166, n. 2. L. 4. Read—हेमन्तर्तोः. L. 9. Read—Soḍāsa (c. 10-25 A.D.?). L. 15. Note on गंजवरेण—This word is originally Persian. The *Rāj. Tar.*, VII, 42 (Stein, Intro., pp. 37-38) speaks of an office concerned with *griha-kṛitya* (domestic affairs) placed in charge of a गञ्जवर (treasurer) and five *dibiras* (secretaries). *Dibira* is another Persian word. FN. 2. L. 4. Read—*Supra*, p. 63 and *infra*, p. 134, n. 6.
- P. 120—T, L. 4. Omit the marks of punctuation. FN. 3. Read—Makedonian month. FN. 4. Read—mod. Chach, N. W. FN. 7. Add—अतिगधवस is possibly Sans. ज्ञातिकाधिवासान्. *Adhivāsa* means a neighbour.

- P. 121—TS. L. 2. Read—Makedonian: Panemos. L. 4. Rend—
पुत्रः पतिकः—तक्षशिलायां नगरे [यः] उत्तरेण प्राच्य-देशः (=उत्तरस्थविभाग-
पूर्वांशः) क्षेमः नाम— L. 7. Read—ज्ञातिकाधिवासान्.
- P. 122—L. 12. Read—c. 21-50 A. D. FN. 3. Read—Saint
Thomas (1st century A. D.). See *infra*, p. 288, n. 4.
- P. 123—FN. 2. Note on देवव्रत—Rapson afterwards took व्र at a modi-
fied व्र and Sanskritized the word as देवपात (*Khar. Ins.*,
III, p. 309, n.). Note on ह्र—Some scholars take it as a
modified क. FN. 6. Read—KOZOAA.
- P. 125—FN. 4. Add—Rapson reads कल्पिशस (*Khar. Ins.*, III, p. 316)
which is supported by the Central Asian Kharoshthī
documents. Is the reading कळ्पिशस=कङ् पिशस ?
- P. 128—L. 1. Read—छडशिलए. L. 2. धितुण. TS. L. 3. Note on
छत्रशिलके—Chhatrasīlaka may be the name of a Vihāra
or of a locality (mod. Kalawān?). Omit hyphen mark
before सार्द्ध.
- P. 129—T. L. 8. Read—मत-पितु.
- P. 130—L. 2. Read—तेन इमे.
- P. 131—TS. L. 2. Read—जिहोणिकस्य.
- P. 133—L. 13. Read—त्रेपिटकस्य.
- P. 134—FN. 6. Add—Note also the duration of Vishṇu's slumber
during the four months of the rainy season from Āshāḍha
Sukla 11 to Kārttika Sukla 11 (*infra*, p. 383, n. 1). Cf. also
आषाढशुक्लद्वादश्यां पौर्णमास्यामथापि वा । चातुर्मास्य-व्रतारम्भं कुर्यात् कर्कट-
संक्रमे ॥ अभावे तु तुलार्कैऽपि मन्त्रेण नियमं व्रती । कार्तिके शुक्लद्वादश्यां
विधिवत् तत् समापयेत् ॥ *Varāha P.* quoted in *Sabdakalpadruma*.
- P. 135—L. 3. Note on Suivihār—It may have an original like
Suchivihāra. The old name of the locality seems to have
been Damana.
- P. 136—FN. 5. Add—See *infra*, p. 177, n. 1.

- P. 137—TS. L. 5. Read—बौद्धस्थविरस्य.
- P. 138—L. 13. Read—Kharoshthī.
- P. 140—T. L. 3. Read—भिक्षुस्य.
- P. 141—L. 5. Read—कौशाम्बकुटीविहारालिन्दे.
- P. 142—L. 8. Read—altar. L. 10. Read—KANHḥKI
- P. 143—T. L. 8. Read—उपग्रस^s. FN. L. 3. Note on NANA—Some scholars identify her with Anaitis the tutelary goddess of Balkh (Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins*).
- P. 144—L. 13. Read—श्चेत्तवर्मणा. L. 18. Read—p. 326ff. FN. 1. Add—*Cf.* अग्रमेयो = अग्रमेगो, *infra*, Bk. III, No. 111; also पर्याय= पञ्जायो, परियागो (Ratnachandra, *Jainasiddhāntakaumudī*, p. 27). FN. 3. Add—That Huvishka began to rule from before the date of this record is proved by *infra*, No. 49.
- P. 146—T. Ll. 4-5. Read—शालायं. FN. 1. Add—for the date of this king. FN. 2. Read—See *infra*.
- P. 147—TS. L. 11. Read [च]। FN. 1. Add—Note that this date is earlier than that of *supra*, No. 48.
- P. 148—TS. L. 4. Read—बोधिसत्त्वः.
- P. 150—TS. L. 3. Read—दिवसे [प्रथमे] १—. FN. 3. L. 1. Read—सिद्धं, see *infra*, No. 57.
- P. 153—T. L. 5. Read—हृष्युणः-मरेगस्य. Note—See *Khar. Ins.*, III, pl. XIV, Nos. 81, 93. L. 8. Omit hyphen mark before नरग्र. FN. 4. L. 1. Omit “and” before इश. Read—seemingly unnecessary.
- P. 154—TS. L. 6. Read—हृष्युणः-मरेगस्य. FN. 3. Add—Buddhist works refer to (1) *aṇḍaja*, (2) *jalābuja*, (3) *saṃsedaaja* or *sedaja* and (4) *opapātika* (Sans. *aupapātika*, born of accident without the intervention of parents).
- P. 156—FN. L. 3. Read—the god OHḥA.
- P. 157—L. 3. Add—or the Kshaharāta Family. FN. 1. Add—It may be that Rudradāman I is the first independent or semi-independent ruler amongst the Western Satraps. The

Kushāṇas were possibly losing their hold on Western India by his time. F N. 3. Add—That some royal charters were written not on *tāmra-paṭṭa* but on the easily perishable *kārpāsika-paṭa* (cf. p. 372, n. 8) is suggested by the paucity or absence of grants in regard to many kings, royal families and countries. Charters of the Kashmir kings have not been discovered, though they are referred to by Kalhaṇa. Private deeds were usually written on birch or palm leaves or on cloth.

P. 158—T, L. 8. Note on कपूराहारे—Fleet identified the head-quarters of Kāpūrāhāra with Kapura in the Baroda State, and Chikhalapadra with Chikhalda $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east-north-east of Kapura (*Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 98). Kāpura is mentioned in the Pardī grant of Traikūṭaka Dahrasena.

P. 159—TS. L. 14. Read—नारिकेलानां मूलं. FN. 3. L. 7. Read—*Carm. Lect.*

P. 160—FN. 1. L. 1. Read—VIII.

P. 161—FN. 1. L. 9. Read—Sanjan in the Ṭhāna Dist. FN. 2. L. 4. Read—प्राप्नुयां. L. 5. Read—ब्राह्मणाय.

P. 163—FN. 1. Add—See *infra*, p. 451, v. 7.

P. 164—L. 6. Read—VIII.

P. 165—T, L. 8. Note on करजिको—It should be noted that the same village of Karajika was re-granted by Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi who ousted the Kshaharātas from these regions (see p. 192, n. and p. 197, n.). Lüders' *List*, No. 1105 (Karle) records Sātakarṇi's order to the Amātya at Māmāḍa regarding the gift of Karajika-grāma in Māmālāhāra on the North Road (or, in the Northern Division) as *bhikṣu-hala* to the *pravrajita-bhikṣus* dwelling in the Valūraka caves for the support of the school of the Mahāsaṃghikas.

P. 166—L. 1. Read—पूततीर्थे. L. 4. Read—भिक्षुभ्यः=भिक्षून् उद्दिश्य.

- P. 167—L. 1. Add—or the Kārdamaka Family. FN. 4. Read व=वद्यपक्ष=dark fortnight.
- P. 169—FN. 1. Add—*infra*, p. 413, n. 2. FN. 2. Add—For the later history of the lake, see *infra*, p. 299ff. FN. 3. Add—Girinagara is the name of the ancient city now represented by Junāgarh. The Sudarśana lake was formed in the valley round the foot of the Girnar hill by an embankment across the gorge near the place where the inscription is found. See Bk. III, No. 25.
- P. 171—FN. 10. Add—The passage possibly suggests that Rudradāman's father died before his birth.
- P. 173—T, L. 6. Note on महाक्षत्रपनाम्ना—This possibly shows that Rudradāman became independent of the Kushāṇa overlord about the end of his rule. The Kushāṇa power by this time began to decline and was losing hold on the empire's southernmost province. FN. 3. L. 6. Read—वस्तुन्यपि. Omit FN. 5.
- P. 174—FN. 9. L. 3. Read—Did Pahlava. Add—Pelhevi is the name of the Persian language in the intermediate stage of its development from the Zend language to mod. Persian. See *infra*, p. 197, n. 5.
- P. 176—L. 5. Read FN. 6 on रोहिणि. L. 7. Read FN. 7 on वापी.
- P. 179—L. 10. Read full-stop after "Prakrit." T, L. 2. Read—भद्र-सु(मु)खस. FN. 1. Add—The Mulwāsar stone inscription (now is the Dwārkā Library) has the date राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस सामिरुद्रसेनस्य वर्षे १००(+*)२०(+*)२ वैशाखबहुलपंचम्यां (i.e. 122 Śaka = A.D. 200) and records the creation of a *śilā-lashtī* by the sons of Vāṇijaka. For references, see Lüders, No. 962.
- P. 180—L. 16. Read—Sārdūla°
- P. 184—L. 10. Note—See p. 185, n. 2.
- P. 185—L. 5. Read—कुमारो भा-¹ L. 13. Read—देवी-नार'निकायाः
- P. 186—L. 2. Read—Nāgaṃnikā (?).

- P. 187—L. 2. L. 6. Read—वेदिसेरि०. FN. 1. Add—An examination of the estampages kindly supplied by the A.S.I. show that the reading is certainly वेदिसिरि and not खदसिरि. Both वे and दि (cf. दिख in l. 5 and दिना, *passim*) are clear, and the form of ख (cf. दिख in l. 5 and दखिना, *passim*) is quite different from that of वे. FN. 2. Read सिमुक. Note—The Sanskrit form of the name may be शिमुख. FN. 6. Read धेनु=सवत्सा गौः.
- P. 188—T, L. 1. Read—धञ्जगिरितंसपयुतं १. L. 5. Read—धञ्जगिरितस-पयुतं १ ...[।*]...शेवायो. L. 19. Read—...रतो यिठो यजो.
- P. 189—TS. L. 8. Read—द्रव्याहुत्या. L. 10. Read—अनालम्भनीय.
- P. 190—L. 17. Read—दशरात्रः...[दक्षिणा] दत्ता. FN. L. 6. Note on हकु—cf. also अयिरह्वान in *infra*, No. 100.
- P. 192—TS. L. 2. Read—नासिकाहारान्तर्गत०. L. 3. Note on अमात्य—The word *amātya* is sometimes used in a wider sense to include a *mantrin*. A distinction is made, e. g., in Rāma-varman's commentary on the *Rām*. I. 7. 4: अमात्या देशादिकार्यनिर्वाहकाः ; मन्त्रिणो व्यवहारद्रष्टार इति भेदः (*Ind. Cult.*, VIII, p. 121). L. 6. Read—त्रिरश्मिपर्वतस्थलयनवासिभ्यः. FN. 6. Add—Of. “Much salt is produced in the Kāśī (Benares) Dist., where the soil is salty. Water drawn from the ground or from wells is poured on fields. When it dries out, a finger's breadth of salt is gathered on the surface. The landlords of the District utilise fallow lands in getting salt in the above way.” Translated from the *Samāchāra-darpana* (Beng.) of 21-8-1819; see *Samṃbādpatre Sekāler Kathā*, by B. N. Banerji, vol. I (1st. ed.), p. 107. See also *infra*, p. 410, n., p. 414, n. 6; p. 435, n. 1.
- P. 193—L. 1. Read—एनत्.
- P. 194—T, L. 3. Read—कसते सो. L. 10. Read—पचमे.

- P. 195—L. 2. Read—एनत्. L. 5. Read—पञ्चमे.
- P. 196—T, L. 4. Read—कुपुरापरंत⁴-अनुप. L. 5. Read—पारिचात-⁵स्यह-
करहगिरि. Read—आकरावन्ति-राजस³. Note that FN. 3 of this
page should exchange place with FN. 1 of p. 197.
- P. 197—FN. 5. L. 4. Read—Greeks.
- P. 198—TS. L. 4. Read—मत्स्य-श्रीस्तन (or श्रीस्थान)-मलय.
- P. 199—L. 9. Read विनिवर्त्तित. L. 23. Note on भद्रायणीयानां—Lüders,
List, No. 1018, mentions a Buddhist school called भाद्रजनिज्ज,
apparently the same as भद्रायणीय. L. 24. Read—=पितामह्याः.
L. 25. Read नत्ता [श्रीपुळुमाविः] दक्षिणापथेश्वरः पितृप्रीतये.
- P. 200—L. 1. Read—ग्रामं. L. 2. Read—राज-भागभोगादि-परिहृतम्.
- P. 201—FN. 1. Read—(Bühler).
- P. 202—L. 16. Read (= परीक्षितः)³ । दत्ता
- P. 203—L. 5. Read—p. 113; Senart.
- P. 205—T, L. 2. Read—[मस]³. Read—जनपदे⁴. L. 3. Read—[गा]-
मिक्स⁵. TS, L. 1 Read—(=शातवाहनकुलजस्य). L. 5. Read—शाम्बेन
(or साम्बेन). FN. 3. Add—See *infra*, p. 461, text, l. 26. Or,
the engraver was going to write महासेना°, but left out हा.
He erased the two *aksharas* and engraved the word afresh.
- P. 208—T, L. 4. Note on ओघाटितं—Nanda has been taken to be a
king of the Nanda dynasty of Pāṭaliputra and the expres-
sion तिवससत्त as either 300 or 103 years. If however a Nanda
king is referred to, the passage cannot mean 103 years, as
the record is to be palaeographically placed not about one
century but about three centuries after the Nanda kings.
तिवससत्त seems to indicate “300 years in round number.” The
meaning “103 years” which would bring us to c. 223 B. C.,
even if we count from 326 B.C. when the Nanda dynasty
was overthrown, is rendered impossible also by the facts that
Kaliṅga was under Aśoka up to about 232 B.C. and that
Khāravela was preceded by at least two generations of

- kings belonging to his own family. FN. 7. Add—Gorathagiri has been identified by Jackson with the Barābar hills.
- P. 210—FN. 14. Read—Indraji: पटालके. FN. 17. Read—बोछिने. FN. 19. Read—Prinsep.
- P. 211—TS. L. 9. Read—प्राप्नोति (=प्राप्नोत्). L. 11. Read—प्रतिसमकारयत्.
- P. 212—L. 10. Read—(=धर्षणानन्तरं). L. 11. Read—...सेनावाहनं. L. 12. Read—सह याति. L. 17. Note on पीथुण्डं—Or possibly पृथुदं. Pithuda may be the original of Ptolemy's Pitundra. L. 20. Read—उत्तरापथराजान्. L. 21. Read—राजानं. L. 23. Read—[मुद्राणां]. FN. 3. L. 2. Read—Pithundra.
- P. 213—L. 4. Read—क्षीणाश्रयेभ्यः. L. 6. Read—आश्रय-गुहाः. L. 7. Read—अर्हन्निषदा०. L. 13. Read—(=चेदिराजोपरिचरवसु०). L. 20. Add—Barua, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 159. FN. 1. Omit the last sentence beginning with "I am now."
- P. 214—L. 15. Add—Barua, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, XIV, p. 160. L. 20. Read—लेण[']. FN. 1. Add—Some scholars read पसादानं.
- P. 215—L. 4. Read—of Kuberaka. FN. 1. L. 18. Read—"ordinary medial *ā*" like.
- P. 216—L. 5. Read—निर्मिता. L. 25. Read—गोसालकानं.
- P. 217—L. 3. Read—अपकृष्टः for अपकरः. L. 8. Read—समणदाष[तो] [हित]. L. 12. पुतो. L. 17. Read—राजप्रसुखा । शारीरस्य. L. 21. Read—तर-[पू ?]त. L. 22. Add—).
- P. 218—L. 3. Read—द्वदिक्कोष. L. 22. Read—मातृग्रामस्य (=स्त्रीसङ्घस्य). Read—ग्लानकार्यस्य. L. 23. Possibly आयसक-गोष्ठ्याः.
- P. 219—L. 3. Read—Nos. 98-100. L. 13. Read—बोधिनी. L. 16. Read—हिरण-⁶कोटि०.
- P. 220—T, L. 6. Read—परिनामेतुनं⁸. FN. 11. Read—*Virūpāksha*.
- P. 221—L. 1. Read—गोशतसहस्र. L. 3. Read—पितृस्वसा. L. 5. Read—कृपार्ह. Read—दान. L. 18. Read—खंभं
- P. 223—TS. L. 8. Read—[च कारितवती] । पर्ण०. FN. 1. Add—but cf.

पंदरस in *supra*, No. 91. FN. 2. Omit. FN. 6. Add—Cf. स्वस्ति-
मुख=a Brāhmaṇa.

- P. 224—T. L. 1. Read इखाकुराज.
- P. 225—L. 10. Read—भदिलाय [*] L. 13. Note on नागन—Names like this indicate the name-suffix *anna* in place of *annaka* (see p. 185, n. 3). The *ka* is *svārthika*. Read बोधिरुख. FN, 1. Add—See p. 223, n. 6.
- P. 226—L. 10. Read—बोधिश्रिया. L. 14. Read—पितामहस्य. L. 16. Read—बुद्धिवाणोकस्य, मातुः. L. 18. Omit FN mark from एवम्. L. 21. Note on कण्टकशौले—Or कण्टकशौले or कण्टकशूले ? FN. 1. L. 6. Read—Annam.
- P. 227—T, L. 4. Read—सहोदरा. FN. Omit the first sentence.
- P. 228—L. 4. Read—पंचम. L. 5. Read—हित[I]य.
- P. 229—T, L. 8. Omit FN mark from चंतमूलस.
- P. 230—T, L. 4. Read—अग्निहोतगिधेस. FN, 6. Omit the first sentence.
- P. 231—TS, L. 1. Read—सम्बुद्धाय. L. 6. Read—वानवासक.
- P. 232—L. 2. Read—Inscriptions. L. 13. Read—अ[वय]ह.
- P. 235—FN, L. 1. Read—ग.
- P. 236—L. 5. Read—स्थाने. L. 6. Read—खोतम्ने. L. 11. Read—खोतम्ने. L. 19. Read—बुक्कोस्.
- P. 238—T, L. 3. Read—अरोगेमि.
- P. 239—L. 10. Read—निष्काल०. L. 14. Read—=तस्य. L. 16. Add—''
- P. 240—T, L. 1. Read—प्रियदर्शन०. L. 7. Read—वेग-. TS, L. 1. Read—नामानं. L. 7. Read स्फूर्तिद्युक्कं.
- P. 241—L. 11. Read—चोभवो.
- P. 243—T. L. 5. Read—पदमुलंमि. FN. 3. L. 2. Read—Namilgayā. FN. 4. L. 2. Read—1935.
- P. 245—TS. L. 18. Note on विहृतयति—Or विहेठयति from विहेठ, injury.
- P. 247—L. 12. Read—रम्सोत्सस. L. 16. Read—रम्सोत्सस.
- P. 248—L. 2. Read—मोगतस् त[न] महत्वन अनतेन [*]. L. 5. Read—किस्सैत्सस्. TS. L. 2. रम्षोत्सस्य (=रम्षोत्सेण). L. 10. Read—

सर्वभोगपरिभोगाय. L. 13. Read—साक्षिणौ. FN. 4. Read—words.
Read—मिलिम and खि.

P. 254—L. 10. Read—c. 330-76 A.D.

P. 256—FN. 2. L. 5. Read—Guttala in Dharwar Dist.

P. 257—FN. 2. Add—In place of Achyuta and Nandin, we may also suggest one name, viz. Achyutanandin.

P. 258—FN. 5. Omit.

P. 259—L. 6. Read—०विविद्वज्जनोप०. L. 9. Note on श्रीगुप्त—The name of this prince is Gupta and not Śrīgupta. It is therefore unreasonable to identify him with Śrīgupta mentioned by I-tsing as having lived about 175 A.D.

P. 261—T. L. 15. Read—[सम्मा*]नितः. FN. 3. Add—cf. कुबेरनागा and कुबेरनागदेवी in *infra*, Nos. 60-61.

P. 262—L. 5. Read—परिविद्वद्वार्थम्

P. 263—FN. 4. Read ०न्द्रान्तक. FN. 6. Read—been indiscriminately.

P. 264—FN. 7. Note on अक्षपटलाधिकृत—The *Arthasāstra* suggests that he was also the Accountant General. He kept the account of profit, loss, expenditure, delayed earnings, *vyaji* or premia realised in kind or cash, status of Government agency employed, wages paid, free labourers engaged in connection with capital invested or any work undertaken, rates of barter and price of gems and commodities. Add—See p. 333, n. 7. FN. 9. Read—expression.

P. 265—FN. 2. Read—आ सिद्धिः. FN. 3. Read—०वारादयोध्या. FN. 4. L. 6. Read—दौहित्रो. FN. 5. Read—चिरोत्सन्नाश्चमेधाहर्तुमै०

P. 266—FN. 5. Read—उपरिकर, 'tax paid by temporary tenants'; see *infra* p. 371, n. 5. FN. 9. Add—But later the word; was also used to denote any religious gift (*infra*, No. 37, l. 8).

P. 267—FN. 2. L. 2. Read—सि.

P. 268—L. 14. Read—altar. L. 15. Read—in Brāhmī. FN. 2. L. 2. Read—सर्वराजोच्छेता. Add—It appears that the necessity of

sticking to the name-ending *gupta* was felt only when Chandragupta I became an emperor and that Samudragupta was the later name of the prince whose early name was without *gupta*-ending like that of his grandfather. His early name was probably Kācha. The name of the Gupta dynasty is possibly due to the name-ending of Chandra-gupta I and his successors and not to the name of Gupta, the first but a less important prince of the line.

- P. 270—FN. 3. L. 3. Read—376-77 A.D. FN. 4. Add—or एकषष्टे.
- P. 272—FN. 3. Read—०मुर्व्या. FN. 4. Add—अवकय=price.
- P. 273—FN. 7. Note on पञ्चसरडली—cf. पाञ्चक of a Nepalese inscription (*C. I. I.*, III. Intro., p. 183). Note on राजकुल—The word also means the king's court or a court of justice, and hence a member of that court.
- P. 274—L. 9. Read—Gupta year 90 + x (= AD. 409-10 + x). FN. 4. L. 1. Read—were originally meant.
- P. 275—FN. 1. Add—(Allan, *Cat.*, p. 51). FN. 2. L. 2. Add before (2)—who belonged to the fifth century (see *infra*, note 3).
- P. 276—T. L. 1. Read—०दत्तयतः. L. 2. Read—खड्गेन.
- P. 279—L. 3. Read—संतताद्धत. L. 8. Read—[ख]र्ग⁵. L. 15. Read—वरस्तंभो[च्छ]यः.
- P. 281—L. 7. Read—०वापमेक⁶. L. 9. Read—दत्त. FN. 6. L. 2. Read—Bengal *bighā* (=80 square cubits=1600 sq. yards= $\frac{1}{8}$ of an acre which is 4840 sq. yards). See p. 286, n. 9; p. 500f. Modern Kulavāy (=Kulyavāpa), Doṇ (=Droṇavāpa) and Ārḥā (=Ādhavāpa) have lost their original denotations. Omit the three sentences beginning with “The word may also”, “According to Kullūka” and “Medhātithi says”.
- P. 282—L. 4. Read—भद्र न¹. L. 5. Read—No. 17.
- P. 283—FN. 3. L. 4. Add before देवद्रोणी—Of course one may suggest the correction पारगो भारडिद-समुद्र०. In that case Bhāraḍida may possibly be identified with Bharādhi. Add at the end

- The passage श्रीसोमनाथदेवद्रोणीप्रतिबद्धमहायणान्तःपाति० of the Veraval inscription, l. 12, may suggest that the word sometimes meant a *devasthāna* or temple (*infra*, p. 361, n.).
- P. 284—FN. 6. Add—It may be pointed out that the despised *Vaidya* caste born of *Sūdra* father and *Vaiśya* mother (*Mahābh.*, XIII, 9) is the outcast now called *Vediya* and has little to do with the Bengal *Vaidyas*. FN. 10. Add before “For नीवि”—See *infra*, p. 338, n. 4.
- P. 285—FN. 5. Read—श्लोको.
- P. 286—FN. 9. L. 6. Read—See *infra*, p. 332, n. 7; p. 347, n. 5.
- P. 287—L. 1. Read—श्लोकौ. FN. 8. Read—a symbol.
- P. 288—L. 3. Read—Inscription mentioning Kumāra.
- P. 289—L. 13. Read—विषये० FN. 1. Add—Cf. *infra*, Nos. 51-52.
- P. 290—L. 18. Read—भूमे०.
- P. 293—L. 14. Read—सुमेरु०.
- P. 294—L. 14. Read—बंधुवर्मे०.
- P. 295—L. 8. Read—नुषार-कण०. L. 17. Read—पात्थिवैः. FN. 3. Add—
स्थित्या=according to the established custom, i.e., the custom established by the Republic of the Mālavas. Cf. ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या in *infra*, No. 58, l. 6. FN. 4. L. 6. Omit—In that case. Ll. 8-9. Omit the sentence beginning with “If this interpretation” and Read—The Mandasor inscription (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 7) of Vikrama year 524 (=467 A.D.) records the donation of Dattabhāṭa (son of Vāyurakshita who was a general of Govinda Gupta son of Chandra Gupta II), the commander-in-chief of king Prabhākara, shows that Prabhākara was a son or successor of Bandhuvarman and was possibly ruling in A.D. 473.
- P. 296—FN. Ll. 1-2. Omit matter within brackets and Read—Mālwa king in the Mālava year.
- P. 298—Ll. 11-12. Read—Inscription [of Ghaṭotkacha Gupta] of the time of Kumāra Gupta I. Note—Considering the date of

the record, it ought to have been placed above between No. 16 and No. 17. Mr. M. B. Garde has recently published the inscription with a facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 117. More than half of the stone has broken away from the left-hand side.

TEXT¹

1

[र]रिच्यस्य लोकत्रयान्ते ।²

चरणकमलमत्त्यं³ वन्द्यते सिद्धसङ्घैः⁴ [॥*]⁵

राजा श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तदनु जयति यो मेदिनीं सागरान्ताम्

2[1*]

[॥*]⁶

...श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेंद्रकल्पः

कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्स [मग्राम्] [1*]

ररत्त साध्वीमिव धर्मपत्नीम्⁷

वीर्याग्रहस्तरुपगुह्य भूमिम् [॥*]⁸

3 ...
 ... [मेश?] गौरः [1*]

1 From the facsimile in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.

2 The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. The first word may be मुरारि.

3 Read कमलमच्छं वन्द्यते. Or, better कमलमन्त्यं.

4 Read सङ्घै

5 Metre: मालिनी

6 Metre: स्रग्धरा

7 Read पत्नी

8 Metre: उपजाति (इन्द्रवज्रा+उपेन्द्रवज्रा)

क्षित्यम्बरे गुणसमूहमयूखजालो

नामोदितस्स तु घटोत्कचगुप्तचन्द्रः [॥*]¹

स पूर्वजानां स्थिरसत्त्वकीर्ति-

र्भुजाजितां कीर्तिमभिपपद्य ॥²

4 — — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — — — — [॥*]³...

[गुप्तान्वया*]नां वसुधेश्वराणा[म्]⁴

समा शते षोडशवर्षयुक्ते ।

कुमारगुप्ते नृपतौ प्रिथिव्याम्⁵

विराजामाने⁶ शरदीव सूर्ये ॥⁷

वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे

5 — — — — — — — — — — [॥*]

— — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — — — — [॥*]⁸...

— — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — — — — [॥*]

— — — — — — — — — — त-

श्रीदेव इत्युज्जित-नामधेयः [॥*]⁹

तदग्रजो(S*)भूद्धरिदेवसंज्ञ-

स्ततो(S*)नुजो यस्तु स धन्यदेवः [॥*]

1 Metre: वसन्ततिलका. The first word may be नगेश.

2 Only one *danda* is required for correct punctuation.

3 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

4 Read ०श्वराणां.

5 Read पृथिव्यां.

6 Read विराज०

7 Metre: उपजाति.

8 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. Vatodaka has been indentified with the village of Badoh in the Bhilsa Dist, Gwalior State.

9 Metre: इन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

ततो(S*)वरो यश्च स भद्रदेव-

स्तत ॐ कनीयानपि सङ्गदेव[:]¹ [॥*]²

6 ... — — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — न-सक्त-चित्ताः [॥*]

समानवृत्ताकृति[भावधीराः]

[कृता]लयास्तुम्बवने ब[भू]वुः ॥³

अकारयंस्ते गिरि[श्रि]ङ्गतुङ्ग⁴

शशि[प्रभं] देवनि[वासहर्म्यम्*] [॥*]

— — — — — — — — — —

— — — — — — — — — — [॥*]⁵

P. 299—L. 21. Read—अर्द्धसप्त.

P. 301—L. 17. Read—विधाय.

P. 303—FN. 1. L. 2. Read—all-pervading.

P. 304—L. 15. Read—ब्रह्मण्य. L. 16. Read—शक्तः. FN. 4. Omit
matter and Read—शक्त=प्रियंवद. FN. 5. Read—पर्यदत्तात्.

P. 308—L. 17. Read—No. 26—Kahāum.

P. 310—FN. 4. Add—See *infra*, p. 345, n. 4.

P. 311—FN. 5. L. 3. Read—the interest or income was. FN. 8.
Read—आजस्रिक.

P. 312—L. 13. Read—शाई ल०.

P. 313—L. 2. Read—दौहित्यस्य.

P. 316—FN. 3. L. 4. Read—A line in Part II contained.

P. 319—FN. 1. Add—V. S. Agrawala (*Journ. Num. Soc. Ind.*, III,
p. 82) points out that Bhadrā is the wife of Kubera

1 Read सङ्ग०

2 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा.

3 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति. Tumbavana is Tumain in the Guna
Dist., Gwalior State.

4 Read शृङ्ग

5 Metre: उपेन्द्रवज्रा or उपजाति.

- (Vaiśravaṇa). FN. 4. Add—The date on the coin No. 527 in Allan's *Cat.*, has been doubtfully read as 145 or 148. A comparison of the figures for 8 found on the coins of the Sakas of western India however shows that the date is 148=A.D. 167-68.
- P. 323—T. L. 1. Read—समतिक्रान्ते. L. 9. Read—प्रतिमा³. FN. 3. Add—Read यदत्र प्रतिमां पुरयं in verse 4. FN. 5. Add—Note that Bhikshus and Arhats are often called *buddha-putta*.
- P. 324—FN. 2. L. 4. Add before ग्रामिक—The word कुडुम्बिन् is the origin of Koormi or Kulmbi, a prominent agriculturist caste of North India.
- P. 325—FN. 1. L. 3. Read—अप्रदा.
- P. 328—L. 4. Add—D. C. Sircar, *Ind. Cult.*, V, p. 432f. FN. 4. Omit matter and Read—शण्डके may also be read गरुडके.
- P. 331—FN. 4. L. 4. Read—dominions possibly.
- P. 333—FN. 1. Read—बाधाञ्च. FN. 7. L. 8. Read—p. 264. Add—like the Skytho-Parthians. The word गजवर (originally Persian) is used *supra*, p. 119. सामन्त=feudatory chief.
- P. 341—L. 7. Add—(c. 340-60 A.D.). FN. 1. L. 4. Read—Mālwa (*infra*, No. 51).
- P. 342—FN. 4. Add—Ptolemy's Pentapolis?
- P. 343—FN. 1. Read—०द्यति is right, but the order.
- P. 344—FN. 5. Add—निन्न is the ordinary Pr. form for Sans. निन्न.
- P. 347—L. 12. Read—दातुमि[ति]. FN. 3. L. 1. Read—पञ्चस्तूप (mod. Pānchthupī ?)
- P. 351—FN. 2. Add—Chattā, as suggested by Pargiter, is apparently the same as the modern Chaṭṭopādhyāya, a cognomen of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. According to the popular tradition however the ancestors of the Kulīna Brāhmaṇas of Bengal came to the country from Kānya-kubja or Kolāñcha at the invitation of a king named

Ādiśūra in the Śaka year 654 (=732 A.D.). As I have elsewhere pointed out, the Maithilī Brahmanic Mūlāgrāma (the place where a family claims to have originally lived; same as the Bengali *Gāi*) Gaṅgauli is the same as the Bengali Brahmanic (Kulīna) cognomen Gāṅgulī or Gaṅgopādhyāya (*Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Comm.*, 1942, p. 83). The usual identification of the locality in question with Gāṅgur in the Burdwan Dist. is unwarranted. The place was very probably outside Bengal. These facts appear to show that the social division of high class Bengal Brāhmaṇas into Rāḍhīya and Vārendra and the attempt to locate the 56 Rāḍhīya and 100 Vārendra *gāis* respectively in Rāḍha and Varendra (which as a name is not earlier than the age of the Pālas) are unsound.

The attempt is apparently connected with the mythical account of the rise of Kulinism in Bengal. It is to be noted that Kulinism is also found in Mithilā. There the credit for its introduction is given to a medieval king named Hari-siṃha who holds in the story of the *kulapañjikāras* the same position as king Ballālasena does in Bengal. But the silence of epigraphic records on this point is worth noticing. That the tradition of Ādiśūra is late is suggested by the reference to the Śaka era which was popular in S. India and was introduced into Bengal by the Senas in the 11th-12th centuries A.D. There is no truth in the fantastic idea that learned Brāhmaṇas could not be found in East Bengal and that respectable Brāhmaṇa families now living in eastern and central Bengal and calling themselves Rāḍhīya all migrated from their original home in Rāḍha. The artificial increase in the number of Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas and the absence of *Vaṅgaja* Brāhmaṇa may be due to extraordinary favour extended to the Rāḍhīyas by kings of the Sena Dynasty which was after all a Rāḍhīya family

later on ruling from Vikramapura. The existence of Brāhmaṇas outside Rāḍha and Varendra in early times is sufficiently proved by epigraphic evidence. As to the expansion of Aryanism in Eastern India, it may be pointed out that the early easternmost Aryan settlement was Mithilā from where Aryan culture spread over the countries of Jarā-sandha of Magadha, Paundraka Vāsudeva of North Bengal and Bhagadatta of Prāgyotisha (possibly derived from *prāgyotīs*, i.e. the dawn, which would then indicate the easterly course of the expansion of Aryan culture from Mithilā). East Bengal thus appears to have received Aryanism from the north and not from Rāḍha. Rāḍha was certainly Aryanized later than North Bengal; but its culture seems to be indebted not only to the north but also to the east. Epigraphic evidence proves that both North and East Bengal acknowledged the Prakrit language and the Brāhmī script long before the Christian era. No such proof has as yet come to light with reference to Rāḍha. *FN. 11.*

L. 1. Note on "Kulyavāpa"—One K. of cultivated land was sold at 4 *dīnāras*=64 *rūpakas* in Central Bengal and one K. of fallow land at 2 *dīnāras*=32 *rūpaks*, or 3 *dīnāras*=48 *rūpakas* in North Bengal. The price of a *bighā* of land in many parts of the Faridpur District is even to-day almost nominal as they are thinly populated. In *average*, the price of a *bighā* of land now may be said roughly to be Rs. 20. But the purchasing power of the Gupta silver coin was much higher than the modern Rupee. From a study of the *Ain-i-Akbarī*, it has been pointed out (Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 52) that one rupee of Akbar's time was equal in purchasing power to six rupees in 1912, i. e. even before the First World War. The Chinese traveller Fa-hian, in his transactions with the common people of East India never met with coined money but only saw cowries. This

fact shows that the purchasing power of the Gupta *rūpaka* was even higher than Akbar's rupee. Sixty-four Gupta *rūpakas* were therefore equal to at least about six hundred forty rupees of to-day. *Kulyavāpa* was therefore a very large area of land. Bengali authors, especially of the *Smṛiti* school (cf. Kullūka on Manu, VII, 126 ; *Śabdakalpa*, s. v. *muṣṭi* and *puṣkala*) refer to the following measurement of paddy—अष्टसुष्टिर्भवेत् कुब्जिः कुब्जयोऽष्टौ च पुष्कलम् । पुष्कलानि तु चत्वारि आदकः परिकीर्तितः ॥ चतुरादको भवेद्दोणः, etc. According to Medinīkara, a *kulya* is equal to eight *droṇas*. Now, according to the tradition followed by the Bengal *smārtas* (also according to actual measurement of the required number of handfuls), a *droṇa* of paddy is equal in the modern measure to 1md. 24srs. or 2mds. One *kulya* is thus equal to 12mds. 32 srs. or 16mds. The land required for sowing the seedlings of one *kulya* of paddy was no doubt called *kulyavāpa* (cf. *Amarakoṣa*, *Vaiśya*, 10). As the present Bengal rate is seedlings of 1md. of paddy for 10 *bighās*, seedlings of one *kulya* of paddy would require between 125 and 160 *bighās*. A *Kulyavāpa* was thus originally not less than 125 *bighās*. If it is supposed that the system refers not to transplantation but to sowing of seeds, one *Kulyavāpa* would be from 38 to 48 *bighās*, as the rate is 1md. of paddy-seeds for 3 *bighās*. For further discussion, see my papers in *Bhāratbarsha* (Beng.), 1349 B. S., p. 263ff and in *R. K. Mookerjee Volume*. FN. 11. L. 6. *Note on "the sea"*—The medieval tradition regarding the expansion of the Bay of Bengal as far as Devikōṭa or Bāṅgarh in the Dinājpur District referred to in such works as Bṛhaspati Rāyamukūṭa's *Padachandrikā* (पूर्वे क्लि देवीकोटसमीपे पश्चिमे पूर्वोदधिरासोत्, *I. H. Q.*, XVII, p. 471) is apparently due to the existence in the central region of Bengal of large *bils* or lakes like the Chalan.

P. 353—FN. 14 Read—Read.

p. 355—FN. 13. Read—०दस्मद्विज्ञाप्य.

P. 358—FN. 1 L. 1. Read—भवद्भ्यः. FN. 5. L. 3. Read—XXIII.

P. 360—FN. 9. Note on कार्त्तिक—Cf. कृत्याकृत्येषु चार्थानां विनियोजकः= chief executive officer to finally determine what ought or what ought not to be done in affairs of state (Hopkins, *J. A. O. S.*, XIII, pp. 128-29). Mr. K. G. Goswami Sastri suggests to me that कृताकृत means पूर्व कृतं पश्चादकृतम्. In that case कार्त्तिक may indicate a judge of an appellate court.

P. 361—L. 2. Read—षष्ठित्त.

P. 365—FN. 1. Add—Numismatic evidence suggests that Kushāṇa influence extended over large parts of Bengal and Orissa.

P. 366—FN. 1. L. 20. Read—III, pp. 61-64. L. 24. Read—e.g. in the records.

P. 371—FN. 6. Ll. 12-13. Read—are intended. That they were royal officers is possibly supported by *infra*, No. 58, l. 2. The fines imposed. Add—Ghoshal takes चोरदण्ड in the sense of police-tax (*Hindu Revenue System*, p. 211). Mirashi (*Nag. Un. Journ.*, Dec., 1937, p. 23) thinks that this refers to immunity from entry of royal soldiers and policemen except when they had to punish thieves, etc.

P. 372—FN. 6. Add—or तद्.

P. 373—FN. 9. L. 1. Read—भोगिक. Add—Or it may be a case of wrong *sandhi* of दूतकः+महा०.

P. 374—L. 1. Read—(b) Parivrājaka. L. 17. Read—नृप०.

P. 375—L. 9. Read—पालयिष्यो०

P. 377—FN. 2. Add—For another record of V. S. 474(=A.D. 417) of Naravarman, see *Addenda et Corrigenda* on p. 388.

P. 378—L. 11. Read—कृतोद्यमः

P. 382—FN. 3. L. 3. Read—सौम्येषु. L. 5. Read—सोत्तर०

- P. 384—L. 5. Read—नयन(:*). FN. 3. Omit the second sentence.
FN. 7. L. 2. Omit—and नयनः in l. 27.
- P. 385—L. 15. Read—विशुद्ध-भूरि
- P. 386—FN. 2. (last line). Read—p. 388.
- P. 388—FN. 1. L. 7. Read—true in all. Add—In the Biharkotra inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 131), Naravarman is called Aulikara (=Limakara, according to N.P.Chakravarti). Yaśovarman thus belonged to the same family as Naravarman.
- P. 390—FN. 5. Ll. 3-4. Read—p. 157, n.
- P. 391—L. 20. Read—लिखितेषु⁴. Read FN. 1. at p. 392 as FN. 4 at p. 391. In that FN. L. 2. Read—custom, seems.
- P. 392—L. 5. Omit FN. mark on मानिनीनां. L. 8. Read—कान्तं¹. L. 13. Read—धीमां². L. 17. Read उत्कीर्णा³. Read FN. 2, 3 and 4 respectively as 1, 2 and 3.
- P. 394—FN. 4. L. 4. Read—conquered.
- P. 397—FN. 2. Add—Note that Dhanyavishṇu has no royal title, though Airikiṇa is referred to as his own *vishaya*. This possibly shows that Dhanyavishṇu's position as *vishaya-pati* was not as yet sanctioned by Toramāṇa who recently occupied the country. This fact may also suggest that the year refers to Toramāṇa's occupation of Mālwa and not to his actual regnal year which was possibly not known to Dhanyavishṇu.
- P. 398—FN. 4. L. 9. Read—Suṅga.
- P. 399—FN. 4. L. 1. Read—वेणिकाद्भुत°. आवेणिकाद्भुतधर्म=the marvellous *dharma*s called *āveṇika* (see *infra*, p. 464, n.). *I.e.*, attained the 4 *vaiśāradyas*, etc.
- P. 400—T, L. 10. Read—विधत्ते
- P. 401—L. 11. Read—मुद्रितं
- P. 403—FN. 5. L. 1. Read—*drāṅgika*. Add—*drāṅga* is used in *Rāj. Tar.* (VIII, 2010) in the sense of an interior post for the collection of duties.

- P. 404—L. 1. Read द्राक्षिक. Read FN. 4 as FN. 6 and also FN. 6 as FN. 4.
- P. 405—L. 9. Omit FN. mark on प्राप्नोति. L. 10. Read—०दिमि(:*) FN. 9. Omit—प्राप्नोति and
- P. 406—FN. 2. Add—Bk. III, No. 15, etc. It is a matter of regret that Prof. V. V. Mirashi and Mr. D. B. Mahajan who have recently edited this record in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 137 ff have accepted this conclusion but have given no credit to the author of this pages (cf. *Proc. Ind. Hist. Cong.*, 1939, p. x f). It may also be pointed out in this connection that modern contributors to the *Ep. Ind.* are often shy in acknowledging indebtedness to others, apparently because this journal does not usually publish comments and criticisms. Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi who has recently edited (*Ep. Ind.*, XXV, p. 45, n. 2.) a Śālaṅkāyana inscription has tried in his paper to prove at some length the unhistoricity of an alleged Śālaṅkāyana king named Buddhavarman. This however was conclusively proved by me as early as 1933 (see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, IX, p. 208ff; *Journ. Dep. Let.*, XXVI, p. 60; *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 63ff.). It is curious that my friends refer to me not when they adopt my views and arguments but only when they think they can offer a suggestion better than mine.
- P. 408—FN. 5. Add—*Si* is often found as a loc. sing. termination after words ending in *a* in Ardha-Māgadhi. But it may be that, as suggested by Mirashi and Mahajan, it is a gen. plu. termination formed on the analogy of pronouns like तेसि (=तेषाम्).
- P. 409—FN. 1. Add—Cf. also करंणि for Sans. करणीय.
- P. 410—FN. (last line). Read—p. 414, n. 6.
- P. 412—FN. 4. Add—cf. *Suc. Sāt.*, p. 88, n. 1.

- P. 413—L. 8. Read—०स्मामि(:*). Omit the FN. mark. FN. 2. L. 3. Read—गोत्रिणी. L. 5. Read—Laghuhārīta(?). L. 13. Read—हृदयेन्द्रियैः. Add—The *Parāśaramādhava* refers to Gāndharva and other marriages and to the case of the Putrikā (cf. Laugākshi), when *gotrāntara* does not take place owing to *pradānābhava*. According to the *Smṛitichandrikā*, the father's *sapiṇḍas* are also the *sapiṇḍas* of the mother, but not so in the case of the Putrikā. N. C. Sengupta refers to the Gṛihya rituals in course of which the bride is universally called by the *gotra* name of her husband (*J.A.S.B.L.*, IV, p. 149ff). FN. 4. Omit.
- P. 414—FN. 5. L. 2. Read—officers were.
- P. 416—L. 3. Read—०दद्यातो. L. 10. Read—पौत्रा⁹. Read—FN. 4 as FN. 5, FN. 5 as FN. 6, FN. 6 as FN. 8 and FN. 8 as FN. 9.
- P. 417—FN. 14. Read—अतीता
- P. 420—L. 7. Read—युधिष्ठिर
- P. 423—FN. 10. Read—कोश-राष्ट्र
- P. 426—FN. 2. Note—A more useful facsimile of the Ajaṇṭā record has been recently published in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI.
- P. 427—L. 18. Read—नयवांस्तदा. FN. 4. Read—Mirashi's view has been reiterated in the paper on the Basim grant in *Ep. Ind.*, XXVI, p. 137ff. श्रीविंध्यसेन may not be impossible.
- P. 430—L. 11. Read—धम्मैण्.
- P. 431—FN. 1. Omit—नभोत्रितं
- P. 433—FN. 2. Add—The peculiar forms of the letters are merely cursive ones. FN. 7. Add—I am now convinced that the letter is न, not ण.
- P. 435—FN. 1. Add—Cf. *Addenda et Corrigenda* on p. 192, n. 6.
- P. 436—TS. L. 10. Read—कुर्युः. FN. 1. Read—margin on the level

of lines. FN. 3. Read—margin on the level of lines. FN.
4. L. 1. Karṇāṭa.

P. 437—L. 2. Read—Year 8.

P. 441—TS. L. 9. Read—आरामं

P. 442—L. 14. Read—वर्त्तत. L. 18. Read—इति॥

P. 444—TS. L. 4. Read—भगवन्नारा०

P. 447—L. 8. Read—निमित्त'

P. 448—L. 4. Read—भूतो

P. 452—L. 13. Read—०ष्वरातिषु. FN. 2. L. 2. Read—p. 247.

P. 455—FN. 5. Add—It is however possible to suggest that the poet did not actually engrave but only wrote on the stone and the engraver cut the stone according to the poet's letters. This may have been the custom also followed in regard to some of the copper-plates.

P. 457—FN. 7. L. 2. Read—Sylhet Dist.

P. 465—FN. 2. L. 1. Read—formula.

P. 466—FN. 2. L. 4. Read—*pāda* 3; V. 2, *pāda* 3; V. 3, *pāda* 1.

P. 467—FN. 1. L. 5. Read—पुण्यम्

P. 470—FN. 8. L. 2. Read—ख्यातां पुरीं

P. 472—L. 8. Read—[वृ]-. L. 14. Read—विविचता. Read—सिंहासना-
द्वयासने.

INDEX OF SOME INTERESTING WORDS

- Akshapaṭalādhikṛita**, 264 &n, 266.
Achovina, 238f.
Agrahāra, 266 &n, 358.
Agrahārika, 319.
Adhikaraṇa, 281 &n, 284 &n, 286, 324, 337, 346ff, 350 ff, 355f, 361, 404 &n.
Adhishṭhāna, 284 &n, 337, 346ff.
Anusamyāna, 20, 44.
Aṃtamahāmāta, 55ff.
Abhyāsa, 407 &n.
Ashtakula, 281 &n, 324.
Ahāla (Āhāra), 51.
Āgrahārika, 360 &n.
Ājīvika, 66, 78ff
Āḍhaka, 146.
Āḍhavāpa, 348 &n.
Āyukta, 259 &n, 346 &n, 360 &n, 444, 480.
Āvasathika, 360f.
Āharaṇi, 404 &n.
Āhāra, 76 n, 404 n, 413.
Istridhiyakshmamahamatra, 34.
Udraṅga 371 &n, 403n
Uparika, 284 ff, 319, 338, 354n, 360&n.
Uparikara, 266 n. 371 &n
Audraṅgika, 360 &n.
Aurṇasthānika, 360 &n.
Karma-sachiva, 174.
Kārttākṛitika, 360 &n.
Kārshāpaṇa, 157ff, 187,
Kala, 247f, 244.
Kāhāpaṇa, *see* Kārshāpaṇa.
Kilmechiya, 238ff. 244ff.
Kilamudra, 235ff.
Kumārāmātya, 260, 360 &n.
Kumārāmātya-Uparika, 357.
Kulyavāpa, 248 n, 281 ln, 284f, 325, 329ff, 338f, 343ff, 346ff, 355f, 358f, 361f, 493, 500f.
Kuśana, 159n.
Kēvaṭa-bhoga, 62.
Koṭa-vishaya, 76.
Khādyatāpākika, 260 &n.
Gaṇjavara, 119, 483.
Goptri, 301 &n.
Gaulmika, 318.
Grāmika 205 &n, 324.
Charaka, 163n. *
Chāturmāsī, 63, 119n, 134n, 481, 484.
Chojhbo, 235 f, 243 n.
Chauroddharaṇika, 360 &n.
Jyestha-kāyastha, 355, 357.
Tadāyuktaka, 360 &n.
Tommi, 240ff.
Tomga, 240ff.
Darvvikarma, 344 &n.
Daśavala, 224 n, 399 &n.
Dipi, 38 &n,
Divira, 247f, 483.
Dināra, 222 &n, 273, 284, 286, 325, 330 338f, 343f, 347f, 351f, 355f, 358.
Dūtaka, 333.
Devadroni, 360f, 494.
Devavrata, 123, 484.
Draṅga 403 n. 494, 503.
Drōṇa, 286 & n, 334ff.
Drōṇavāpa, 248 & n. 343ff, 347 ff.
Dharaṇa, 158n.
Dharma-mahāmātra, 23f, 34, 66.
Dharma-lipi, 17.
Dharma-yuta, 59.
Nagaravyavahāraka, 41, 48 n.
Nagalaviyohalakā, *see* Nagaravgya-hāraka.
Nala, 325&n, 344f, 349&n, 355f, 358.
Nijhati (=nidhyāti), 26, 67, 473.
Nipista, 38&n,
Niyogin, 328n.
Pañcha-maṇḍali, 273&n, 493.
Pañchādhikaraṇoparika, 333&n.
Paṇa, 158n.

Padra, 410.
 Parisā, 20, 25.
 Parihāra, maryādā°, 192ff, 408ff, 435ff, 460.
 Parama-bhāgavata, 262f, 265&n, 278, 313, 318, 322
 Pāṭyuparika, 333&n.
 Pāśhaṃḍa (=pārshada), 23f, 27, 33f, 213n, 478f, 481.
 Purapāloparika, 333&n.
 Pulisā (=purusha), 55, 59, 65.
 Pora-jānapada, 208.
 Pratyanta, 19.
 Prathama-kāyastha, 284&n, 338.
 Prathama-kulika, 284&n, 338.
 Pradeśa, 262.
 Prādesika, 20.
 Brahmadeya, 404, 457.
 Bhadramukha, 79&n.
 Bhukti, 283ff.
 Bhoga, 372&n, 460.
 Bhogapatika, 360&n.
 Bhogapāla, 360n.
 Bhogika, 334, 360n, 373.
 Bhojaka, 208, 212n, 438, 441.
 Matisachiva 174.
 Mahātalavara 220, 222, 227ff
 Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, 181, 260.
 Mahāpīlupati, 264&n, 333.
 Mahāpratihāra, 333, 354&n, 357.
 Mahābalādhikṛita, 264&n, 283, 373.
 Mahāmātra, 25, 41, 43n, 46, 66, 72, 76f, 85, 183.
 Mahārāṭhi, 195&n.
 Mahāsenāpati, 195&n, 201, 204n.
 Mahāsvāmika, 202n.
 Milima, 237f.
 Yajña—
 Agādheya, 187.
 Agnishtoma, 222ff, 227ff, 407, 419.
 Agnihotra, 222ff, 227ff.
 Aṅgirasāmayana, 188.

Aṅgirasātīrāta, 187.
 Anārambhaniya, 187.
 Aśvamedha, 188, 222f, 227f, 255n, 262f, 265, 387n, 398n, 407, 412&n, 419, 452.
 Atuyāma (Āptoryāma), 188.
 Āptoryyāma, 407, 419,
 Bhagala-dasarata, 188.
 Brihaspatisava, 407, 419.
 Chhandomapavamānatirata, 188.
 Dasarata, 189.
 Gargatirata, 188.
 Gavāmayana, 188,
 Jyotishṭoma, 407, 419.
 Rājasūya, 208n, 393n.
 Satātīrata, 188.
 Sādyaskra, 407, 419.
 Vājapeya, 222f, 227ff, 407, 419.
 Yukta, 259n.
 Yuta, 20.
 Raṭha-nikama (=Rāshṭranigama), 128.
 Rathika (=Rāshṭrika) 208, 212n.
 Rahasyādhikṛita, 441.
 Rājavāchanika (=Lājavachanika), 48n.
 Rājuka, Lajuka (=Rajjuka), 20, 53.
 Rūpaka, 343ff.
 Vijita, 18ff, 24.
 Vishaya, 76n, 263, 281, 284, 290, 350ff, 403&n.
 Vishaya-pati, 360&n.
 Vithi, 361ff.
 Vracha-bbumika, 34.
 Śreṇi 158f, 311.
 Samāja, 16, 17, 207.
 Samvyavahārin, 242n.
 Sādhnika, 351.
 Sāndhi-vigrahika, 260, 364n.
 Shoṭhaṅga, 235n, 238f, 240f.
 Hala, 201n.
 Hiraṇyasāmudāyika, 360&n.
 Horamūrta, 139.

GENERAL INDEX

A

- Abhayadatta, 390f.
 Abhayamitra, 323.
 Abhira, 176&n, 177n, 258&n, 449f.
 Abulāma, 203.
 Achacchanivika, 95&n, 482.
 Achyuta, 256f, 492.
 Adhichchhatra, 98&n.
 Ādinātha, 310n.
 Ādi-Prajñā, 332n.
 Ādityasena, 264n, 337n.
 Afghanistan, 122n, 153.
 Africa, 39n.
 Agathoklea, 105&n.
 Agathokles, 100n, 105n.
 Agnimitra, 106n.
 Agnisvāmin, 460.
 Ahichchhatra 97f, 257n.
 Ahuramazdā, 3f, 7,9,10ff, 477.
 Aila, 211n.
 Aira, 211n, 214.
 Airāvata, 106n.
 Airāvatāgorājya, 286.
 Airikiṇa, 262&n, 397&n.
 Ajakālaka, 192&n.
 Aiaṇṭā, 425.
 Ajapuraka, 318.
 Ajātaśatru, 94n.
 Ajjhitadevi, 371.
 Ajitasena, 180.
 Ajitasenavihāra, 335.
 Ajmer, 162n, 341n.
 Ākara, 90n, 172&n, 196.
 Ākāsapadda, 407, 409n.
 Akesines, 86n.
 Alarka, 394n.
 Albīrūnī, 269n.
 Alexander, 39n, 86n.
 Alexandria, 326n.
 Alikasudara, 37.
 Alinaka, 216f.
 Allahābād, 55n, 72f, 97&n. 254, 262n,
 267n, 275n, 278n.
 Amarāvati, 200n, 434n.
 Āmba, 85n.
 Ambālā, 55.
 Ambikā, 254n.
 Āmḍhra, *see* Andhra.
 Āmkkaga, 247ff.
 Āmra, 216f.
 Āmragartikā, 363&n.
 Āmrakārdava, 273&n.
 Amṛitadeva, 338.
 Āmśuvarman, 366n.
 Āmṭikini, 37.
 Āmṭiyoka, 37.
 Ambarīsha, 350, 354, 357.
 Anāchāra, 358n.
 Ānanda, 95.
 Ānandapura, 263.
 Anantadevi, 297, 322.
 Anantavarman, 79&f.
 Anantasena, 318.
 Ānarta, 172&n, 174.
 Audala, 216f.
 Audāra, 216f.
 Āndau, 157n, 167.
 Andhra, 37, 183f, 429, 431n, 434n.
 Andhrabhṛitya, 183n.
 Andhradeśa, 215.
 Andhrāpatha, 434&n.
 Āṇḍiya-kanda, 232.
 Āṇga, 209, 212n.
 Animitra, 351.
 Anio, 156n.
 Aniruddha 186n.
 Annam 226n, 471.
 Annapūrṇā, 254n, 375n.
 Antalikita, 90.
 Antarvedī, 310&n, 327n.
 Antialkidas, 90f, 106&n.
 Antigonas Gonatas, 39n.
 Antimakhos, 100n.
 Antiokhos, 18n.
 Antiokhos II Theos, 19, 39n, 99n.
 Anūpa, 172&n, 196.

- Anurādhapura, 232.
 Apakatha, 216f.
 Aparakakhaḍi, 192, 194n.
 Āparamahāvinaseliya 228.
 Aparānta, 23f, 172&n, 176n, 196, 225f, 258n, 431n.
 Aphaṣa, 337n.
 Āpiṭṭi, 438, 440.
 Apollodotos, 100n.
 Apsiya-sāmcha, 247f.
 Apsu-karamtsa 247f.
 Apura, 232n.
 Arā, 149.
 Arabāya, 4, 6ff
 Arakhosia, 6, 7n, 8, 11, 100n.
 Ārāma, 217.
 Aravelly, 172n, 196n.
 Arcot, 257n-
 Ardhakaraka, 360.
 Ardhaṭi, 339&n.
 Ardokhso, 155n, 156n.
 Ares, 156n.
 Arhat, 150, 206, 209ff, 211n, 214ff, 310n, 348, 399n.
 Arjuna, 351.
 Arjunāyana, 257.
 Arjunabappa, 351n.
 Arkadāsa, 344.
 Arshāma, 4ff.
 Arta, 112n.
 Artaxerxes II, 5f.
 Artemesios, 153f.
 Ārya, 206.
 Āryā, 319n.
 Āryacheta, 151.
 Aryan, 98n.
 Āryanagaraśreshṭhin, 338.
 Āryavarman 457,
 Āryāvarta, 257&n, 341n.
 Asagarta, 7ff.
 Asaka (= Asmaka), 196.
 Āshāḍhasena, 98f.
 Asia, 39n, 147n, 234ff.
 Asika, 196, 198n, 207n.
 Asikanagara, 207&n.
 Asikni, 86n.
 Aśmaka, 198n.
 Aśoka, 16ff, 20, 24n, 38n, 41n, 51n, 55n, 57n, 63n, 70f, 73n, 77n, 81n, 85n, 102n, 150n, 171&n, 212n, 215n, 233n, 254ff, 259n, 276n.
 Assam, 258n.
 Astakampra, 404n.
 Asura, 11ff.
 Aśvamedha, coin-type, 267ff, 297.
 Aśvamedhamahendra. 297.
 Aśvatthanagara, 417&n.
 Aśvavarman, 466.
 Aśvibhūti, 162f.
 Aśvinikumāras, 101n.
 Atash, 143n.
 Āṭavi, 257, 375.
 Athsho, 143n, 155n.
 Athurā, 4, 7, 10, 12.
 Attila, 315n.
 Atyakshayanivika, 95&n.
 Augustus, 123n.
 Avalokiteśvara, 332&n.
 Avamukta, 256.
 Avantī, 172&n, 196, 429, 431n.
 Avarānta, *see* Aparānta.
 Avuhola, 113-
 Ayama, 166.
 Aya, *see* Azes.
 Ayasi, 112&n.
 Ayasi-Komuia, 112n.
 Ayasi-Komusā, 112n.
 Ayimita, 114.
 Ayavati, 118f.
 Ayodhyā, 96&n, 254n, 265&n, 322n, 338&n.
 Azes I, 127ff.
 Azes II, 128n, 131n.

B

- Bābairush, 4, 7, 10.
 Bactria, 6, 8, 11, 99n, 101n.
 Bādāmi, 220n.
 Baḍkāntā, 258n.
 Baḍvā, 92.
 Bahala, *see* Balkh.
 Bahasatimitra, 97, 209, 482.
 Bahram, 143n.
 Bahudhiva, 250.
 Bāigrām, 325n, 342.
 Bairāt, 49n, 77.

- Bajaur, 102.
 Bākhtrish, 4, 6ff, 10ff.
 Bala, 93n.
 Bālāditya, 315n, 322n.
 Bālāditya II, 322n.
 Balasāmi, 112.
 Balasiri, 198.
 Balavarman, 257.
 Balkh, 6, 129&n, 276n.
 Bāṇa, 452.
 Bāṇanagara, 284n.
 Bāṇapura, 284n.
 Banas, 161n.
 Banāsā, *see* Parnāsā.
 Banava, 215.
 Banavāsi, 191n, 220n, 225f, 226n, 388n.
 Bandhumitra, 284, 286, 328n.
 Bandhuvarman, 288, 294f, 377n, 494.
 Bansgaon, 85f.
 Bappa, 351.
 Bappisiri, 222.
 Barābar, 78f.
 Bareilley, 97n, 257n.
 Barhut, 89, 192n, 227n.
 Basārḥ, 298ff.
 Basim, 406.
 Basti, 84&n.
 Bāveru, 7, 11f.
 Bāyigrāma, 325n.
 Bayitaka, 236f.
 Beas, 276f.
 Belkharā, 296n.
 Benākataka, 175n, 191ff.
 Benares, 75, 132&n, 347n.
 Bengal, 82, 226n, 258n, 328n.
 Bengal, Bay of, 257n.
 Benvā, 191n.
 Berar, 198n, 257n.
 Besnagar, 90, 106n, 186n, 206n.
 Bhabru, 77.
 Bhadāyaniya, 198, 201f.
 Bhadra, 282n, 319n.
 Bhadrabala, 128.
 Bhadraka, 90n.
 Bhadramagha, 365.
 Bhadranandin, 361.
 Bhadrappushkaraka, 263.
 Bhadrāryā, 317ff, 497.
 Bhadravarman, 473ff.
 Bhadrāyana, 202n.
 Bhadresvara, 473ff.
 Bhadresvarasvāmin, 474, 476.
 Bhāgabhadra, 90ff, 106n.
 Bhāgavata, 98&n.
 Bhāgiratha, 453.
 Bhāgirathi, 454.
 Bhāgirathi, 419.
 Bhākā-lakshā, 407&n, 409n.
 Bhakti, 84n.
 Bhamodra-Mohotā, 403.
 Bhānu, 401.
 Bhānugupta, 327n, 355ff.
 Bhānuguptā, 390.
 Bharadhavasa, *see* Bhāratavarsha.
 Bhāradi, 283n.
 Bhāraḍida, 288n, 493f.
 Bhārasīva, 420.
 Bharata, 216f, 394n.
 Bharatpur, 172n.
 Bharukachchha, 161&n.
 Bhārut, 206n, 215n.
 Bhāskara, 310.
 Bhāskara, 344.
 Bhāskara (Sun-god), 289.
 Bhāskaravarman, 264n, 351n.
 Bhaṭtanandin, 339.
 Bhaṭṭidevā, 229.
 Bhaṭṭiprolu, 215&n.
 Bhava, 455.
 Bhavagopa, 204.
 Bhavanāga, 419.
 Bhaveśa, 142n.
 Bhāyala, 185n.
 Bhīmavarman, 365n.
 Bhimaya, 235f.
 Bhiruvaka, 405&n.
 Bhitari, 278n, 312, 321.
 Bhogachandra, 364.
 Bhoja, 23n, 37, 39n.
 Bhojakata, 421.
 Bhojaputta, 18n.
 Bhopāl, 74.
 Bhoyila, 344.
 Bhrātrikataka, 281.

Bhubaneswar, 70n.
 Bhujāṅgadāsa, 377.
 Bhumaka, 162n.
 Bhumārā, 370n.
 Bibhudatta, 285f.
 Bihar, 49n, 55n, 62, 78f, 95, 212n, 254n, 316.
 Bijaygarh, 172n.
 Bilāspur, 257n.
 Bilsaḍ, 275n, 278.
 Bisutun, 3.
 Bodhgayā, 97n, 479.
 Bodhisattva, 129n, 132f, 332n.
 Bogra, 82.
 Bombay, 16n.
 Bonkhara-bhoga, 460.
 Boyana, 122.
 Brahmā, 474.
 Brahmadāsa, 151f.
 Brahmadatta, 324, 328n.
 Brahmagiri, 49f.
 Brahmanyadeva, 279.
 Brahmaputra, 394n.
 Bṛihaspati, 209n, 259n.
 Bṛihaspatimitra, 97n, 209n, 482.
 Brindakoorē, 339n.
 Broach, 161n, 292n.
 Būba, 217.
 Buddha, 68n, 70f, 84n, 100n, 103f, 108n,
 109, 117n, 129n, 152, 211n, 215ff,
 224&n, 227ff, 287&n, 322f, 332&n,
 359n, 398f, 426, 463.
 Buddhaghosa, 17n.
 Buddhagupta, 322ff.
 Buddhagupta, 465n.
 Buddhamitra, 132, 148,
 Buddharakhita, 242f.
 Buddhavarman, 152.
 Buddhavarman, 443.
 Buddhila, 117n.
 Buddhism, 464&n.
 Budha (= Buddha), 70, 71, 77, 84, 113f,
 151, 201f.
 Budhagupta, 320n, 322ff, 326ff, 337n,
 396n.
 Budharakhita, 203.
 Bukto, 236f.
 Bulandshahr, 257n.

C

Ceylon, 232f.
 Chach, 131n.
 Chaḍhiya, 243f.
 Chaḍoda, 235f.
 Chaghaña, 217.
 Chaishpish, 4, 5.
 Chakora, 197.
 Chakrapālita, 303, 306n, 308.
 Chakrasvāmin, 342&n.
 Chalmadana, 235ff.
 Chalukya, 199n, 220n, 317n, 447.
 Chamaka, 245n.
 Chambal, 161n, 383n.
 Camdra, 128f.
 Chammak, 418.
 Champaran, 55n, 62.
 Chañchu, 85n.
 Chandra, 275&n, 277, 341n.
 Chandrabhāgā, 470.
 Chandradevi, 322&n.
 Chandragrāma, 324&n.
 Chandragupta (Maurya), 81n, 171, 275n.
 Chandragupta I, 253&ff, 259, 263f,
 265&n, 269n, 275n, 278, 313, 318, 321,
 328n, 412,
 Chandragupta II, 74n, 92n, 182n, 256n,
 262n, 268ff, 270ff, 273ff, 377ff, 382,
 298, 313, 315n, 318, 321, 388n, 412ff, 494.
 Chandramāsa, 275n.
 Chandrapura, 310&n.
 Chandravalli, 449.
 Chandravarman, 257&n, 275n, 341f.
 Chāṅgu-Nārāyaṇa, 366&n.
 Charmāṅka, 421.
 Charsadda, 99n.
 Chārudevi, 172n, 443.
 Chāruvāk, 72n.
 Chashtāna, 157n, 162ff, 170, 176ff, 178ff,
 197n.
 Chātamula, Chāmtamūla, Sāntamūla,
 220ff, 227ff.
 Chātisiri, 220ff.
 Chenāb, 86n.
 Chedi, 206ff, 211n.
 Chhaḍasilāa, 128, 484.
 Chhagalaga, 271.
 Chhoḍugomi, 375.

Chhattisgarh, 45n.
 Chikhalapadra, 158f.
 Chilāta(=kirāta), 225f.
 Chillarekakoḍumka, 438f.
 Chimika, 236f.
 China, 109n, 166n, 225f, 235n, 315n.
 Chinese Turkestan, 234f.
 Ching-Chüeh, 235n.
 Chinnakaḍabūru, 205.
 Chirātadatta (Kirātadatta), 284ff, 328n.
 Chitaldrug, 49n.
 Chitorgarh, 91.
 Chitravarman, 425.
 Choḍa, 18, 37.
 Cho-Dinh, 473.
 Chola, 18&n, 19.
 Chuḍamaṇi- nagara, 335&n.
 Chukhsa, 120&n, 131&n.
 Chuladhammagiri, 255.
 Chuṭu, 230n, 407n.
 Comilla, 258n.
 Cutch, 172n.

D

Ḍabhālā, 375.
 Dabok, 258n.
 Dahā, 12.
 Ḍahāla, 375n.
 Dāhala, 375n.
 Dahanu, 161n.
 Dahanukā, 161&n.
 Dakhamitrā, *see* Dakshamitrā.
 Dakhināpatha, *see* Dakshināpatha.
 Daksha, 391f.
 Dakshamitrā, 157, 164.
 Dakshināpatha, 172, 187, 198, 157&n.
 Dakshināmsaka-vithi, 346.
 Dālūra, 444.
 Dāmaghsada, 178n.
 Dāmajādasri I, 178n.
 Dāmajāta, 178.
 Damana, 135f, 161&n.
 Damangaṅgā, 161n.
 Dāmaysada, 177ff.
 Damila, *see* Tamil.
 Dāmodara, 375.
 Dāmodarpur, 283, 285, 320n, 324&n,
 328ff, 337.

Daṇḍin, 173n.
 Daṅgunagrāma, 413.
 Dantapura, 458f.
 Darius, 3, 4, 6ff, 12f.
 Darsi, 230n.
 Daśabala, 224&n.
 Daśapura, 161&n 290, 292, 294ff,
 383n.
 Daśaratha, 79ff, 481.
 Daśārṇa, 90n.
 Dattā, *see* Dattadevi.
 Dattabhaṭa, 298n, 494.
 Dattadevi, 261&n, 268, 278, 313, 318, 321.
 Dattāmitrī, 171n, 482.
 Daudputra, 18n.
 Ḍavāka, 257f.
 Deccan, 197n.
 Delhi, 55&n, 56f, 65, 275ff.
 Demetrios, 99ff, 109n, 208&n, 482.
 Demetriaspolis, 171n, 482.
 Derādun, 16n, 32.
 Devabhaṭṭāraka, 337f.
 Devādhyā, 375.
 Devagiri, 225.
 Devagupta, 268n, 274n, 277n, 337n,
 413n, 420.
 Devakī, 314.
 Devanandasvāmin, 418.
 Devarāja, 268n, 273ff.
 Devarāshṭra, 257&n.
 Devasena, 428&n.
 Devavishṇu, 310&n.
 Devikoṭa, 284n.
 Dhana, 96.
 Dhanabhūti, 89f, 96n.
 Dhanada, 96n.
 Dhanadāsa. 96n.
 Dhanadatta, 96n.
 Dhanadeva, 96&n.
 Dhānāidaha, 280.
 Dhanaka, 96n.
 Dhanamitra, 96n.
 Dhanananda, 96n.
 Dhanañjaya, 257.
 Dhāṇāsiri, 151.
 Dhanasvamin, 361.

Dhañavala, 151.
 Dhanavatī, 148.
 Dhānyapāla, 152.
 Dhānyaśrī, 152.
 Dhanyavishṇu, 327&n, 396ff.
 Dharma, 128, 186.
 Dharmadeva, 367.
 Dhamadeva-vihāra, 145.
 Dharmāditya, 350ff, 354, 357n, 358n.
 Dharmadosha, 390f.
 Dharmapriya, 238f, 242f.
 Dharmāśila, 356, 358.
 Dhauli, 16n, 24n, 30n, 41&n, 47n, 226n.
 Dhavalagiri, 250.
 Dhṛitimitra, 284, 286.
 Dhṛitipāla, 284, 286, 328n.
 Dhṛitivishṇu, 347.
 Dhruvadevī, 279, 313, 318, 322.
 Dhruvarāja, 336n.
 Dhruvaśarman, 279.
 Dhruvilāṭī, 352&n, 358&n.
 Dimita, *see* Demetrios.
 Dinika, 157f, 160ff, 164f.
 Diodotos I, 99n.
 Diodotos II, 99n.
 Dion, 90f.
 Dioskuroi, 101.
 Divākara, 411n.
 Divākaranandin, 347.
 Divākarakasena, 411n, 413.
 Dolādri, 367&n.
 Dolaparyvata, 367n.
 Doṅgā, 285, 329.
 Doshakumbha, 390n.
 Drangania, 6, 8, 11.
 Droṇasimha, 403ff.
 Durgā, 329n.
 Durgadatta, 344.
 Duritārīdevī, 152.
 Durlabha, 351.
 Duwé Gala, 233.
 Dvārakā, 172n.

E

Eastern Ghat, 197n, 226n, 394n.
 East India Co., 108n.
 Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal), 257n.

Egypt, 6ff, 39n.
 Ehuva-Śāntamūla, 229ff.
 Elam, 6n, 8n.
 Elios, 143n.
 Ellore, 257n.
 Elūra, 165n.
 Enderē, 232n.
 Epirus, 39n.
 Epthalites, 315n.
 Eraṇ, 260&n, 262n, 326f, 335, 396f.
 Eraṇḍapalla, 256, 257n.
 Ethiopia, 9n.
 Eukratides, 101&n, 105f, 107n, 232n.
 Euthydemus 99n, 101n, 106n, 107n, 208n.

F

Farīdpur, 350&n, 354&n, 357.
 Farr, 143n, 156n.
 Firūzshāh, 55n, 276n.
 Fyzābād, 96.

G

Gadāra, *see* Gandhāra.
 Gaḍhā, 145n.
 Gadhara (Gandhāra), 23.
 Gadimitra, 233.
 Gāleka, 216f.
 Gamini-Tissa, 232&n.
 Gaṇapati, 256n.
 Gaṇapatīnāga, 257&n.
 Gandaria, 6, 8, 11.
 Gandhakuṭi-vihāra, 133.
 Gandhāra, 4n, 5n, 6n, 11, 24, 225ff 288n.
 Gandharva, 259&n.
 Gaṇeśa, 156n.
 Gaṅga (eastern), 456n, 458ff.
 Gaṅga (era), origin of, 458n.
 Gaṅga (western), 407n, 456f, 474n.
 Gaṅgā, 209, 389, 393.
 Gaṅgdhār, 379, 383n.
 Ganges, 254n, 298n, 310n.
 Ganj, 257n, 371n.
 Ganjam, 16n, 38n, 46, 226n, 257n.
 Gargarā, 383&n.

- Gargasvāmin, 356.
 Garhā, 179, 278n.
 Garhwal, 258n.
 Garuḍa, 182n, 258n, 275, 298n, 300&n,
 319n, 321n, 366n, 388n.
 Gauhati, 258n.
 Gautama, 129n.
 Gautamīputra (Sātakarṇi), 157n, 167n,
 172n, 184n, 190ff, 196f, 204, 205n.
 Gautamīputra (Yajña Sātakarṇi), 419.
 Gayā, 78f, 97n, 262n, 264ff.
 Germany, 234n.
 Ghoshachandra, 351, 358n.
 Ghosundi, 91.
 Ghototkacha, 299n.
 Ghaṭotkacha (Gupta), 259, 263, 265&n,
 278, 292, 313, 318, 321, 412&n, 415.
 Ghaṭotkacha Gupta, 298f.
 Girinagara, 169&n, 177&n, 306n.
 Girnār, 16&n, 18f, 21, 24f, 28, 30f,
 34n, 36f, 40, 169, 172n, 177n, 305n.
 Glāna, 216f.
 Godāvari, 184n, 198n.
 Godāvari (Dist.), 257n.
 Godhagrāma, 361ff, 363n.
 Goika, 361.
 Golmāḍhitol, 366n.
 Gomati 470&n,
 Gomidattasvāmin, 358.
 Gomitra, 94f.
 Gondopharnes, 107n, 121f, 289n.
 Gopa, 357n.
 Gopachandra, 357&n, 358ff,
 Gopadatta, 339.
 Gopadeva, 266.
 Gopādri, 401n.
 Gopagiri, 401n.
 Gopāhvaya, 401&n.
 Gopāla, 280.
 Gopāla, 328n.
 Gopālasvāmin, 354.
 Gopālikera, 401n.
 Goparāja, 336&n.
 Gopasvāmin, 266&n.
 Goradhagiri, 208.
 Gorakhpur, 84.
 Gorathagiri, 208.
 Gorpaio, 147n.
 Gosāla, 216f.
 Gosāla, Mañkhaliputta, 68n.
 Goshātapuñjaka, 346ff.
 Goshthaka, 280.
 Govadhana, *see* Govardhana.
 Govagrāma, 225f.
 Govardhana, 158f, 161ff, 175n, 183n,
 191ff, 200f, 202n.
 Govindagupta, 298n.
 Govindapāla, 128.
 Govindasvāmin, 343ff.
 Greco-Bactrian, 102n.
 Greek, 39n, 99f, 104f, 171n, 274n, 326n.
 Guduvhara, 121f.
 Guhanandin, 347ff.
 Guhilasvāmin, 319.
 Guṇachandra, 351.
 Gunaighar, 331, 334n.
 Gunapadeya, 443.
 Gundā, 176.
 Guṇekāgrahārāgrāma, 334&n.
 Guṇikāgrahāra, 334&n.
 Gupta, 253ff, 258f, 162ff, 269ff, 275n,
 282n, 284n, 287&n, 296f, 305f, 308f,
 313, 315, 319n, 320ff, 323, 327n,
 328n, 336f, 350n, 357n, 365n, 366n,
 370n, 374, 388n, 394&n, 403&n,
 412&n, 415, 417, 454n.
 Gurpiya, 146f.
 Gushana, *see* Kushāna.
 Gutta, 256n.
 Guttala, 256n.
 Gwalior, 90, 400f.

H

- Hakhāmanisha, 4ff, 7ff, 10, 12.
 Hakusiri, 185.
 Hamadan, 8.
 Hana, 113&n.
 Haraiva, 4, 7, 10, 12.
 Harappa, 337n.
 Harapharana, 203.
 Hardwār, 310n.
 Hari, 361, 367.
 Haridāsa, 347.
 Harishena, 259ff.

- Harishena Vākātaka, 425, 429, 431ff.
 Harivishnu, 327.
 Harnyaśrī, 222ff.
 Harsha, 320n.
 Harshavardhana, 264n, 366n,
 Hashthunah-maregra, 153f.
 Hastavapra, 404&n.
 Hastibhoja, 428, 430, 432n.
 Hastin, 370n, 375.
 Hastivarman, 257&n.
 Hāthibādā, 91ff.
 Hāthigumphā, 97n, 186n, 198n, 206ff,
 215n.
 Hathisiha, 214.
 Hayuara, 113&n.
 Hazāra, 16n, 23.
 Heliadora, *see* Heliodoros.
 Heliodoros, 90ff, 186n, 206n.
 Heliokles, 105n.
 Hemānga, 365.
 Hephaistos, 155n.
 Herakles, 99&n, 105, 124.
 Herat, 6.
 Hercules, 99n, 108n.
 Hermaios, 107ff, 123.
 Himadatta, 360.
 Himagiri, 394.
 Himālaya 226n, 257n, 329n, 394ff.
 Himasena-pāṭaka, 353.
 Himavat, 196, 329ff, 338n, 389.
 Hinayāna, 332n.
 Hidu (Hindu), 6ff, 9f, 12.
 Hipea-Dhia, 137&n.
 Hippeos, 137n.
 Hippias, 137n.
 Hirahadagalli, 437.
 Hiranyavyāghrapāt, 216f.
 Hirumuthuva, 225.
 Hiung-nu, 315n.
 Hūna, 295n, 301n, 315&n, 322n, 327n,
 336n, 388n, 394ff, 396&n, 401n.
 Hushka, 144n.
 Huvishka, 144n, 146f, 150f, 156n.
 Hydaspes, 5, 86n.
 Hyderabad, 49n.
 Hystaspes, 5.
 Ibā, 161.
 Ida, *see* Indra.
 Ikshvāku, 219ff, 224ff, 226ff, 387n.
 Imām Jafar Sādig, 234n.
 India, 5ff, 11, 23n, 51n, 63n, 89f, 94,
 98ff, 106n, 108ff, 233n.
 Indo-Greek, 232n, 254n.
 Indo-Iranian, 5n.
 Indo-Muslim, 3n.
 Indo-Skythia, 117.
 Indor, 309, 311n.
 Indra, 106n, 186&n, 259, 265&n, 278,
 312, 318.
 Indrāpura, 311&n.
 Indravishnu, 327.
 Indus, 7n, 9, 11, 108n, 122f, 172n, 176n,
 233n, 276n.
 Ionia, 6f, 11.
 Irān, 6n, 235n, 250n.
 Isānavarman, 337n.
 Isāpur, 144n.
 Isvarasena, 177n.
 Isvaravāsaka, 273.
 Isvaridāsa, 377.
 J
 Jain, 58n, 118n, 150f, 152n, 184n, 208n,
 211n, 309n.
 Jainism, 118n.
 Jaipur, 49n, 77, 162n.
 Jajāva, 351&n.
 Jalalābād, 117n.
 Jalandhar, 258n.
 Jāmadagnya, 161n.
 Jambha, 216f.
 Jambudīpa, Jambudvīpa, 50, 51n, 399.
 Jambūnadi, 339.
 Jambudeva, 346&n.
 Jambu rock, 468.
 Janaka, 216f.
 Janārdana, 327.
 Jasdan, 179.
 Jātinga-Rāmeśvara, 49n, 53n.
 Jaugaḍa, 16n, 30n, 31n, 41ff, 46.
 Jaxartes, 123n.
 Jayabhaṭṭa, 263.
 Jayadāman, 167f, 170, 175ff, 199.

Jayadāsa, 364.
 Jayadatta, 328&n.
 Jayadhara, 106n.
 Jayanandin, 285f.
 Jayanātha, 371&n.
 Jayanta, 216f.
 Jayantaka, 216f.
 Jayasvāmin, 371.
 Jayasvāminī, 371.
 Jayavarman, 388.
 Jetaputta, 18n.
 Jhang, 92n.
 Jhelum, 86n.
 Jihonika, 131&n.
 Jijikagrāma, 460.
 Jina, 118n, 201f, 310n.
 Jivādāman, 178&n, 181n.
 Jivanandin, 128.
 Jivanta, 311&n.
 Jivasvāmin, 361.
 Jogaltembhi, 192n.
 Johiyābār, 172n.
 Jranka, 6.
 Jubbulpore, 49&n.
 Jumnā, 73n, 310n.
 Junāgarh, 16&n, 157n, 169, 177, 299f.
 Junnar, 166.
 Jupiter, 106n.
 Jushka, 144n, 149n.
 Jyeshthavirā, 167.

K

Kabul, 99n, 101n, 107f, 153n.
 Kācha, 268f, 493.
 Kachchha, 172&n.
 Kādākudurugrāma, 447.
 Kadamba, 202n, 220n, 260n, 317n, 388n,
 407n, 412n, 437n, 449, 451&n, 453,
 474n.
 Kadampa, 214n.
 Kādāpiñjana, 413.
 Kadphises I, 108n, 122n.
 Kadphises II, 126n.
 Kafirstan, 99n, 109n.
 Kahaum, 308&n.
 Kailāsa, 293.
 Kāka, 258&n.
 Kākanādaboṭa, 258n, 272&n.

Kākanādaboṭa-mahāvihāra, 74n.
 Kakhadi, 194&n.
 Kākusthavarma, 45f, 454f.
 Kakubha, 309&n.
 Kalachuri, 331n, 365n, 370n.
 Kālaha, 216f.
 Kālasukha, 351.
 Kalawān, 127.
 Kālidāsa, 315n.
 Kaliga, Kalinga, 35f.
 Kālindī, 327&n,
 Kalinga, 38n, 41n, 206ff, 209f, 212f,
 214f, 429, 431n.
 Kalinga-nagari, 207.
 Kālisindhu, 383n.
 Kalliope, 107&n.
 Kalpavṛksha, 267.
 Kalsi, 16n, 18n, 24n, 32, 34n, 36f, 40n.
 Kāluvāki, 72n.
 Kāmarūpa, 257f.
 Kamboja, 23f, 37.
 Kamdasāgara, 227f.
 Kamdasiri, 220f, 227f.
 Kānākherā, 180.
 Kanakamuni, 71n.
 Kanakasena, 18n.
 Kanara, 226n.
 Kanarese, 260n,
 Kanauj, 296n.
 Kāñchi, 256f, 452.
 Kāñchipura, 433&n, 437.
 Kaṅgavarman, 453.
 Kanhagiri, 196.
 Kanhavenā, 207.
 Kanheri, 172n, 196n.
 Kaṇishka, 132f, 149n, 269n, 365n.
 Kaṇishka II, 132n, 144n, 149&n.
 Kaṅkāli, 118n, 156.
 Kaṇṭakasola, 225f, 491.
 Kāntēḍadaka, 332&n.
 Kāṇva, 92n, 190n.
 Kapila, 270&n.
 Kapili, 258n.
 Kāpiśa, 99n.
 Kāpiśi, 99n.
 Kapistha-vāṭaka, 361.
 Kapota, 247f.

- Kappadokia, 6ff, 11.
 Kapsha, 122n.
 Kāpurahāra, 158f.
 Kārahaputra, 216f.
 Karajaka, Karajika, 165.
 Karamka, 358&n.
 Karamdāndā, 282.
 Karamtsa, 247f.
 Karavenā, 161.
 Kārle, 165&n, 195, 203.
 Karmānta, 258n.
 Karmaṭuva, 457.
 Karṇa, 220n.
 Kartārpur, 258n.
 Kartṛipura, 257.
 Kārus, 72n.
 Kāruvāki, 72n.
 Kāshmira, 225f, 288n, 395n.
 Kāsika, 348.
 Kastor, 101n.
 Katpatuka, 4, 6f, 10ff.
 Kāthiāwār, 16&n, 161n, 172n, 182n.
 Kaurāla, 256ff.
 Kauśāmbi, 55n, 73&n, 97n.
 Kauṭṭura, 256ff.
 Keraḍaputa, 18n.
 Kelalaputa, 18n.
 Keralaputa, Keralaputra, 18n.
 Keraputra, 18n.
 Kesaputta, 18n.
 Keśava, 402&n.
 Ketalaputa, 18n.
 Kevala, 152n.
 Kevalin, 211n.
 Khādā(tā)pāra, 281.
 Khadasiri, 186.
 Khaharāta, *see* Kshaharāta.
 Khalatika, 79&n.
 Khamḍajotikā, 361, 363n.
 Khamdasāgara, 220f.
 Khamdasiri, 220n.
 Khara, 145.
 Kharaosta, 112&n, 144.
 Kharapallāna, 132f.
 Kharaparika, 258&n.
 Kharāsalera, 146f.
 Khāraavela, 97n, 186n, 198n, 206ff, 210ff, 212ff.
 Khāsaka, 280.
 Khavada, 153ff.
 Khawat, 153&n.
 Khetaka, 350n.
 Khetak-āhāra, 350n.
 Khetakāhāra-vishaya, 350n.
 Khibira, 207&n.
 Khoh, 370, 374.
 Khorasmia, 6, 8, 11.
 Khotamna, *see* Khotan.
 Khotan, 122n, 137n, 153n, 235ff, 243f, 248f.
 Khubiraka, Kuberaka, 217.
 Khudechia, 139&n.
 Khvarnarsa, 249f.
 Kipin, 109n.
 Kirāta, 226n.
 Kirtisarman, 240f.
 Kisipidi, 366n.
 Kitsaitsa, 247f.
 Kodabalisiiri, 230.
 Koḍḍuvira, 361.
 Koḍikimgrāma, 447.
 Kokāmukha, 329n.
 Kokāmukhasvāmin, 329ff.
 Kolang, 258n.
 Kolivāla, 441.
 Koliya, 238f.
 Kollair, 257n.
 Komusa, 112&n.
 Konakamana, 71.
 Koṇḍarāja, 421.
 Koṅguṇivarman, 456.
 Konkan, 23n, 172n, 226n.
 Korinth, 39n.
 Kori-shvalya, 247f.
 Kośala, 96.
 Kośala (South), 256ff, 429, 431n.
 Kośalaputra, 18n.
 Kosam, 55n, 73n, 97f, 365&n.
 Kosamba-kuṭi, 140f.
 Kosiki-puta, 195.
 Koshaka, 216f.
 Kota, 256&n.
 Koṭāh, 92.
 Kothoor, 257n.
 Koṭivarsha, 284ff, 328ff, 337ff.

- Kothura, 256ff.
 Koṭṭura, 256ff.
 Kramāditya, 299n, 319n, 321n.
 Kranaya, 240f.
 Krīmīlā, 263.
 Kripura, 331.
 Kṛishṇa, 183, 190n.
 Kṛishṇā, 37n, 184n, 198n, 207n.
 Kṛishṇagiri, 196n.
 Kroniṇa, 116.
 Kshaharāta, 157, 160, 164, 165.
 Kshema, 120.
 Kshemadatta, 280.
 Kshemendra, 104n.
 Kshudra-Kokā, 329n.
 Kubera, 187, 257.
 Kuberaka, 215.
 Kuberanāgā, 413, 416.
 Kubja, 455.
 Kuchaka-parvata, 474.
 Kūdepa, 214n.
 Kujula-Kadphises, 123ff.
 Kujulakara-Kadphises, 124n.
 Kujula Kasa, 108, 124.
 Kujula Kaphsa, 124n.
 Kukura, 172&n, 196.
 Kulaha-vihāra, 225f.
 Kulaipa, 174.
 Kulasyāmin, 351.
 Kulavṛiddhi, 342ff.
 Kumāra, 155n.
 Kumāradeva, 371.
 Kumāradevī, 253, 259, 263, 265&n, 278,
 313, 318, 321, 370, 412.
 Kumāragupta I, 262n, 275n, 277ff, 285ff,
 293, 296ff, 301n, 313&n, 314n, 315n,
 317f, 320f, 337n, 342n, 413n.
 Kumāragupta II, 320ff, 337n.
 Kumāragupta III, 320ff, 337n.
 Kumāranāga, 372.
 Kumārapāla, 371n.
 Kumāri, 310.
 Kumaun, 258n.
 Kumbhiraka, 216f.
 Kuṇḍalīpta, 351.
 Kuṇḍuṅga, 466.
 Kuṇika, 94n.
 Kuntala, 427, 429, 437n.
 Kura, 215f.
 Kurā, 398.
 Kuramāravayabhaṭṭa, 282.
 Kurukshetra, 277n.
 Kusha, 7n, 9&n, 10ff.
 Kushāna, 92n, 102n, 108&n, 109, 118n,
 123f, 129, 138, 142&n, 150n, 155f,
 157n, 159n, 175n, 186n, 222n 254f,
 258n, 269.
 Kuśinagara, 200n.
 Kusinārā, 200n.
 Kusthalapura, 256ff.
 Kuzula, 115.
 Kyrene, 39n.
- L
- Lajji-Tissa, 232n.
 Lakshmi, 254, 267, 269, 300f, 314.
 Lakshmidēvi, 322n.
 Lakshanasena, 128n.
 Lala, 138f.
 Lalāka, 214.
 Lāmāni-Tissa, 232n.
 Lāṭa, 290, 292n, 429, 431n.
 Lauhitya, 276n, 394n.
 Lauriah-Ararāj, 55n.
 Lauriah-Navandgarh, 55n.
 Lavaṅgasikā, 339.
 Liaka, 137.
 Liaka-Kusulaka, 120.
 Lichchhavi, 253ff, 259, 263, 265&n, 278,
 313&n, 318, 321, 366n, 412.
 Lokanātha, 359ff.
 Lokapālas, 186n.
 Loṭā, 194f.
 Lou-lan, 234n.
 Lucknow, 151.
 Lumbinīdevī, 70n.
 Lumbini (garden), 70n.
 Lustu, 247f.
 Lyimsua, 240f.
 Lyipeya, 235f, 238f, 240f.
- M
- Macha (=matsya), 196, 489.
 Madana, 167ff.
 Mādāsyāta, 311&n.
 Māḍhariputa, 220f, 224, 227f.
 Mādhava, 336, 456&f.

- Madhu, 149.
 Madhuka, 85n.
 Madhunadi, 421.
 Madhurā, 148n, 208.
 Madhuravana, 148n.
 Madhurikā, 145&n.
 Madhuvāṭaka, 361.
 Madhyadeśa, 94.
 Madhyāntika, 288n.
 Madra, 309.
 Madras, 16n, 49n, 52.
 Madurā, 19.
 Magadha, 77, 94n, 97n, 209, 212n, 254n, 322n.
 Maga, 39n.
 Magha, 365n.
 Mahābhairava, 419.
 Mahāmeghavāhana, 207&n, 214.
 Mahānadi, 474.
 Mahāparvata, 474.
 Mahāsaghia, Mahāsaṅghika, 116f, 154, 203.
 Mahāsena, 180, 220n, 227f, 279, 317n.
 Mahāvijaya, 213n.
 Mahāvira, 68n, 118n, 310n.
 Mahāyāna, 332&n.
 Mahendra, 196f, 256f.
 Mahendra, 276n, 394n.
 Mahendrāchala, 226n, 276n, 394n.
 Mahendragiri, 226n.
 Mahendragiri, 256f.
 Mahēśvara, 172n, 270, 474.
 Mahida, *see* Mahendra.
 Mahipati, 144.
 Mahiśāsaka, 230f.
 Māhishmati, 172n.
 Maitraka, 403ff.
 Maka, 5ff, 37.
 Makedonia, 39n, 143n, 147n, 153n.
 Malabar, 19.
 Mālava, 92n, 162&n, 257f, 279n, 288&n, 295f, 298n, 377, 379, 391f.
 Malaya, 196ff.
 Mallasārul, 333n, 359, 363n.
 Mālwa, 90n, 161n, 172n, 181f, 196n, 258n, 275n, 290n, 295ff, 298n, 315n, 327n, 341n, 395n.
 Māmdara, 196.
 Mānadeva, 366f.
 Manao-bago, 155n.
 Manavasiti, 85f.
 Mañchapuri, 206n, 213f.
 Māndhātā, 172n.
 Māndhātā, 394n.
 Mandasor, 161n, 258n, 288, 290n, 292n, 298n, 327n, 377, 386&n, 393, 494.
 Mangraon, 320n.
 Mañibhadra, 94n.
 Manigula, 131n.
 Manikāla, 138.
 Mañināgapetha, 375.
 Mankuwar, 287.
 Mānsehra, 16n, 18n, 23, 29, 36n, 38n, 40n.
 Mañtarāja, 256f.
 Manu, 17n, 48n, 59n, 67n, 154n, 158n, 394n.
 Mao, 143n, 155f.
 Maralbashi, 235n.
 Mardān, 121n.
 Maru, 172&n.
 Mārwar, 172n.
 Maski, 49f.
 Masulipatam, 212n.
 Mathurā, 85, 94, 97n, 112, 118f, 145f, 150f, 156n, 181n, 269&n.
 Matidatta, 328n, 338.
 Matila, 257&n.
 Mātricheṭa, 401.
 Mātrivishṇu, 327, 396f.
 Mattila, 257n.
 Manes, 109&n, 113n, 121.
 Maukhari, 79f, 92f, 337n, 449f.
 Maunggun, 462.
 Maurya, 16, 79, 81&n, 85n, 95n, 171, 209n, 210n, 215n.
 Maxyes, 11.
 Maya, 100n.
 Mayidavolu, 184n, 229n, 433.
 Mayūśarman, 449, 451ff.
 Media, 6ff, 11.
 Meharauli, Memharauli, 275.
 Menander, 102ff, 483.
 Meru, 196.
 Mevaka, 115.
 Mihira, 143n.

- Mihirakula, 315n, 322n, 395f, 398n, 400ff.
 Miirō, 143n, 156n.
 Milinda, Milindra, 51n, 104n.
 Minerva, 105n.
 Mioro, 143n, 156n.
 Mitra, 97n.
 Mitradeva, 195.
 Mitradevi, 322.
 Miuro, 143n.
 Miyika, 115.
 Mlechchha, 301&n.
 Moga, 109n, 120.
 Mogata, 248n.
 Mokhara, *see* Maukhari.
 Mora, 482.
 Mudraya (Egypt), 4, 6.
 Muki, 113n.
 Mūlaka, 196, 198n.
 Mūlanāgiratṭa, 346ff.
 Mūlavarman, 466f.
 Muruṇḍadevi, 371.
 Mushika, 207n.
 Myakadoni, 205.
 My-son, 474.
 Mysore, 49n.
- N**
- Nābhaka, 37&n.
 Nābhapaṃti, 37n.
 Nabhiti, 37.
 Nachna, 257n, 371n.
 Nāḍaḍadakagrāma, 335.
 Nadadiyaka, 112n.
 Nadasiyaka, 112&n.
 Nāga, 156n, 185n, 197n, 257n, 275n, 413.
 Nāgadatta, 135ff, 257.
 Nāgadeva, 325, 331n, 354&n, 357.
 Nāgaṃnikā, 186ff, 207n.
 Nagara, 117n.
 Nagarahāra, 117n.
 Nagaraśrī, 335&n.
 Nagari, 91f.
 Nāgārjuna, 149n.
 Nāgārjuni, 79f.
 Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, 219&n, 224, 226ff.
 Nāgaśarman, 280.
 Nāgasena, 104n, 256ff.
 Nāgaudh, 89.
 Nāgiratṭa, 346&n.
 Nahapāna, 157ff, 160ff, 164f, 192n, 197n.
 Nahusha, 354.
 Nālandā, 262&n, 266n, 323n, 331n.
 Nallamalur, 226n.
 Nāṃda, 208ff, 212n.
 Namilgayā, 242f.
 Nana, 143n.
 Nānāghāt, 145n, 183ff, 186f, 206ff, 215n.
 Nanaia, 143n.
 Nānaṃgola, 161f.
 Nanashao, 143n, 156n.
 Nanda, 181, 209, 489.
 Nandangarh, 55n.
 Nandasi-Akasā, 112n.
 Nandin, 257.
 Nāndikaḍa, 407&n, 409n.
 Nandivaḍa, 123.
 Nāndivardhana, 407n, 312&n.
 Nanivadhaga, 250.
 Naogong, 258n.
 Nārada, 259n.
 Naradatta, 334&n.
 Naranandin, 338.
 Narasarāopeṭ, 445.
 Narasiṃhagupta, 320n, 322&n.
 Naravarman, 341n, 377ff, 386n, 503.
 Nārāyaṇa, 366n, 397, 444.
 Nārāyaṇa-vāṭaka, 92&n.
 Nārgol, 161n.
 Narmadā, 327&n.
 Narsinghpur, 258n.
 Naśchira, 399.
 Naśṭi, 273.
 Nāsik, 157ff, 160ff, 164, 183&n, 184n, 191ff, 196, 204.
 Nāsikaka, 183.
 Nastīṃta, 238f.
 Nāṭaputta, 68n.
 Nāthaśarman, 347f.
 Nausāri, 290n, 292n.
 Navamikā, 134.
 Navanara, 200&n.
 Navanagara, 200&n.
 Navasārikā, 290n.
 Nāvya, 351n.
 Navyāvakaśikā, 347n, 351n, 354&n, 357.

Nāyamnikā, 185ff, 190n.
 Nayasena, 355, 357.
 Nellore, 257n.
 Neminātha, 310n.
 Nepāl, 84n, 254n, 257, 366n.
 Nepalese Tarai, 70f.
 Nichamaka, 244f.
 Nigāli Sāgar, 71.
 Nigliva, 71.
 Nikaea, 195n.
 Nike, 106.
 Nilarāja, 257.
 Nilgiri, 197n.
 Nina, 235f.
 Nirdosha, 391f.
 Nishāda, 172&n.
 Nitva-gohāli, 346ff.
 Nivṛita-vāṭaka, 361.
 Niya, 234f.
 Noachaa, 129.

O

Oanao, 156n.
 Oaninda, 156n.
 Oesha, 156n.
 Oghadeva, 370.
 Okhalakīya, 195.
 Oṃgodugrāma, 447.
 Ooshna (Vishṇu), 156n.
 Opānigrāma, 375.
 Orissa, 16n, 41, 46, 70n.
 Orlagno, 143n.
 Oxus, 315n.

P

Pabhāsa, *see* Prabhāsa.
 Pabhosā, 97.
 Pachanagara, Pañchanagara, 151.
 Pādā (= Pāṇḍya), 18.
 Padam-Pawāyā, 257n.
 Padmā, 310&n.
 Padmanābha, 496.
 Padmāvatī, 257n.
 Pagu, 240ff.
 Pāhāṛpur, 346.
 Pahlava, 174&n, 197&n.
 Paisāchi Prākṛit, 234n.
 Paiṭhāna, 184n.
 Paitrayika, 24.

Pāla, 328n.
 Palakka, 257n.
 Palakkaḍa, 257n.
 Palāsāṭṭa, 346ff.
 Palāsavṛindaka, 324&n.
 Palāsbāri, 324n.
 Palāṣḍāngā, 324n.
 Palāśini, 170, 305.
 Palida (= Pālinda, Paulinda), 37.
 Pallas Athene, 105, 123, 254n.
 Pallava, 229n, 257n, 407n, 412n, 433, 437&n, 440, 443, 447, 449f, 457, 474n.
 Paloura, 459n.
 Palūra, 225f.
 Pañcāla, 97n.
 Pañchanagari, 152.
 Pañchanagari, 342&n, 498.
 Pañchastūpa, 347f, 498.
 Pāṇḍya (Pamḍa), 18n, 37, 209.
 Pāṇini, 79n.
 Panjab, 55, 90n, 92n, 99n, 104f, 109, 156n, 226n, 258, 276n, 395f.
 Panjkora, 102n.
 Panjtar, 126.
 Pantaleon, 100&n.
 Pāpa, 216f.
 Papilā, 225.
 Pārādā, 161, 174n.
 Parākrama, 256.
 Paṛariya, 70.
 Parāśara, 270.
 Paraspatikā, 339.
 Paravāṇi, 298n.
 Pārichāta, *see* Pāriyātra, 196.
 Pārimḍa (= Paulinda), 37n, 479.
 Parivṛājaka, 370n, 374ff.
 Pāriyātra, 172n, 390&n, 449f.
 Parṇadatta, 302, 304, 306n.
 Parṇāśā, Bāṇāśā, 161&n, 165.
 Paropanisadae, 100n.
 Parthians, 107f, 122n, 174n, 198n, 289n.
 Pārsa, 4, 6f, 10f.
 Pārsvanātha, 310n.
 Parthava, 4, 6f, 10f.
 Paruvi, 457&n.
 Pārvati, 80n, 319n.
 Paśchimapayodhi, 394&n.

- Paśchimapura, 294n.
 Paśupati, 401&n.
 Pāṭaliputra, 17, 18n, 25, 73n, 75f, 256n, 272.
 Pathan, 109
 Patika, 115, 120f, 128n.
 Pāṭnā, 94f.
 Patradāsa, 325.
 Paṭṭuki, 356&n.
 Paul, 326n.
 Paulīśasiddhānta, 326n.
 Pawāyā, 257n.
 Penganḡā, 191n.
 Penukaparrugrāma, 447.
 Penukoṇḡa, 456.
 Persepolis, 5n, 11.
 Persians, 3, 5, 8f, 19n, 24n, 38n, 171n, 174n, 248n, 286n, 333n.
 Peshāwar, 16n, 27, 150n, 226n.
 Phalgudatta, 373.
 Phalgudeva, 96&n.
 Pharro, 143n, 156n.
 Piṃḡitakāvaḡa, 161.
 Piṇākin, 387.
 Piṅgala, 280.
 Piṅgalaka, 216f.
 Piprāhwā, 84.
 Pisājipadaka, 198.
 Pishṭapura, 256f.
 Pishṭapuri, 375&n.
 Pishṭapurikādevī, 375&n.
 Piśprasāri, 113.
 Piṭhāpuram, 257n.
 Pithumḡa, 209.
 Pithundra, 212n.
 Pitinika, 23&n, 37.
 Plutarch, 86n.
 Pokharnā, 341n.
 Pokshara, *see* Pushkara.
 Pollux, 101n.
 Poona, 411&n.
 Poshapura, 149f.
 Prabhañjana, 375.
 Prabhāsa, 161&n, 165.
 Prabhāvatī, 169n.
 Prabhāvatiguptā, 411ff, 415, 420.
 Prāchī, 388.
 Prāchīna, 146f.
 Praḡāmāra, 335.
 Pradyumna, 186n.
 Pradyumneśvara, 335&n.
 Prāk-samudra, 351&n.
 Prārjuna, 258&n.
 Pratishthāna, 184n, 198n.
 Pratyeka-Buddha, 71n.
 Pravaragiri, 79n.
 Pravarapura, 419.
 Pravarasena, 406ff, 419, 427.
 Pravarasena II, 274n, 415, 418, 421, 427ff.
 Prayāga, 254n, 310n.
 Prishṭhimapottaka, 346ff.
 Prithivi, 473.
 Prithivisena, 257n, 283&n, 371n, 420, 427.
 Prithiviśvara, 283.
 Prithu, 261, 360.
 Prithūdaka, 209n, 490.
 Ptolemy, 18n, 157n, 184n, 404n, 459n.
 Ptolemy II Philadelphos, 39n.
 Pugarikā, 94f.
 Pukiya, 220ff, 227f.
 Pulinda, Pulida, 37n, 479.
 Pulomā, 205.
 Puḡumāvi, 157n, 184n, 195ff, 200, 203, 205n.
 Puḡumāvi II, 205.
 Puṇḡra, 83n.
 Puṇḡranagara, 83&n.
 Puṇḡravardhana, 82n, 283f, 285f, 324, 328, 337ff, 346ff.
 Punnāṭa, 449f.
 Puphagiri, 225.
 Puragupta, 320n, 322&n, 336n.
 Purāṇa-vṛindikahari, 339&n.
 Purī, 16n, 38n, 41, 70n, 226n.
 Pūrṇabala, 244f.
 Pūrṇanāga, 263.
 Pūrṇavarman, 468f.
 Purusha, 377n.
 Pūrvadeśa, 369.
 Pushkara, 162&n, 341n.
 Pushkaraṇā, 341&n.
 Pushkarāvati, 99n.

Pushpa, *see* Pushpapura.

Pushpapura, 286&n.

Pushyagupta, 171.

Pushyamitra, 96&n, 106n, 209n, 398n.

Pushyamitra (tribe), 314&n.

Pushyavuddhi, 132f, 140f.

Puvasela, 225f.

R

Rādhiah, 55n.

Rāghava, 261.

Raghu, 453.

Raichūr, 49n.

Raipur, 257.

Raivataka, 305&n.

Rājagaha, Rājagriha, 208&n, 212n.

Rājaputra, 18n.

Rājgir, 212n.

Rajputana, 49n, 77n, 91f.

Rājendrarvarman, 460.

Rājput, 18n.

Rājula, 112&n, 114&n, 119n.

Rājayadatta, 361.

Rājayavati, 367.

Rakshila, 116,

Raktamṛittikā, 465&n.

Rāma, 281.

Rāmadāsa, 347.

Rāmadevī, 371.

Rāmagirisvāmin, 415&n.

Rāmagupta, 268n.

Rāmaka, 280.

Rāmapurvā, 55n, 62, 64.

Rāmatīrtha, 161&n, 163n,

Rāmī, 347ff.

Ramnad, 19.

Ramnagar, 97n, 257n.

Ramshotsa, Ramsotsa, 248n.

Raṇjuvula, 112&n, 119n.

Rantideva, 17n.

Rāshtrakūṭa, 447n.

Rāshṭrika, 24, 39n.

Rasopadra, 176.

Rasotsa, *see* Ramshotsa,

Rathika, 23&n.

Raṭṭas, 388n.

Ravikīrti, 389.

Rāwalpiṇḍi, 226n.

Revā, 389ff.

Revajjasvāmin, 334&n.

Revatikā, 265.

Ṛibhupāla, 328ff, 338.

Ṛibhupāleśvara, 329n.

Ṛiksāma, 5.

Ṛikshavat, 196.

Ṛishabhadatta, 191n.

Ṛishabhadeva, 168.

Ṛishidatta, 285ff.

Ṛishika, 198n.

Ṛiṭegal, 232.

Rithpur, 415.

Rohilkhaṇḍ, 258n.

Rohiṇigupta 444f.

Rohiṇimitra, 120n.

Romaka-Siddhānta, 326n.

Romaka, 326n.

Rome, 105ff, 222n, 315n.

Rudrabhūti, 176.

Rudradatta, 331.

Rudradharabhaṭṭārikā, 221ff.

Rudradāman I, 157n, 167ff, 174f, 178ff, 197n.

Rudradeva, 257&n.

Rudrasena I, 179, 257n, 419.

Rudrasena II, 412ff, 419.

Rudrasimha I, 176ff.

Rudrasimha III, 175n, 182.

Rudrasvāmin, 460.

Rummindei, 70&n.

Rūpnāth, 49&n.

Russia, 234n.

Rutraya, 236ff,

S

Sacha, 235f.

Saddha-Tissa, 232n.

Sagamoya, 238f.

Sagara, 387n.

Sahasram, 49ff.

Sahet-Mahet, 140f.

Sahya, 196.

Saileśvarasvāmin, 283.

Saisunāga, 94n, 95n.

Saka, 4, 6f, 10f, 92f, 97n, 102n, 131f, 137n, 146, 151, 153&n, 156ff, 159ff, 166ff, 178ff, 181&n, 196ff, 256n,

- 258&n, 269n, 272n, 274n, 365&n, 366n, 398n.
 Sākala, 99n, 104n, 106n, 395n.
 Sakamuni, Sākyamuni, 103, 109, 143.
 Sakasthāna, 116f, 449f.
 Sāketa, 254n.
 Sakrāditya, 323n.
 Sakrasthāna, 116f.
 Saktikumāra, 190n.
 Saktināga, 372.
 Saktiśri, 185, 190n.
 Sākya, 84n, 116n, 323&n.
 Sākyamuni, 70, 109, 120, 143, 145&n, 152f.
 Sāla, 152n.
 Sālaṅkāyana, 257n.
 Sālīvāhana, 184ff, 190n.
 Sālmālivātaka, 361, 363n.
 Saluvayā, 238f.
 Saluviya, 244ff.
 Sāmaka, 193.
 Samalipada, 201.
 Samāpā, 41n, 46.
 Samataṭa, 357f.
 Sambalpur, 257n.
 Sāmbapāla, 284, 286, 328n.
 Sambhava, 151f.
 Sambhu, 387, 420.
 Sambodhi, 28, 479.
 Saṃkshobha, 374ff.
 Saṃvaṅga, 83n.
 Samudra, 216f.
 Samudragupta, 253ff, 257f, 362f, 266f, 270f, 275n, 278&n, 313, 318, 321, 412&n.
 Sanakadāsa, 156.
 Sanakānika, 258n, 271.
 Sāñchi, 74n, 144, 207n, 227n, 258n, 273&n.
 Saṇḍaka, 328.
 Saṅghamitra, 137n.
 Saṅghamitrarāja, 137.
 Sanjan, 161n.
 Saṅkaradeva, 367.
 Saṅkarshana, 186n.
 Śāntideva, 332.
 Śāntinātha, 310n.
 Śāntivarman, 450, 455.
 Śarabharāja, 336.
 Sarasatama, 150n.
 Sardis, 6f.
 Sarba, 11.
 Sarmā, 279n.
 Sarnath, 51n, 74f, 142, 141n, 320, 323.
 Sarvanāga, 310.
 Sarvāstivādin, 113f, 128, 137, 140f, 143f.
 Sarvatāta, Sarvatrāta, 91f, 482.
 Śāsanadevi, 152n.
 Śaśinandin, 347.
 Śaśivaka, 250.
 Śastā, 321, 432.
 Satagu, 6, 8, 11.
 Sātāhanirattā, 439.
 Śātakarṇi I, 184f, 187n, 190n, 206ff.
 Śātakarṇi II, 207.
 Śātakarṇi, Gautamīputra, 157n, 167n, 172n, 191f, 198, 455n.
 Śātakarṇi, Yajña, 204.
 Sātavāhana, 183f, 187n, 189n, 191n, 197f, 205f, 211n.
 Sātavāhanihāra, 205.
 Satiyaputa, 18, 185n.
 Satlaj, 172n.
 Satrughna, 216f.
 Satrughna, 421.
 Sattagydia, 6, 8, 11.
 Saṭuvanāśrama, 339.
 Satyabhāmā, 261n.
 Satyachandra, 361.
 Satyaputa, 18n.
 Satyasimha, 182.
 Satyavīrya, 152n.
 Sauvīra, 171f.
 Savaṭanamda, 95.
 Savatrāta, 151f.
 Savitā, 290.
 Seleukid, 99n.
 Seleukos Nikator, 86n.
 Sendraka, 449f.
 Seriyāputa, 18n.
 Setāgiri, 197.
 Set-Mahet, 140f.
 Setapharana, 203&n.

- Shaḍānana, 453.
 Shaḍvargika, 83n.
 Shāhābād, 49n.
 Shāhbāzgarhī, 16n, 18n, 24n, 27, 33, 38n, 40n.
 Shāhrewar, 156n.
 Shameka, 235f.
 Shaoreoro, 156n.
 Shinkot, 102.
 Sialkot, 99n, 104n, 258n, 395n.
 Sibiputta, 18n.
 Siddha, 211n.
 Siddhapura, 49f.
 Siddharāja, 371n.
 Sihalavihāra, 225.
 Sikharasvāmin, 282.
 Silakunḍa, 353&n, 358.
 Simhadharman, 244f.
 Simhavarman of Mālwa, 378&n.
 Simhavarman of Pushkaraṇā, 341.
 Simhavarman, Nellore-Guntur Pallava, 445, 447.
 Simhavarman, Kāñchi Pallava, 457&n.
 Simhavikrānta, 378&n.
 Simuka, 185n, 187n, 190n.
 Sind, 99n.
 Sindhu, 5n, 7ff, 11, 172&n, 276, 390&n.
 Siroptolemaios, 184n.
 Siriṭana, 196.
 Sirkap, 127, 131.
 Śirshagrāma, 413.
 Sisuka, 184.
 Śiva, 80n, 125f, 142, 156n, 215f, 319n, 329n, 331n, 387n, 395n, 401n, 412n, 467n, 474n.
 Śivachandra, 351, 356, 358&n.
 Śivadeva I, 366n.
 Śivagupta, 373.
 Śivakhadila, 200.
 Śivālik, 55.
 Śivanandin, 343.
 Śivaśarman, 280.
 Śivaskandavarman, 229n, 412n, 433ff, 437, 452n.
 Skanda, 155n, 220n, 317&n.
 Skandagupta, 278n, 299&n, 301&n, 306n, 308f, 312ff, 314ff, 318f, 320n, 327n.
 Skandagupta-vaṭa, 317f.
 Skandanāga, 372.
 Skandapāla, 328n, 338.
 Skandaśrī, 190n.
 Skandavarman, 433n, 443&n, 457&n.
 Skythia, 6, 8, 11, 117, 166n, 175n.
 Skytho-Prathia, 92n, 99n, 108f, 128n, 175n, 289n.
 Soḍāsa, Suḍisa, Soṇḍāsa, 112, 118f.
 Sogdiana, 6, 8f, 11.
 Sohgaūrā, 85&n.
 Somadeva, 195.
 Somaghosha, 355.
 Somapāla, 281.
 Somasvāmin, 355.
 Soṇarekhā, 305n.
 Soṃchaka, Soṃjaka, 242f.
 Soṇḍāsa, 119n.
 Sopārā, 16n, 161&n.
 Sophutes, 86&n.
 Sovaka, 203.
 Spaniyaka, 250.
 Sparda, 4, 6f, 9ff.
 Śramaṇa, 216f.
 Śramaṇadāsa, 216f.
 Śrāvasti, 85f, 140f, 322n.
 Śrībhadra, 281.
 Śridatta, 361.
 Śridharavarman, 180f.
 Śrīgupta, 259, 263, 265&n, 275n, 278, 312, 318, 321.
 Śrīgohālī, 342f.
 Śrīmāra, 472.
 Śrīnauyoga, 335&n.
 Śriparvata, 452.
 Śripura, 257n.
 Śrughna, 89n.
 Śruta, 216f.
 Śāba, 272.
 Stambheśvaradāsa, 282&n.
 Sthānakundūra, 455.
 Sthāṇu, 395&n.
 Sthāṇudatta, 338, 351&n.
 Strabo, 86n.
 Strato I, 105, 106n.
 Subhadatta, 364.
 Subhadeva, 351.

Sudarśana, 169, 244f, 300n, 305, 307.
 Suḍasa, 114f.
 Sudasana, 201n.
 Sudisanā, 200f.
 Suga, *see* Śuṅga.
 Sugāṅga, 209n.
 Suguda, 4, 6ff.
 Suhma, 83n.
 Sui-vihār, 135.
 Sūja, 12.
 Sujivin, 194f.
 Sukirtti, 84n.
 Sukulideśa, 273.
 Sulahaparyvata, 474.
 Sulakshmi, 83n.
 Śūlapāṇi, 393.
 Sumata, 238f.
 Sumeru, 293.
 Śuṅga, 89f, 98n, 190n, 209n, 280.
 Supratishṭhāhāra, 413.
 Sura, 186&n.
 Surasattama, 150.
 Surāshṭra, 172&n, 174, 196, 302, 306n.
 Surāśmichandra, 327.
 Surathā, *see* Surāshṭra.
 Śūrpāraka, 16n, 161f, 172n.
 Sūryavamśi, 366n.
 Susā, 3n, 4n, 5n, 7n.
 Suśarman, 375.
 Susuniyā, 257n, 275n, 341, 388n.
 Suvaja, 6, 7, 11ff.
 Suvārajmya, 6, 8, 11.
 Suvarṇamukha, 161.
 Suvarṇasikatā, 170, 305n.
 Suviśakha, 174.
 Svabhra, 172&n.
 Svachchhandapāṭaka, 339.
 Svāmidatta, 256.
 Svāmināga, 271.
 Svārda, 6ff.
 Svargapuri, 213n.
 Svayambhudeva, 338.
 Svetavarāhasvāmin, 329ff, 338f.
 Swat, 102n, 109.
 Syria, 19, 39n.

T

Takhasilā, Takshaśilā, Taxila, 44f, 81, 90, 120.

Takht-i-Bahī, 112&n.
 Tālagunda, 271n, 450.
 Tamasā, 371&n.
 Tamaska, 248f.
 Tambapaṇṇi, Tāmrapaṇṇi, 18, 37, 225f.
 Tamil, 209, 225f.
 Tāmrpaṇṇi, Tambapaṇṇi, 19.
 Tanjore, 19.
 Tantra cult, 385n.
 Tāpi, 161&n.
 Tāpti, 161n.
 Tārumā, 468&n.
 Tathāgata, 211n.
 Tathāgatagupta, 322n.
 Taxila, 81, 103n, 106n, 109n, 120&n, 127ff, 131&n.
 Tekirasi, Terasika, *see* Triraśmi.
 Teraṇhuka, *see* Triraśmi.
 Tevani, 98.
 Thākuri dynasty, 366n.
 Thānā, 16n, 161n.
 Thatagush, 5, 7, 10, 12.
 Theodoros, 109.
 Thomas, St., 122n, 289n.
 Tibet, 104n, 226n.
 Tilabhaṭṭa, 260.
 Tinnevely, 19, 226n, 276n, 394n.
 Tipperah, 258n.
 Tirthaṅkara, 309ff.
 Tishya, 216f.
 Tissa Abhaya, Tishya Abhaya, 232&n.
 Tivala, Tivara, 72&n.
 Tiayavani, 85n.
 Togha-Kuvaya, 247f.
 Tokhari, 235n.
 Tomga, 236n, 241n.
 Toprā, 55ff, 65.
 Toramāṇa, 227n, 327n, 396ff.
 Tosali, 41&n, 225f, 226n.
 Traikūṭa, Traikūṭaka, 449f.
 Tramira, 209&n.
 Traṇakayira, 185.
 Treshtadatta, 167ff.
 Trichinopoly, 19.
 Trighaṭṭikā, 353&n.
 Triakūṭa, 429.
 Triakaliṅga, 459ff.

- Trimukha, 152n.
 Triraśmi, 162&n, 192&n, 194, 198, 200.
 Trirātra, 93.
 Trisaṅgamaka, 404.
 Trivenī, 86n.
 Trivṛitā, 842ff.
 Tryavenī, 85n.
 Tugu rock, 469.
 Tuhinaśikharin, 394&n.
 Tumbavana, 299, 497.
 Tumain, 298f.
 Tumburu, 259n.
 Tun-huang, 234n.
 Turamaya, Ptolemy, 37.
 Turkish, 108n.
 Tushāspha, 161.
U
 Uchchakalpa, 370&n.
 Udāka, 97f.
 Udayagiri, 182n, 271.
 Udgāraka, 216f.
 Udīcha, 388.
 Ugrasena, 257.
 Ujeni, Ujjayinī, 44.
 Ujjain, 93n, 172n, 221&n, 398n.
 Ujjayinī, 92n, 256n.
 Umā, 474.
 Uṇḍ, 136.
 Undapheros, Gondophernes, 122f.
 Uṅguṇagrāma, 413.
 Upagupta, 337n.
 Upamita, 270n.
 Uparichara, 211&n.
 Uposatha-putra, 216f.
 Uprakā, 407, 409n.
 Uraśā, 129&n.
 Urjjayat, 170, 305&n, 308.
 Ushavadāta, Rishabhaddatta, 92n, 157ff,
 161ff, 164f. 192&n.
 Utamabhādra, 162ff.
 Utarāpadha, Uttarāpatha, 209.
 Uttamabhaddra, 162ff.
 Uttara, 215.
 Uttaramāṇḍalika, 332&n.
 Uttara-Phalguṇī, 136.
 Uvaja, 4, 7, 10.
 Uvārazmiya, 4, 7, 10, 12.
 Uvimika, 130.
 Uvima-Kavthisa, 130n.
V
 Vāchaka, 151.
 Vadhaga, 249f.
 Vado, 143n.
 Vaḍukha, 214n.
 Vagramarega, 153ff.
 Vagramarega-vihāra, 153ff.
 Vāhika, 276n.
 Vaijayanti, 191n.
 Vainyadevī, 322n.
 Vainyagupta, 331&n, 336n, 350n, 359n.
 Vaiśvadeva, 404&n.
 Vajheska, 149n.
 Vajhishka, 144n.
 Vajhispa, 149.
 Vajiraghara, 208n.
 Vakana, 146f.
 Vākāṭaka, 257n, 274n, 371n, 406ff,
 411ff, 418f, 427f, 473n.
 Vākāṭaka genealogy, 426n.
 Vakattaka, 360f, 363n.
 Vakradeva, 214.
 Valabha, 269n.
 Valabhi, 403ff.
 Valatkausha, 263n, 265.
 Vālhika, 276ff.
 Valūraka, 165&n, 195&n.
 Vāmadeva, 331n.
 Vāmanasvāmin, 361.
 Vamśagrāma, 85n.
 Vanaputra, 18n.
 Vanaspara, 132f.
 Vānavāsaka, 230f.
 Vanavāsī, 226n.
 Vandyā, 328n.
 Vandyopādhyāya, 328n.
 Vaṅga, 225ff, 276&n.
 Vaṅgapāla, 98.
 Vaprakeśvara, 467&n.
 Varadatta, 328ff.
 Varāha, 329n, 396ff.
 Varāhadāsa, 389.
 Varāhadeva, 432&n.
 Varāhamitra, 326n.
 Varāhasvāmin, 281.

- Vārāhiputra, 162f.
 Vāraka-maṇḍala, 350ff, 354, 357&n.
 Vārānasi, 132f.
 Vardhamāna, 118f.
 Vardhamāna-bhukti, 360&n.
 Vargapāla, 280.
 Varuṇa, 187, 216, 259, 265&n, 278, 312, 318.
 Varuṇavishṇu, 327.
 Vāsava, 186f.
 Vāsīthīputa, 220.
 Vāsishka, 144&n, 149n.
 Vāsishthīputra, 172n, 184n, 195ff, 200, 203, 220ff, 227ff.
 Vasispha, 149n.
 Vasu, Uparichara, 211&n.
 Vasu, 236ff, 247f.
 Vasubandhu, 322n.
 Vāsudeva, 90, 156, 186&n, 356, 374, 388.
 Vasudevasvāmin, 355ff.
 Vāsula, 395&n.
 Vasumitra, 98n, 323ff.
 Vāsuska, 144n.
 Vaṭagohālī, 364ff.
 Vaṭavallaka, 361, 363.
 Vatsa, 73n, 97n.
 Vatsabhaṭṭi, 297.
 Vatsadevī, 322n.
 Vatsagulma, 407&n.
 Vatsapālasvāmin, 357ff.
 Vatsasvāmin, 361ff.
 Vāyigrāma, 325, 342&n.
 Vāyurakshita, 298n, 494.
 Velāma, 220&ff.
 Veṅgī, 257&n.
 Vepuraka, 205.
 Veśpaśī, 138ff.
 Vetrāgartāgrāma, 361f.
 Vetravarman, 284, 286.
 Veyaūdirna, 115.
 Vidabha, *see* Vidarbha.
 Vidarbha, 173n, 196, 198n, 406ff.
 Vidiśā, 90n, 106n.
 Vijayapuri, 225f.
 Vijayasena, 333&n, 359&n, 361ff.
 Vikrama, 92n, 322n.
 Vikrama-samvat, 92n, 109n, 157n, 366n, 377n, 379, 382, 393n.
 Vikramāditya, 92n, 256n, 275, 288n, 315n, 319&n, 322n.
 Vikramāṅka, 275n.
 Vilavaṇaka, 413.
 Vinaśana, 176n.
 Vinayasena, 351.
 Vindhya, 37, 172n, 196, 257n, 388, 390n.
 Vindhyaपुरी, 361.
 Vindhyaśakti II, 406ff, 426, 428n.
 Vinḥupāla, 201f.
 Vipāśā, 276ff.
 Viprapāla, 328ff.
 Virapurushadatta, 219ff, 227ff, 434n.
 Virasena, 272.
 Viravarman, 445.
 Viripara, 434.
 Virūpāksha, 219ff.
 Viryakamitra, 102n, 104&n.
 Visadeva, 89.
 Viśākha, 155n.
 Viṣṇu, 57n, 156n, 158n, 275n, 277, 281, 300, 307, 329n, 366n, 377n, 383f, 396&n, 412n, 447n, 474.
 Viṣṇubhadra, 280.
 Viṣṇudāsa, 271.
 Viṣṇudatta, 330.
 Viṣṇudeva, 280.
 Viṣṇugopa, 256ff, 446.
 Viṣṇugupta, 320n, 337n.
 Viṣṇunandin, 371.
 Viṣṇupada, 277&n.
 Viṣṇupālitabhaṭṭa, 282.
 Viṣṇuvaradhana, 386&n, 388&n, 390n.
 Viśtāspa, 4f, 7f, 10f.
 Viśvadeva, 90&n.
 Viśvaka, 216f.
 Viśvakarman, 155n.
 Viśvavarman, 293, 377, 379ff, 383n.
 Viyakamitra, 103.
 Vizagapatam, 257n.
 Vo-cañh, 471.
 Vṛiddhastha, 356&n.
 Vṛishadeva, 367.
 Vuryaga-pgita, 247f.
 Vyāghra, 371&n.

Vyāghradeva, 257n.
 Vyāghrarāja, 256, 371n.
 Vyūha, 186n.

W

Waingāṅgā, 191n.
 Wakhan, 147n.
 Wardak, 153.
 Wema-Kadphises II, 124f, 130n.
 Western Ghats, 196f.
 Western Sea, 257n.

X

Xerxes, 11, 13.

Y

Yajña-Sātakarni, 204.
 Yama, 186f.
 Yamunā, 258n.
 Yaśa, 151f.
 Yaśodharman, 276n, 315n, 327n, 386ff
 390n, 393ff.
 Yaudheya, 172&n, 258&n.

Yauna, 4, 7, 10, 12, 19n.
 Yavana, 6, 7, 11, 19&n, 24, 99n, 104n,
 171&n, 197&n, 208, 225f.
 Yavuga, 124&n.
 Yayāti, 350, 354, 357.
 Yelamañchilli, 257n.
 Yerṛaguḍi, 16n, 49f, 52, 233n.
 Yiliy, 242f.
 Yin-mo-fu, 109n.
 Yona, 18, 23, 37, 90, 104n.
 Ysāmotika, 167n.
 Yuan-Chwang, 70f, 366n.
 Yusūfzai, 121n.

Z

Zagros, 3n.
 Zeda, 136.
 Zeionises, 131n.
 Zeus, 106&n, 109.
 Zranka, 4, 7f, 10ff.